

VOLUME 93 • NUMBER 5 • DECEMBER 1988

# The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



Mitchell Library  
MULTNOMAH BLDG  
8435 N. BROADWAY  
Portland, Oregon 97220

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG  
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**Stalin and the Kirov Murder**

ROBERT CONQUEST

From the acclaimed author of *Harvest of Sorrow* comes a fascinating real-life detective story. Conquest concretely establishes what has long been rumored—that Stalin not only sanctioned the assassination of Sergei Kirov but used it as justification for the terror that culminated in 1937 and '38.

176 pp., \$16.95.

**Return to Diversity****A Political History of East Central Europe Since World War II**

JOSEPH ROTHSCHILD

"A major political and academic event. Its scope, depth, and quality are the hallmark of a masterful political observer. In an age in which the developments in Eastern Europe increasingly influence the prospects for both *perestroika* within the U.S.S.R. and for a lasting U.S.-Soviet detente, I can think of no better guide to understanding the conflicting pressures and options confronting East European peoples and their leaders than Professor Rothschild's incisive study."—Seweryn Bialer, Columbia University. 288 pp., \$24.95.

**Home Town News****William Allen White and the Emporia Gazette**

SALLY FOREMAN GRIFFITH

A compelling biography of "America's editor" and a rich portrait of small-town life at the turn of the century, *Home Town News* offers new insights into the forces and values that have shaped American culture. It brilliantly describes the role of the newspaperman in civic life and charts the social transformation that occurred during the early years of this century. 320 pp., \$24.95.

**Of Arms and Men****A History of War, Weapons, and Aggression**

ROBERT L. O'CONNELL

In a sweeping narrative that ranges from prehistoric times to the Nuclear Age, Robert O'Connell demonstrates how social and economic conditions determine the types of weapons and the tactics employed in warfare and how in turn innovations in weapons technology often undercut social values. While its emphasis is historical, O'Connell also draws upon such disciplines as biology, psychology, anthropology, sociology, and literature to illuminate the course of arms. 368 pp., \$24.95.

**The Influence of Sea Power on Ancient History**

CHESTER G. STARR

In Alfred Thayer Mahan's classic argument, naval superiority in peace and war has been of paramount importance throughout history. In this provocative book, Chester G. Starr contends that Mahan's theories have led to serious distortions in the way historians interpret the role of sea power in antiquity. Ranging from the Bronze Age to the fall of the Roman Empire, this study provides an important corrective to Mahan's thesis, both as applied to ancient history and to modern strategic thinking. 128 pp., \$16.95.

**OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS**

200 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK, NY 10016

OXFORD ♦ UNIVERSITY ♦ PRESS

# The American Historical Review

---

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION  
Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889.

## Elected Officers

*President:* AKIRA IRIYE, *University of Chicago*  
*President-elect:* LOUIS R. HARLAN, *University of Maryland*  
*Vice-Presidents:* PATRICIA ALBJERG GRAHAM, *Harvard University, Teaching Division*  
RICHARD T. VANN, *Wesleyan University, Research Division*  
JOHN J. TEPASKE, *Duke University, Professional Division*

## Appointed Officers

*Executive Director:* SAMUEL R. GAMMON  
*AHR Editor:* DAVID L. RANSEL, *Indiana University*  
*Controller:* RANDY NORELL

## Elected Council Members

NATALIE ZEMON DAVIS, *Princeton University*  
*Immediate past President*

JOHN F. BENTON†  
*California Institute of  
Technology*

ROBERT FORSTER  
*Johns Hopkins University*

CAROL GLUCK  
*Columbia University*

RICHARD H. KOHN  
*Office of Air Force History*

LAWRENCE W. LEVINE  
*University of California,  
Berkeley*

PEGGY K. LISS  
*Washington, D.C.*

Cover illustration: "The Filmmaker's Tools," from the film *Far from Poland*, by Jill Godmilow. See the *AHR Forum* on the use of film in history, pp. 1173–1227. Photo by Mark Magill.

The *American Historical Review* appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. It is published by the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202-544-2422) and is printed and mailed by the William Byrd Press, 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, Virginia 23228. The editorial offices are located at 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405 (812-335-7609).

The *AHR* is sent to members of the American Historical Association and to institutions holding subscriptions. Membership dues: For incomes of \$40,000 and above, \$60.00 annually; \$30,000–\$39,999, \$55.00; \$20,000–\$29,999, \$47.00; \$15,000–\$19,999, \$40.00; \$10,000–\$14,999, \$30.00; below \$10,000, students, and joint memberships \$20.00; associate (nonhistorian) \$30.00; life \$1,000. The proportion of dues allocated to the *AHR* is \$17.00. Subscription rates effective for volume 93: Class I, *American Historical Review* only, United States \$43.00, foreign \$47.00. Further information on membership, subscriptions, and the ordering of back issues is contained on the two pages—I(a) and 2(a)—immediately preceding the advertisements.

#### GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts should be sent to the Editor, *American Historical Review*, 914 Atwater, Bloomington, Indiana 47405. Texts, including quotations and footnotes, should be double-spaced with generous margins. Submissions sent from the North American continent should include four copies of the complete text (two copies if from abroad). Footnotes should be numbered consecutively throughout and should appear in a separate section at the end of the text. The editors prefer to work with manuscripts that are no more than 35 pages in length, not counting notes, tables, and charts. Especially helpful are submissions that are compatible with our Zenith Z-159 Computer. These include word-processing programs on 5.25 inch diskettes supported by MS-DOS and, in particular, WordStar. To check if your disk is compatible, call our Assistant for Production at (812) 335-7609.

No manuscript will be considered for publication if it is concurrently under consideration by another journal or press or if it has been published or is soon to be published elsewhere. Both restrictions apply to the substance as well as to the exact wording of the manuscript. If the manuscript is accepted, at least one year must elapse between publication in the *Review* and republication of the essay, or any significant part thereof, in another work.

Other guidelines for the preparation of manuscripts for submission to and publication in the *AHR* will be sent upon request. Articles will be edited to conform to *AHR* style in matters of punctuation, capitalization, and the like. The editors may suggest other changes in the interest of clarity and economy of expression; such changes are not made without consultation with authors. The editors are the final arbiters of length, grammar, and usage.

Unsolicited book reviews are not accepted.

Postmaster: Please send notification (Form 3579) regarding undelivered journals to: American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Publication identification number: *American Historical Review* (ISSN 0002-8762).

The *AHR* disclaims responsibility for statements, either of fact or opinion, made by contributors.

© AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION 1988

All rights reserved

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices



VOLUME 93 • NUMBER 5 • DECEMBER 1988

---

# The American Historical Review

---

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

*Editor:* DAVID L. RANSEL

*Associate Editor:* ELLEN DWYER

*Assistant Editors:* PHILIP PAJAKOWSKI  
ALLYN ROBERTS

*Assistant to the Editors:* VIRGINIA D. OLLIS

*Assistant for Production:* AUGUSTA M. R. J. DAVIS

*Editorial Assistants:* WILLIAM V. BISHEL, T. CLAYTON BLACK, STEPHEN COLE,  
SARAH A. CURTIS, JUDITH D. MINER, RICK D. RAILSBACK

*Clerical Assistant:* RUTH WEENING

*Advertising Manager:* KATHY KOZIARA-HERBERT

## Board of Editors

JOYCE O. APPLEBY  
*University of California*

JOHN W. BALDWIN  
*Johns Hopkins University*

ALLAN G. BOGUE  
*University of Wisconsin*

JOHN H. COATSWORTH  
*University of Chicago*

L. PERRY CURTIS, JR.  
*Brown University*

THOMAS L. HASKELL  
*Rice University*

LYNN HUNT  
*University of Pennsylvania*

LINDA K. KERBER  
*University of Iowa*

JAMES J. SHEEHAN  
*Stanford University*

MARCIA WRIGHT  
*Columbia University*

## In This Issue

The *AHR Forum* explores the problems and possibilities of portraying history on film. **Robert A. Rosenstone** leads off with an essay that considers objections to putting history onto film, such as filmmakers' subordination of history to drama, focus on individuals rather than groups, and the usually neat, linear story lines. These characteristics are not, however, inherent in the medium, Rosenstone contends. Recognizing that any medium, be it writing or film, requires conventions that inevitably shape historical representation, Rosenstone believes that both documentary and feature films can seriously examine historical issues by rendering the world of the past as complex and indeterminate. He identifies some films that have gone beyond this, films that reject common-sense notions of realism and thus call into question one of the chief conventions of written history.

The other four contributors to the forum examined Rosenstone's article and respond to the issues raised there. **David Herlihy** points out the limitations of film for doing the normal work of history—interpreting events in relation to prior and subsequent occurrences and in light of values and motives. Films can nevertheless convey a vivid sense of the cultural style of past epochs, and so they have a place, writes Herlihy, in keeping the past alive for the people of the present, much as historical novels do. **Hayden White** notes that the similarities between filmic discourse and written verbal discourse are much greater than the differences; film can do many of the things that writing does and can do well some things that writing does inadequately. **John E. O'Connor** asks for the inclusion of film studies in the history curriculum and offers some guidelines for evaluating historical films. **Robert Brent Toplin** warns that filmmakers have assumed the role of historians and are marketing their interpretations of the past to large audiences. While Toplin believes that good history can be done on film, he points out that scholars have not shown much interest in making or evaluating filmed history and have left the field to filmmakers who have little understanding of historiography and historical methods.

**Bertram Wyatt-Brown** reopens a question that was much discussed in the 1960s: the impact of American slavery on the personality of the slave. Much of the research on this question has stressed the ability of the slave community to defend itself against the psychological aggression of whites, but little has been said about the price of that defense. Wyatt-Brown focuses on the question of this price by taking the current approaches of Freudian psychology and role-playing theories a step further. He applies a cultural analysis that identifies three types of personal response to the psychic violence of slavery: ritual deference that left a sense of self-worth intact, servile stances that reduced through shame a slave's sense of individuality, and shamelessness or "samboism" that avoided psychic damage to the individual but relied on betrayals that sowed distrust in the slave community.

**James A. Sandos** explores the role of historian as expert witness in the service of the Catholic church's canonization of Father Junípero Serra. The famous historian of the West, Herbert Eugene Bolton, gave evidence favorable to the case in 1948, and the testimony of five other historians was solicited in 1986 to bolster the canonization process when it came under attack for having omitted criticism of Serra and the California missions by Spanish officials of Serra's time and by Indians then and now. Sandos raises searching questions about the professional responsibilities of historians participating in partisan activities of this type.

The article by **Alan E. Samuel** uses a comparative approach to attempt a fresh understanding of Alexander the Great's goals and the political constraints on his leadership. His point of comparison, Merovingian kingship, leads to conclusions about the restless expansionism of Macedonian rulers, whose position as warrior kings impelled them to seek out combat in order to satisfy the expectations of their followers.

---

# Contents

VOLUME 93 • NUMBER 5 • DECEMBER 1988

---

## *AHR Forum*

- History in Images/History in Words:  
Reflections on the Possibility of Really Putting History onto Film  
BY ROBERT A. ROSENSTONE 1173
- Am I a Camera? Other Reflections on Films and History  
BY DAVID HERLIHY 1186
- Historiography and Historiophoty  
BY HAYDEN WHITE 1193
- History in Images/Images in History:  
Reflections on the Importance of Film and Television Study  
for an Understanding of the Past  
BY JOHN E. O'CONNOR 1200
- The Filmmaker as Historian  
BY ROBERT BRENT TOPLIN 1210

## Articles

- The Mask of Obedience: Male Slave Psychology in the Old South  
BY BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN 1228
- Junípero Serra's Canonization and the Historical Record  
BY JAMES A. SANDOS 1253
- Philip and Alexander as Kings:  
Macedonian Monarchy and Merovingian Parallels  
BY ALAN E. SAMUEL 1270

## Reviews of Books

### GENERAL

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| PETER KOLCHIN. <i>Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom</i> . By Steven L. Hoch 1287                               | MARGARET RANDOLPH HIGONNET <i>et al.</i> , editors. <i>Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars</i> . By David Pace 1289                                 |
| PETER GOUREVITCH. <i>Politics in Hard Times: Comparative Responses to International Economic Crises</i> . By Charles Tilly 1288 | J. E. GOLDTHORPE. <i>Family Life in Western Societies: A Historical Sociology of Family Relationships in Britain and North America</i> . By John R. Gillis 1291 |
| DONALD MEYER. <i>Sex and Power: The Rise of Women in America, Russia, Sweden, and Italy</i> . By Lois W. Banner 1289            | REINHARD BENDIX. <i>Force, Fate, and Freedom: On Historical Sociology</i> . By Christopher Lloyd 1291   |
|   | MICHAEL S. ROTH. <i>Psycho-Analysis as History: Negation and Freedom in Freud</i> . By John E. Toews 1292   |

- J. SAMUEL PREUS. *Explaining Religion: Criticism and Theory from Bodin to Freud*. By Harry J. Ausmus 1293
- CLARKE GARRETT. *Spirit Possession and Popular Religion: From the Camisards to the Shakers*. By Stephen J. Stein 1294
- NIKLAS LUHMANN. *Love as Passion: The Codification of Intimacy*. By Mark Poster 1294
- HANS BELTING. *The End of the History of Art?* By W. Eugene Kleinbauer 1295
- WOLFGANG SCHIVELBUSCH. *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century*. By Anthony Esler 1296
- HANS BIEDERMANN. *Das verlorene Meisterwort: Bausteine zu einer Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte des Freimauertums*. By Helen Liebel-Weckowicz 1297
- DANIEL J. PEACOCK. *Lee Boo of Belau: Prince in London*. By Francis X. Hezel 1297
- RICHARD A. COSGROVE. *Our Lady the Common Law: An Anglo-American Legal Community, 1870–1930*. By Tony Freyer 1298
- HENRY BLUMENTHAL. *Illusion and Reality in Franco-American Diplomacy, 1914–1945*. By Andre Kaspi 1299
- JAMES L. GORMLY. *The Collapse of the Grand Alliance, 1945–1948*. By T. Michael Ruddy 1299
- EDWIN W. MARTIN. *Divided Counsel: The Anglo-American Response to Communist Victory in China*. By Gary Hess 1300
- the Settlement of Lawsuits in the Episcopal Court of Tournai: Origin and Early Development, 1192–1300]. By David Nicholas 1306
- PIERRE RICHE. *Gerbert d'Aurillac, le pape de l'an mil*. By Thomas F. X. Noble 1307
- EDWARD TRACY BRETT. *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society*. By John W. Baldwin 1308
- HANS-WERNER GOETZ. *Leben im Mittelalter: Vom 7. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*. By Suzanne Fonay Wemple 1308
- BERND SCHNEIDMÜLLER. *Nomen Patriae: Die Entstehung Frankreichs in der politisch-geographischen Terminologie (10.–13. Jahrhundert)*. By John B. Freed 1309
- R. C. FAMIGLIETTI. *Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI, 1392–1420*. By John Bell Henneman, Jr. 1310
- T. N. BISSON. *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History*. By Lynn H. Nelson 1311
- MARIA RAQUEL GARCIA ARANCON. *Teobaldo II de Navarra (1253–1270): Gobierno de la Monarquía y recursos financieros*. By J. N. Hillgarth 1311
- ANDREW FISHER. *William Wallace*. By Michael Prestwich 1312
- ROBERT S. GOTTFRIED. *Doctors and Medicine in Medieval England, 1340–1530*. By Paul Slack 1312
- MICHEL BALARD et al. *Les Italiens à Byzance: Edition et présentation de documents*. By Alan M. Stahl 1313

## MODERN EUROPE

- ANCIENT
- MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN. *Die athenische Volksversammlung im Zeitalter des Demosthenes*. By Kurt A. Raafaub 1301
- RICHARD M. BERTHOLD. *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age*. By Samuel K. Eddy 1302
- NAPHTALI LEWIS. *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt: Case Studies in the Social History of the Hellenistic World*. By Ronald J. Leprohon 1302
- HERMANN BENGTSON. *Die Diadochen: Die Nachfolger Alexanders (323–281 v. Chr.)*. By Richard M. Berthold 1303
- DIETER NÖRR. *Causa mortis: Auf den Spuren einer Redewendung*. By William Turpin 1303
- ARTHUR M. ECKSTEIN. *Senate and General: Individual Decision Making and Roman Foreign Relations, 264–194 B.C.* By Arther Ferrill 1304
- PERE VILLALBA I VARNEDA. *The Historical Method of Flavius Josephus*. By Morton Smith 1305
- MEDIEVAL
- MANFRED GERWING. *Malogranatum oder der dreifache Weg zur Vollkommenheit: Ein Beitrag zur Spiritualität des Spätmittelalters*. By Carter Lindberg 1305
- ADRIAAN H. BREDERO. *Cluny et Cîteaux au douzième siècle: L'histoire d'une controverse monastique*. By Thomas Renna 1306
- MONIQUE VLEESCHOUWERS–VAN MELKEBEEK. *De officialiteit van Doornik: Oorsprong en vroege ontwikkeling (1192–1300)* [The Episcopal Court of Tournai: Origin and Early Development, 1192–1300]; MONIQUE VLEESCHOUWERS–VAN MELKEBEEK. *Documenten uit de praktijk van de gedingbestellende rechtspraak van de officialiteit van Doornik: Oorsprong en vroege ontwikkeling (1192–1300)* [Documents from the Practice of
- MARILYN J. BOXER and JEAN H. QUATAERT, editors. *Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World, 1500 to the Present*. By Linda L. Clark 1314
- HEINZ SCHILLING and HERMAN DIEDERIKS, editors. *Bürgerliche Eliten in den Niederlanden und in Nordwestdeutschland: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte des europäischen Bürgertums im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*. By Sherrin Marshall 1315
- G. R. QUAIFFE. *Godly Zeal and Furious Rage: The Witch in Early Modern Europe*. By Clarke Garrett 1316
- MARIE-THERESE BOYER-XAMBEU et al. *Monnaie privée et pouvoir des princes: L'économie des relations monétaires à la Renaissance*. By David Herlihy 1316
- DAVID SUMMERS. *The Judgment of Sense: Renaissance Naturalism and the Rise of Aesthetics*. By Marvin B. Becker 1317
- ANDREW ROTHSTEIN. *Peter the Great and Marlborough: Politics and Diplomacy in Converging Wars*. By George Hilton Jones 1318
- MAURIZIO BAZZOLI. *Il pensiero politico dell'assolutismo illuminato*. By Hanns Gross 1318
- HARTMUT KAEUBLE. *Industrialisation and Social Inequality in 19th-Century Europe*. By Herman Freudenberger 1319
- HARTMUT KAEUBLE. *Auf dem Weg zu einer europäischen Gesellschaft: Eine Sozialgeschichte Westeuropas 1880–1980*. By Peter H. Merkl 1320
- RISTO ROPPONEN. *Italien als Verbündeter: Die Einstellung der politischen und militärischen Führung Deutschlands und Österreich-Ungarns zu Italien von der Niederlage von Adua 1896 bis zum Ausbruch des Weltkrieges 1914*. By Anthony Di Iorio 1320
- ENRICA COSTA BONA. *Helsinki-Ginevra: Dicembre 1939–Marzo 1940; La guerra d'inverno e la società delle nazioni*. By William C. Askew 1321
- WENDY GRISWOLD. *Renaissance Revivals: City Comedy and Revenge Tragedy in the London Theatre, 1576–1980*. By Ann Jennalie Cook 1322



- DIARMAID MACCULLOCH. *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County, 1500–1600.*  
By Joel Berlatsky 1323
- R. MALCOLM SMUTS. *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England.* By Lauro Martinez 1323
- JOHN MORGAN. *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes toward Reason, Learning, and Education, 1560–1640.*  
By F. J. Levy 1324
- JOHN VON ROHR. *The Covenant of Grace in Puritan Thought.*  
By David Zaret 1325
- TAI LIU. *Puritan London: A Study of Religion and Society in the City Parishes.* By Paul Seaver 1325
- LLOYD BONFIELD. *Marriage Settlements, 1601–1740: The Adoption of the Strict Settlement.* By Eileen Spring 1326
- ROBIN F. A. FABEL. *Bombast and Broadides: The Lives of George Johnstone.* By John D. Born, Jr. 1327
- SEYMOUR DRESCHER. *Capitalism and AntiSlavery: British Mobilization in Comparative Perspective.* By Jacob M. Price 1327
- JOHN KNOTT. *Popular Opposition to the 1834 Poor Law.*  
By Anthony Brundage 1328
- D. D. DEVLIN. *The Novels and Journals of Fanny Burney.*  
By Jean E. Hunter 1329
- ROBERT M. YOUNG. *Darwin's Metaphor: Nature's Place in Victorian Culture.* By Robert C. Bannister 1329
- PHILIPPA LEVINE. *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians, and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838–1886.* By Christopher A. Kent 1330
- BERNARD PORTER. *The Origins of the Vigilant State: The London Metropolitan Police Special Branch before the First World War.*  
By Phillip Thurmond Smith 1330
- SANDRA STANLEY HOLTON. *Feminism and Democracy: Women's Suffrage and Reform Politics in Britain, 1900–1918.*  
By Ellen Ross 1331
- MALCOLM COOPER. *The Birth of Independent Air Power: British Air Policy in the First World War.* By R. J. Q. Adams 1332
- STEPHEN HARTLEY. *The Irish Question as a Problem in British Foreign Policy, 1914–18.* By F. M. Carroll 1333
- GUSTAV SCHMIDT. *The Politics and Economics of Appeasement: British Foreign Policy in the 1930s.* By Zara Steiner 1333
- KEITH MIDDLEMAS. *Power, Competition, and the State. Volume 1, Britain in Search of Balance, 1940–61.*  
By Bentley Brinkerhoff Gilbert 1334
- HENRY BUTTERFIELD RYAN. *The Vision of Anglo-America: The U.S.-U.K. Alliance and the Emerging Cold War, 1943–1946.*  
By Fraser Harbutt 1335
- WILLIAM JACKSON. *Withdrawal from Empire: A Military View.*  
By Donald S. Birn 1335
- MICHAEL R. BONAVIA. *The Nationalisation of British Transport: The Early History of the British Transport Commission, 1948–53.*  
By Derek H. Aldcroft 1336
- T. R. GOURVISH. *British Railways, 1948–73: A Business History.*  
By Gerard M. Koot 1337
- PAUL SWANN. *The Hollywood Feature Film in Postwar Britain.*  
By Garth S. Jowett 1338
- MARGARET H. B. SANDERSON. *Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton, c. 1494–1546.* By Gordon Donaldson 1339
- RICHARD GLEN EAVES. *Henry VIII and James V's Regency, 1524–1528: A Study in Anglo-Scottish Diplomacy.*  
By Stanford E. Lehmberg 1339
- JOSEF W. KONVITZ. *Cartography in France, 1660–1848: Science, Engineering, and Statecraft.* By J. B. Harley 1340
- ALBERT N. HAMSCHER. *The Conseil Privé and the Parlements in the Age of Louis XIV: A Study in French Absolutism.*  
By Orest Ranum 1341
- DANIEL ROCHE. *The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century.*  
By Robert M. Isherwood 1341
- ALAN B. SPITZER. *The French Generation of 1820.*  
By Peter H. Amann 1342
- JANE F. FULCHER. *The Nation's Image: French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art.* By William Weber 1343
- MIRIAM R. LEVIN. *Republican Art and Ideology in Late Nineteenth-Century France.* By Robert J. Bezucha 1344
- MEREDITH L. CLAUSEN. *Frantz Jourdain and the Samaritaine: Art Nouveau Theory and Criticism.* By Michael Miller 1344
- THEODORE ROPP. *The Development of a Modern Navy: French Naval Policy, 1871–1904.* By Paul G. Halpern 1345
- CLAIRE ANDRIEU et al., editors. *Les nationalisations de la Libération: De l'utopie au compromis.*  
By Richard F. Kuisel 1346
- MIGUEL ARTOLA. *La Hacienda del siglo XIX: Progresistas y moderados.* By A. Gómez-Mendoza 1347
- CATHARINA LIS. *Social Change and the Labouring Poor: Antwerp, 1770–1860.* By Myron P. Gutmann 1347
- BIRGIT BJERRE JENSEN. *Udnævnelsesretten i enevældens magtpolitiske system 1660–1730 [The Right of Appointment in the Power Politics of Danish Absolutism, 1660–1730].*  
By Leland Sather 1348
- JONAS FRYKMAN and ORVAR LÖFGREN. *Culture Builders: A Historical Anthropology of Middle-Class Life.*  
By Caroline B. Brettell 1349
- TUOMO POLVINEN. *Finland between East and West: Finland in International Politics, 1944–1947.* By Trond Gilberg 1350
- ALOIS SCHMID. *Max III. Joseph und die europäischen Mächte: Die Aussenpolitik des Kurfürstentums Bayern von 1745–1765.*  
By Charles Ingrao 1351
- SHLOMO NA'AMAN. *Der Deutsche Nationalverein: Die politische Konstituierung des deutschen Bürgertums 1859–1867.*  
By Dan S. White 1351
- JACK WERTHEIMER. *Unwelcome Strangers: East European Jews in Imperial Germany.* By Donald L. Niewyk 1352
- J. ALDEN NICHOLS. *The Year of the Three Kaisers: Bismarck and the German Succession, 1887–88.* By Peter Bergmann 1353
- DONALD E. THOMAS, JR. *Diesel: Technology and Society in Industrial Germany.* By Kenneth Barkin 1353
- ANSELM FAUST. *Arbeitsmarktpolitik im deutschen Kaiserreich: Arbeitsvermittlung, Arbeitsbeschaffung und Arbeitslosenunterstützung 1890–1918.* By Elaine Glovka Spencer 1354
- RAINER ZITELMANN. *Hitler: Selbstverständnis eines Revolutionärs.* By Bradley F. Smith 1355
- GEOFFREY STOAKES. *Hitler and the Quest for World Dominion.*  
By Gerhard L. Weinberg 1355
- HEIDRUN KAUPEN-HAAS, editor. *Der Griff nach der Bevölkerung: Aktualität und Kontinuität nazistischer Bevölkerungspolitik.* By Michael H. Kater 1356
- STEFAN KÖNIG. *Vom Dienst am Recht: Rechtsanwälte als Strafverteidiger im Nationalsozialismus.*  
By Donald M. McKale 1357
- DEITLEY J. K. PEUKERT and FRANK BAJOHRT. *Spuren des Widerstands: Die Bergarbeiterbewegung im Dritten Reich und im Exil: Mit Dokumenten aus dem IISG Amsterdam.*  
By Robert Gellately 1358

HANS WOLLER. *Gesellschaft und Politik in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone: Die Region Ansbach und Fürth.*  
By G. N. Peterson 1358

PETER BURKE. *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication.*  
By Samuel Cohn, Jr. 1359

GIAN PAOLO BRIZZI, editor. *Il catechismo e la grammatica. Volume 2, Istituzioni scolastiche e riforme nell'area Emiliana e Romagna nel '700.* By Samuel J. Miller 1360

T. J. WINNIFRITH. *The Vlachs: The History of a Balkan People.*  
By Traian Stoianovich 1361

JANUSZ TAZBIR. *La république nobilaire et le monde: Etudes sur l'histoire de la culture polonaise à l'époque du baroque;* JANUSZ TAZBIR. *Spotkania z historią* [Encounters with History]; JANUSZ TAZBIR. *Świat Panów Pasków: Eseje i studia* [The World of Polish Nobles: Essays and Studies].  
By Adam A. Hetnal 1362

DEREK BEALES. *Joseph II. Volume I, In the Shadow of Maria Theresa, 1741–1780.* By Karl A. Roider, Jr. 1363

RAPHAEL MAHLER. *Hasidism and the Jewish Enlightenment: Their Confrontation in Galicia and Poland in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century.* By Paul R. Magocsi 1364

KARL M. BROUSEK. *Die Grossindustrie Böhmens 1848–1918.*  
By John Komlos 1364

BRIGITTE HAMANN. *Bertha von Suttner: Ein Leben für den Frieden.* By Peter Brock 1365

ADAM BROMKE. *The Meaning and Uses of Polish History.*  
By Richard Blanke 1365

R. J. CRAMPTON. *A Short History of Modern Bulgaria.*  
By Joseph Rothschild 1366

IVAN L. BOEV. *Balkanite v globalnata politika na SA.Sh., 1945–1975* [The Balkans in the Global Policy of the U.S.A., 1945–75]. By Duncan M. Perry 1367

TOIVO U. RAUN. *Estonia and the Estonians.*  
By Pekka Kalevi Hamalainen 1367

N. E. BEKMAKHANOVA. *Mnogonatsional'noe naselenie Kazakhstana i Kirgizii v epokhu kapitalizma (60-e gody XIX v.–1917 g.)* [The Multinational Population of Kazakhstan and Kirgizia in the Age of Capitalism, from the 1860s to 1917].  
By Azade-Ayse Rorlich 1368

ANDREAS MORITSCH. *Landwirtschaft und Agrarpolitik in Russland vor der Revolution.* By John Bushnell 1369

RICHARD ABRAHAM. *Alexander Kerensky: The First Love of the Revolution.* By Robert H. McNeal 1369

DIETRICH GEYER. *The Russian Revolution: Historical Problems and Perspectives.* By John Keep 1370

#### NEAR EAST

VERA BASCH MOREEN. *Iranian Jewry's Hour of Peril and Heroism: A Study of Bābāi ibn Lutf's Chronicle (1617–1662).*  
By Norman A. Stillman 1371

NORMAN N. LEWIS. *Nomads and Settlers in Syria and Jordan, 1800–1980.* By Mary C. Wilson 1371

PHILIP S. KHOURY. *Syria and the French Mandate: The Politics of Arab Nationalism.* By Malcolm B. Russell 1372

#### AFRICA

WILL D. SWEARINGEN. *Moroccan Mirages: Agrarian Dreams and Deceptions, 1912–1986.* By Robert L. Tignor 1373

CHRIS PROUTY. *Empress Taytu and Menilek II: Ethiopia, 1883–1910.* By James C. McCann 1374

HAROLD G. MARCUS. *Haile Sellassie I: The Formative Years, 1892–1936.* By Robert O. Collins 1375

#### ASIA AND THE EAST

FRANZ MICHAEL. *China through the Ages: History of a Civilization.* By C. T. Hu 1375

ROBERT P. HYMES. *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-Chou, Chiang-Hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung.*  
By Jing-Shen Tao 1376

ANDREW D. W. FORBES. *Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia: A Political History of Republican Sinkiang, 1911–1949.* By Robert H. G. Lee 1377

*Mao Zedong: Biography, Assessment, Reminiscences.*  
By James P. Harrison 1378

MARCIA R. RISTAINO. *China's Art of Revolution: The Mobilization of Discontent, 1927 and 1928.*  
By S. Bernard Thomas 1379

JOSHUA A. FOGEL. *Ai Ssu-chi's Contribution to the Development of Chinese Marxism.* By Jerome Ch'en 1380

LOWELL DITTMER. *China's Continuous Revolution: The Post-Liberation Epoch, 1949–1981.* By Edward Friedman 1380

FRANÇOIS GIPOULOUX. *Les Cents Fleurs à l'Usine: Agitation ouvrière et crise du modèle soviétique en Chine 1956–1957.*  
By Steven I. Levine 1381

ELLIS JOFFE. *The Chinese Army after Mao.*  
By J. Chester Cheng 1382

J. VICTOR KOSCHMANN. *The Mito Ideology: Discourse, Reform, and Insurrection in Late Tokugawa Japan, 1790–1864.*  
By Klaus Kracht 1382

SHARON H. NOLTE. *Liberalism in Modern Japan: Ishibashi Tanzan and His Teachers, 1905–1960.*  
By Sharon Minichiello 1383

ROSIE LLEWELLYN-JONES. *A Fatal Friendship: The Nawabs, the British, and the City of Lucknow.* By Mark Naidis 1384

K. M. DE SILVA. *Managing Ethnic Tensions in Multi-Ethnic Societies: Sri Lanka, 1880–1985.* By Tissa Fernando 1384

HILARY L. RUBINSTEIN. *Chosen: The Jews in Australia.*  
By Michael Blakeney 1385

#### UNITED STATES

DERRICK BELL. *And We Are Not Saved: The Elusive Quest for Racial Justice.* By Mark V. Tushnet 1386

PATRICIA NELSON LIMERICK. *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West.*  
By Joseph C. Porter 1387

CLIFFORD E. TRAFZER and RICHARD D. SCHEUERMAN. *Renegade Tribe: The Palouse Indians and the Invasion of the Inland Pacific Northwest.* By Herbert T. Hoover 1387

RODGER CUNNINGHAM. *Apples on the Flood: The Southern Mountain Experience.* By David E. Whisnant 1388

MICHAEL B. KATZ. *Reconstructing American Education.*  
By Jurgen Herbst 1389

HELEN LEFKOWITZ HOROWITZ. *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present.*  
By Paula S. Fass 1389

LLOYD P. JORGENSEN. *The State and the Non-Public School, 1825–1925.* By William J. Reese 1390

MARGARET HOPE BACON. *Mothers of Feminism: The Story of Quaker Women in America.* By Jean E. Friedman 1391

- MICHAEL PAUL ROGIN. *Ronald Reagan, the Movie, and Other Episodes in Political Demonology*. By John H. Lenihan 1392
- THOMAS BENDER. *New York Intellect: A History of Intellectual Life in New York City, from 1750 to the Beginnings of Our Own Time*. By Hamilton Cravens 1392
- LAWRENCE J. MCCAFFREY *et al.* *The Irish in Chicago*. By Kerby A. Miller 1393
- JAMES W. BRADLEY. *Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois: Accommodating Change, 1500–1655*. By Neal Salisbury 1394
- JAMES TRAPIER LOWE. *Our Colonial Heritage: Diplomatic and Military*. By Daniel G. Lang 1395
- GAY WILSON ALLEN and ROGER ASSELINEAU. *St. John de Crèvecoeur: The Life of an American Farmer*. By Marcus Cunliffe 1395
- PETER S. ONUF. *Statehood and Union: A History of the Northwest Ordinance*. By Reginald Horsman 1396
- ROBIN W. DOUGHTY. *At Home in Texas: Early Views of the Land*. By Kristine Fredriksson 1396
- ROBERT WOOSTER. *Soldiers, Sutlers, and Settlers: Garrison Life on the Texas Frontier*. By Randolph B. Campbell 1397
- STERLING STUCKEY. *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America*. By Wilson J. Moses 1397
- ELLIOTT J. GORN. *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America*. By Roy Rosenzweig 1398
- TAMARA MINER HAYGOOD. *Henry William Ravenel, 1814–1887: South Carolina Scientist in the Civil War*. By Sally Gregory Kohlstedt 1399
- JAMES B. ALLEN. *Trials of Discipleship: The Story of William Clayton, a Mormon*. By Stanley B. Kimball 1400
- HAROLD B. RASER. *Phoebe Palmer: Her Life and Thought*. By George M. Marsden 1400
- SUSAN E. CAYLEFF. *Wash and Be Healed: The Water-Cure Movement and Women's Health*. By Nancy J. Toimes 1401
- PAUL H. BERGERON. *The Presidency of James K. Polk*. By Joel H. Silbey 1402
- WILLIAM E. GIENAPP. *The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852–1856*. By Johanna Nicol Shields 1402
- HELEN P. TRIMPI. *Melville's Confidence Men and American Politics in the 1850s*. By Phyllis F. Field 1403
- DON E. FEHRENBACHER. *Lincoln in Text and Context: Collected Essays*. By Gabor S. Boritt 1404
- FREDERICK J. BLUE. *Salmon P. Chase: A Life in Politics*. By Richard H. Abbott 1404
- LEWIS NICHOLAS WYNNE. *The Continuity of Cotton: Planter Politics in Georgia, 1865–1892*. By Steven Hahn 1405
- HOMER E. SOCOLOFSKY and ALLAN B. SPETTER. *The Presidency of Benjamin Harrison*. By John M. Dobson 1406
- VINCENT P. CAROSSO. *The Morgans: Private International Bankers, 1845–1913*. By Maury Klein 1406
- JACOB ADLER and ROBERT M. KAMINS. *The Fantastic Life of Walter Murray Gibson: Hawaii's Minister of Everything*. By James A. Zimmerman 1407
- BESS BEATTY. *A Revolution Gone Backward: The Black Response to National Politics, 1876–1896*. By Charles Vincent 1408
- CHARLES A. LOFGREN. *The Plessy Case: A Legal-Historical Interpretation*. By James C. Duram 1408
- SUCHENG CHAN. *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860–1910*. By Stuart Creighton Miller 1409
- JUNE GRANATIR ALEXANDER. *The Immigrant Church and Community: Pittsburgh's Slovak Catholics and Lutherans, 1880–1915*. By Edward R. Kantowicz 1410
- PETER J. COLEMAN. *Progressivism and the World of Reform: New Zealand and the Origins of the American Welfare State*. By Robert F. Wessler 1410
- BRUCE CLAYTON and JOHN A. SALMOND, editors. *The South Is Another Land: Essays on the Twentieth-Century South*. By Virginia V. Hamilton 1411
- JAMES R. BARRETT. *Work and Community in the Jungle: Chicago's Packinghouse Workers, 1894–1922*. By Roger D. Simon 1412
- PATRICIA A. COOPER. *Once a Cigar Maker: Men, Women, and Work Culture in American Cigar Factories, 1900–1919*. By Richard Oestreicher 1412
- RICHARD W. TURK. *The Ambiguous Relationship: Theodore Roosevelt and Alfred Thayer Mahan*. By Paolo E. Coletta 1413
- SUSAN WARE. *Partner and I: Molly Dewson, Feminism, and New Deal Politics*. By Elisabeth Israels Perry 1414
- STANLEY VITTOZ. *New Deal Labor Policy and the American Industrial Economy*. By Theodore Rosenof 1414
- BARTON C. HACKER. *The Dragon's Tail: Radiation Safety in the Manhattan Project, 1942–1946*. By Charles W. Johnson 1415
- JESSE H. STILLER. *George S. Messersmith: Diplomat of Democracy*. By Ralph F. De Bedts 1415
- JUNE M. GRASSO. *Truman's Two-China Policy, 1948–1950*. By Warren I. Cohen 1416
- MARK V. TUSHNET. *The NAACP's Legal Strategy against Segregated Education, 1925–1950*. By Raymond Wolters 1417
- CHARLES W. EAGLES, editor. *The Civil Rights Movement in America*. By Mary Aickin Rothschild 1418
- DAVID J. GARROW. *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference*. By Robert J. Norrell 1418
- ADAM FAIRCLOUGH. *To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr.* By Hugh Davis Graham 1419
- STEVEN M. GILLON. *Politics and Vision: The ADA and American Liberalism, 1947–1985*. By Dean Albertson 1420
- RUSSELL JACOBY. *The Last Intellectuals: American Culture in the Age of Academe*. By Maurice Isserman 1421
- NEIL D. MCFEELEY. *Appointment of Judges: The Johnson Presidency*. By Carol E. Jenson 1421
- DONALD L. ROBINSON. *"To the Best of My Ability": The Presidency and the Constitution*. By Kermit L. Hall 1422
- DIANNE M. PINDERHUGHES. *Race and Ethnicity in Chicago Politics: A Reexamination of Pluralist Theory*. By Richard J. Meister 1423

## CANADA

MARCEL GIRAUD. *The Métis in the Canadian West*. In two volumes. By Jean Friesen 1423

JAY CASSEL. *The Secret Plague: Venereal Disease in Canada, 1838–1939*. By Suzann Buckley 1424

CHAD GAFFIELD. *Language, Schooling, and Cultural Conflict: The Origins of the French-Language Controversy in Ontario*. By Raymond Huel 1425

ROBERT BOTHWELL *et al.* *Canada, 1900–1945.*

By Donald Swainson

1426

DESMOND MORTON and GLENN WRIGHT. *Winning the Second Battle: Canadian Veterans and the Return to Civilian Life, 1915–1930.* By George Egerton

1426

JOSEPH T. JOCKEL. *No Boundaries Upstairs: Canada, the United States, and the Origins of North American Air Defense, 1945–1958.* By Michael S. Sherry

1427

## LATIN AMERICA

LESLIE BETHELL, editor. *The Cambridge History of Latin America.* Volume 3, *From Independence to c. 1870.*

By Christon I. Archer

1428

PAUL FRIEDRICH. *The Princes of Naranja: An Essay in Anthrohistorical Method.* By Alan Knight

1429

Collected Essays 1431

Documents and Bibliographies 1440

Other Books Received 1443

Communications 1449

Index of Advertisers 58(a)

## Contributors

**David Herlihy** is Mary Critchfield and Barnaby Keeney Professor at Brown University, where he has taught since 1986. He is the author of several books on European history and a former member of the Board of Editors of the *AHR*.

**John E. O'Connor**, professor of history at the New Jersey Institute of Technology, is editor of the journal *Film and History*. He has written and edited books on early American history and on the historical study of film and television, including *William Paterson: Lawyer and Statesman, 1745–1806* (1979), *American History/American Film: Interpreting the Hollywood Image* (1979; 2d rev. edn., 1988), and *American History/American Television: Interpreting the Video Past* (1983).

**Robert A. Rosenstone**, professor of history at the California Institute of Technology, is author of *Crusade of the Left: The Lincoln Battalion in the Spanish Civil War* (1969), *Romantic Revolutionary: A Biography of John Reed* (1975), and *Mirror in the Shrine: American Encounters in Meiji Japan* (1988). His involvement in two motion pictures—as historical consultant for *Reds* and adviser and narration writer for *The Good Fight*—spurred his interest in the problems and possibilities of representing history on film. Currently, Professor Rosenstone is doing further research on the topic and elaborating the ideas in the article in this issue into a book-length work to be titled *History in Images/History in Words: The Challenge of the Visual Media to Our Idea of the Past*.

**Alan E. Samuel** is professor of Greek and Roman history at the University of Toronto. He has published editions of Greek papyri, was the founding editor of the *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, and has served as president of that society. He has written extensively on social and economic issues in the period after Alexander the Great, as well as on Alexander himself. His most recent book, *The Promise of the West*, just published by Routledge (1988), is a study of the ancient development of those aspects of Western ideology that originated in antiquity.

**James A. Sandos** is associate professor of history at the University of Redlands in California. He studied the his-

tory of New Spain and Mexico at the University of California, Berkeley, where he earned the doctorate under the direction of Woodrow Borah in 1978. Since joining the faculty at Redlands in 1981, he has studied Spanish conversion activities in Alta California from an ethnohistorical perspective and is working on an evaluation of Serra's life as mythistory from Spanish, Indian, and American viewpoints. He gave an earlier version of some of this material on October 17, 1987, as an invited paper at the Third Conference on the California Indian, held at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History.

**Robert Brent Toplin** is a professor of history at the University of North Carolina at Wilmington. He received his Ph.D. from Rutgers University, where he worked under Samuel L. Baily. Professor Toplin is the editor of film reviews for the *Journal of American History*, and he was Project Director for three dramas dealing with American history that appeared nationally on PBS television: *Denmark Vesey's Rebellion* (1982), *Solomon Northup's Odyssey* (1984), and *Charlotte Forten's Mission* (1985). He is the author of *The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil* (1982) and the editor of *Slavery and Race Relations in Latin America* (1974). Currently, he is at work on a book-length study of the treatment of American history in film and television.

**Hayden White** is professor of the History of Consciousness at the University of California, Santa Cruz. Trained as a cultural historian, he has specialized recently in the study of historical discourse as a cultural phenomenon. He is the author of *Metahistory* (1973), *Tropics of Discourse* (1978), and *The Content of the Form* (1987), all published by the Johns Hopkins University Press. He is currently working on the theory of narrative in realistic representation.

**Bertram Wyatt-Brown** is Richard J. Milbauer Professor of History at the University of Florida, Gainesville. His books include *Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War against Slavery* (1969), *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (1982), and *Yankee Saints and Southern Sinners* (1985). He has a book-length study in progress entitled *The Percy Legend: Tragedy and Triumph in a Southern Family*.



---

*AHR Forum*  
History in Images/History in Words:  
Reflections on the Possibility of  
Really Putting History onto Film

---

ROBERT A. ROSENSTONE

FOR AN ACADEMIC HISTORIAN TO BECOME INVOLVED IN THE WORLD OF motion pictures is at once an exhilarating and disturbing experience. Exhilarating for all the obvious reasons: the power of the visual media; the opportunity to emerge from the lonely depths of the library to join with other human beings in a common enterprise; the delicious thought of a potentially large audience for the fruits of one's research, analysis, and writing. Disturbing for equally obvious reasons: no matter how serious or honest the filmmakers, and no matter how deeply committed they are to rendering the subject faithfully, the history that finally appears on the screen can never fully satisfy the historian as historian (although it may satisfy the historian as filmgoer). Inevitably, something happens on the way from the page to the screen that changes the meaning of the past as it is understood by those of us who work in words.

The disturbance caused by working on a film lingers long after the exhilaration has vanished. Like all such disturbances, this one can provoke a search for ideas to help restore one's sense of intellectual equilibrium. In my case, the search may have been particularly intense because I had a double dose of this experience—two of my major written works have been put onto film, and both times I have been to some extent involved in the process.

The two films were almost as different as films can be. One was a dramatic feature and the other a documentary; one was a fifty-million-dollar Hollywood project and the other a quarter-million-dollar work funded largely with public money; one was pitched at the largest of mass audiences and the other at the more elite audience of public television and art houses. Despite these differences, vast and similar changes happened to the history in each production, changes that have led me to a new appreciation of the problems of putting history onto film. After these experiences, I no longer find it possible to blame the shortcomings of historical films either on the evils of Hollywood or the woeful effects of low budgets, on the limits of the dramatic genre or those of the documentary format. The most serious problems the historian has with the past on the screen arise out of the nature and demands of the visual medium itself.

The two films are *Reds* (1982), the story of the last five years in the life of American poet, journalist, and revolutionary, John Reed; and *The Good Fight*

(1984), a chronicle of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the American volunteers who took part in the Spanish Civil War. Each is a well-made, emotion-filled work that has exposed a vast number of people to an important but long-buried historical subject, one previously known largely to specialists or to old leftists. Each brings to the screen a wealth of authentic historical detail. Each humanizes the past, turning long-suspect radicals into admirable human beings. Each proposes—if a bit indirectly—an interpretation of its subject, seeing political commitment as both a personal and historical category. Each connects past to present by suggesting that the health of the body politic and, indeed, the world depends on such recurrent commitments.

Despite their very real virtues, their evocations of the past through powerful images, colorful characters, and moving words, neither of these motion pictures can fulfill many of the basic demands for truth and verifiability used by all historians. *Reds* indulges in overt fiction—to give just two examples—by putting John Reed in places where he never was or having him make an impossible train journey from France to Petrograd in 1917.<sup>1</sup> *The Good Fight*—like many recent documentaries—equates memory with history; it allows veterans of the Spanish war to speak of events more than four decades in the past without calling their misremembrances, mistakes, or outright fabrications into question.<sup>2</sup> And yet neither fictionalization nor unchecked testimony is the major reason that these films violate my notion of history. Far more unsettling is the way each compresses the past to a closed world by telling a single, linear story with, essentially, a single interpretation. Such a narrative strategy obviously denies historical alternatives, does away with complexities of motivation or causation, and banishes all subtlety from the world of history.

This sort of criticism of history on film might be of no importance if we did not live in a world deluged with images, one in which people increasingly receive their ideas about the past from motion pictures and television, from feature films, docudramas, mini-series, and network documentaries. Today, the chief source of historical knowledge for the majority of the population—outside of the much-despised textbook—must surely be the visual media, a set of institutions that lie almost wholly outside the control of those of us who devote our lives to history.<sup>3</sup> Any reasonable extrapolation suggests that trend will continue. Certainly, it is not farfetched to foresee a time (are we almost there?) when written history will be a kind of esoteric pursuit and when historians will be viewed as the priests of a mysterious religion, commentators on sacred texts and performers of rituals for

<sup>1</sup> A fuller discussion of the historical shortcomings of *Reds* can be found in my “*Reds* as History,” *Reviews in American History*, 10 (1982): 297–310.

<sup>2</sup> A fuller discussion of the historical shortcomings of *The Good Fight* is in my paper, “History, Memory, Documentary: ‘The Good Fight’ Fifty Years After,” delivered at a symposium entitled “The Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the Spanish Civil War: History, Memory and the Politics and Culture of the 1930s,” National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., December 5, 1986.

<sup>3</sup> A few historians such as Daniel Walkowitz, Robert Brent Toplin, and R. J. Raack have become deeply involved in filmmaking projects. For an interesting insight into some of the problems of the historian as filmmaker, see Daniel Walkowitz, “Visual History: The Craft of the Historian-Filmmaker,” *Public Historian*, 7 (1985): 53–64.

a populace little interested in their meaning but indulgent enough (let us hope) to pay for them to continue.

To think of the ever-growing power of the visual media is to raise the disturbing thought that perhaps history is dead in the way God is dead. Or, at the most, alive only to believers—that is, to those of us who pursue it as a profession. Surely, I am not the only one to wonder if those we teach or the population at large truly know or care about history, the kind of history that we do. Or to wonder if our history—scholarly, scientific, measured—fulfills the need for that larger History, that web of connections to the past that holds a culture together, that tells us not only where we have been but also suggests where we are going. Or to worry if our history actually relates us to our own cultural sources, tells us what we need to know about other traditions, and provides enough understanding of what it is to be human.

Perhaps it seems odd to raise such questions at this time, after two decades of repeated methodological breakthroughs in history, innovations that have taught us to look at the past in so many new ways and have generated so much new information. The widespread influence of the *Annales* school, the new social history, quantification and social science history, women's history, psychohistory, anthropological history, the first inroads of Continental theory into a reviving intellectual history—all these developments indicate that the history as a discipline is flourishing. But—and it is a big BUT, a BUT that can be insisted on despite the much discussed “revival of narrative”—it is clear that at the same time there is a rapidly shrinking general audience for the information we have to deliver and the sort of stories we have to tell. Despite the success of our new methodologies, I fear that as a profession we know less and less how to tell stories that situate us meaningfully in a value-laden world. Stories that matter to people outside our profession. Stories that matter to people inside the profession. Stories that matter at all.

Enter film: the great temptation. Film, the contemporary medium still capable of both dealing with the past and holding a large audience. How can we not suspect that this is the medium to use to create narrative histories that will touch large numbers of people. Yet is this dream possible? Can one really put history onto film, history that will satisfy those of us who devote our lives to understanding, analyzing, and recreating the past in words? Or does the use of film necessitate a change in what we mean by history, and would we be willing to make such a change? The issue comes down to this: is it possible to tell historical stories on film and not lose our professional or intellectual souls?

THIRTY YEARS AGO, SIEGFRIED KRACAUER, a theoretician of both film and history, dismissed the historical feature as stagey and theatrical, in part because modern actors looked unconvincing in period costumes, but in larger measure because everyone knew—he argued—that what was on the screen was not the past but only an imitation of it.<sup>4</sup> If he neglected to deal with the equally obvious shortcoming

<sup>4</sup> Siegfried Kracauer, *Theory of Film* (New York, 1960), 77–79.

of written history, or to explain why we so easily accept the convention that words on a page are adequate to the task of showing us the past, Kracauer at least took a stab at the theoretical problems of history on film. This is more than one can say of recent scholars. Despite a great deal of professional activity concerning history and the visual media—the articles and monographs, the panels at major conventions, the symposiums sponsored by the American Historical Association, New York University, and the California Historical Society—I have encountered but two discussions of what seems a most basic question: whether our written discourse can be turned into a visual one.<sup>5</sup>

R. J. Raack, a historian who has been involved in the production of several documentaries, is a strong advocate of putting history onto film. Indeed, in his view, film is possibly a more appropriate medium for history than the written word. “Traditional written history,” he argued, is too linear and too narrow in focus to render the fullness of the complex, multi-dimensional world in which humans live. Only film, with its ability to juxtapose images and sounds, with its “quick cuts to new sequences, dissolves, fades, speed-ups, [and] slow motion,” can ever hope to approximate real life, the daily experience of “ideas, words, images, preoccupations, distractions, sensory deceptions, conscious and unconscious motives and emotions.” Only film can provide an adequate “empathetic reconstruction to convey how historical people witnessed, understood, and lived their lives.” Only film can “recover all the past’s liveliness.”<sup>6</sup>

Philosopher Ian Jarvie, the author of two books on motion pictures and society, took an entirely opposite view. The moving image carries such a “poor information load” and suffers from such “discursive weakness” that there is no way to do meaningful history on film. History, he explained, does not consist primarily of “a descriptive narrative of what actually happened.” It consists mostly of “debates between historians about just what exactly did happen, why it happened, and what would be an adequate account of its significance.” While it is true that a “historian could *embody* his view in a film, just as he could embody it in a play,” the real question is this: “How could he defend it, footnote it, rebut objections and criticize the opposition?”<sup>7</sup>

Clearly, history is a different creature for each of these two scholars. Raack saw history as a way of gaining personal knowledge. Through the experience of people’s lives in other times and places, one can achieve a kind of “psychological prophylaxis.” History lets us feel less peculiar and isolated; by showing that there are others like us, it helps to relieve our “loneliness and alienation.”<sup>8</sup> This is hardly the traditional academic view of the subject, but if one looks at history as a personal,

<sup>5</sup> By now, any list of articles, books, and panels on film would be very long. Perhaps the most important symposiums were the ones at New York University on October 30, 1982, and in Washington, D.C., in April–May 1985, sponsored by the AHA. The former resulted in Barbara Abrash and Janet Sternberg, eds., *Historians and Filmmakers: Toward Collaboration* (New York, 1983), and the latter in John O’Connor, ed., *Image as Artifact: The Historical Analysis of Film and Television* (forthcoming).

<sup>6</sup> R. J. Raack, “Historiography as Cinematography: A Prolegomenon to Film Work for Historians,” *Journal of Contemporary History*, 18 (July 1983): 416, 418.

<sup>7</sup> I. C. Jarvie, “Seeing through Movies,” *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 8 (1978): 378.

<sup>8</sup> Raack, “History as Cinematography,” 416.



experiential way of knowing, then Raack's arguments seem to make sense. He is certainly right that, more easily than the written word, the motion picture seems to let us stare through a window directly at past events, to experience people and places as if we were there. The huge images on the screen and the wraparound sounds overwhelm us, swamp our senses, and destroy attempts to remain aloof, distanced, critical. In the movie theater, we are, for a time, prisoners of history.

That, for Jarvie, is just the problem: a world that moves at an unrelenting twenty-four frames a second provides no time or space for reflection, verification, or debate. One may be able to tell "interesting, enlightening, and plausible" historical stories on the screen, but it is not possible to provide the all-important critical elements of historical discourse: evaluation of sources, logical argument, or systematic weighing of evidence. With those elements missing, one has history that is "no more serious than Shakespeare's Tudor-inspired travesties." This means that virtually all filmed history has been "a joke," and a dangerous one at that. A motion picture may provide a "vivid portrayal" of the past, but its inaccuracies and simplifications are practically impossible for the serious scholar "to correct."<sup>9</sup>

If most academic historians are likely to feel closer to Jarvie than to Raack, it is still necessary to ask to what extent his arguments are true. Take the notion that the "information load" of film is impoverished. Surely, this depends on what one means by "information," for in its own way film carries an enormously rich load of data. Some scholars claim not only that an image of a scene contains much more information than the written description of the same scene but also that this information has a much higher degree of detail and specificity.<sup>10</sup> One does not need to be an expert to discover this—all one need do is attempt to render into words everything that might appear in a single shot from a movie like *Reds*. Such an assignment could easily fill many pages, and if this is the case with a single shot, how much more space would be needed to describe what goes on in a sequence of images? The question thus becomes not whether film can carry enough information but whether that information can be absorbed from quickly moving images, is worth knowing, and can add up to "history."

What about Jarvie's assertion that history is mainly "debates between historians"? Scholars do continually disagree over how to understand and interpret the data of the past, and their debates are important for the progress of the discipline—one might even say that debates help to set the agenda for research by raising new issues, defining fields, refining questions, and forcing historians to check each other's accuracy and logic. And it is true that each and every work of history takes its place in a discourse that consists of preexisting debates, and the very meaning of any new work is in part created by those debates, even if they are not acknowledged within the work itself.

<sup>9</sup> Jarvie, "Seeing through Movies," 378.

<sup>10</sup> Seymour Chatman, "What Novels Can Do That Films Can't (and Vice Versa)," *Critical Inquiry*, 7 (Winter 1980): 125–26.

The question for history on film, however, is not whether historians always, or usually, or even sometimes, debate issues, or whether works take their place in a context of ongoing debates, the question is whether each individual work of history is, or must be, involved in such debates and involved so overtly that the debate becomes part of the substance of the historical work. To this, the answer is no. We can all think of works that represent the past without ever pointing to the field of debates in which they are situated; we all know many excellent narrative histories and biographies that mute (or even moot) debates by ignoring them, or relegating them to appendices, or burying them deep within the storyline. If written texts can do this and still be considered history, surely an inability to “debate” issues cannot rule out the possibilities of history on film.

WHEN HISTORIANS THINK OF HISTORY ON FILM, what probably comes to mind is what we might call the Hollywood historical drama like *Reds*, or its European counterpart, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (1983)—the big-budget production in which costumes, “authentic” sets and locations, and well-known actors take precedence over attempts at historical accuracy. Such works in truth fall into a genre that one might label “historical romance.” Like all genres, this one locks both filmmaker and audience into a series of conventions whose demands—for a love interest, physical action, personal confrontation, movement toward a climax and denouement—are almost guaranteed to leave the historian of the period crying foul.

Yet this need not be so. In principle, there is no reason why one cannot make a dramatic feature set in the past about all kinds of historical topics—individual lives, community conflicts, social movements, the rise of a king to power, revolutions, or warfare—that will stay within the bounds of historical accuracy, at least to the extent that one need not resort to invented characters or incidents. If, by its very nature, the dramatic film will include human conflict and will shape its material in accordance with some conventions of storytelling, this does not entirely differentiate it from much written history. One may argue that film tends to highlight individuals rather than movements or the impersonal processes that are often the subject of written history, yet we must not forget that it is possible to make films that avoid the glorification of the individual and present the group as protagonist. This was certainly one of the aims and accomplishments of Soviet filmmakers in the 1920s in their search for non-bourgeois modes of representation. If the best known of their works—Sergei Eisenstein’s *Battleship Potemkin* (1925) and *October* (1927)—are for political reasons skewed as history, they certainly provide useful models for ways to present collective historical moments.

To represent history in a dramatic feature rather than a written text does involve some important trade-offs. The amount of traditional data that can be presented on the screen in a two-hour film (or even an eight-hour mini-series) will always be so skimpy compared to a written version covering the same ground that a professional historian may feel intellectually starved. Yet the inevitable thinning of data on the screen does not of itself make for poor history. On many historical

topics, one can find short and long and longer works, for the amount of detail used in a historical argument partakes of the arbitrary or is at least dependent on the aims of one's project. Jean-Denis Bredin's recent book, *L'Affaire* (1983), although four times as long, is no more "historical" than Nicholas Halasz's earlier *Captain Dreyfus* (1955), and Leon Edel's one-volume biography of Henry James (1985) no less "accurate" than his full five-volume version.

If short on traditional data, film does easily capture elements of life that we might wish to designate as another kind of data. Film lets us see landscapes, hear sounds, witness strong emotions as they are expressed with body and face, or view physical conflict between individuals and groups. Without denigrating the power of the written word, one can claim for each medium unique powers of representation. It seems, indeed, no exaggeration to insist that for a mass audience (and I suspect for an academic elite as well) film can most directly render the look and feel of all sorts of historical particulars and situations—farm workers dwarfed by immense western prairies and mountains, or miners struggling in the darkness of their pits, or millworkers moving to the rhythms of their machines, or civilians sitting hopelessly in the bombed-out streets of cities.<sup>11</sup> Film can plunge us into the drama of confrontations in courtroom or legislature, the simultaneous, overlapping realities of war and revolution, the intense confusion of men in battle. Yet, in doing all this, in favoring the visual and emotional data while simultaneously playing down the analytical, the motion picture is subtly—and in ways we do not yet know how to measure or describe—altering our very sense of the past.

THE OTHER MAJOR TYPE OF HISTORY ON FILM comes under the label of documentary. Whether it is the film compiled of old footage and narrated by an omniscient voice (the voice of History) or a film that centers on "talking heads" (survivors remembering events, experts analyzing them, or some combination of the two), the historical documentary, just like the dramatic feature, tends to focus on heroic individuals and, more important, to make sense of its material in terms of a story that moves from a beginning through a conflict to a dramatic resolution. This point cannot be too strongly emphasized. All too often, historians who scorn dramatizations are willing to accept the documentary film as a more accurate way of representing the past, as if somehow the images appear on the screen unmediated. Yet the documentary is never a direct reflection of an outside reality but a work consciously shaped into a narrative that—whether dealing with past or present—creates the meaning of the material being conveyed.

That the "truths" of a documentary are not reflected but created is easy to demonstrate. Take, for example, John Huston's famed *Battle of San Pietro* (1945), shot during the Italian campaign in 1944 with a single cameraman. In this film, as in any war documentary, when we see an image of an artillery piece firing followed by a shell exploding, we are viewing a reality created only by a film editor. This is not to say that the shell fired by the gun that we saw did not explode

<sup>11</sup> Pierre Sorlin argued the value of film in giving a feeling of certain kinds of settings in "Historical Films as Tools for Historians," in O'Connor, *Image as Artifact*.

somewhere or that the explosion did not look like the one that we saw on the screen. But, since no camera could follow the trajectory of a shell from gun to explosion, what we have in fact seen are images of two different events spliced together by an editor to create a single historical moment. And if this happens with such a simple scene, how much more does it mark complicated events shown to us in footage *actualité*.

As a form capable of conveying history, the documentary has other limits as well. Some of them are highlighted by my experience with *The Good Fight*. In writing narration for this film, I was frustrated by the directors in my attempt to include the issue of possible Stalinist “terrorism” in the ranks. Their objections were as follows: they could find no visual images to illustrate the issue and were adamant that the film not become static or talky; the topic was too complex to handle quickly, and the film—as all films—had so much good footage that it was already in danger of running too long. This decision to sacrifice complexity to action, one that virtually every documentarist would accept, underlines a convention of the genre: the documentary bows to a double tyranny—which is to say, an ideology—of the necessary image and perpetual movement. And woe to those aspects of history that can neither be illustrated nor quickly summarized.

The apparent glory of the documentary lies in its ability to open a direct window onto the past, allowing us to see the cities, factories, landscapes, battlefields, and leaders of an earlier time. But this ability also constitutes its chief danger. However often film uses actual footage (or still photos, or artifacts) from a particular time and place to create a “realistic” sense of the historical moment, we must remember that on the screen we see not the events themselves, and not the events as experienced or even as witnessed by participants, but selected images of those events carefully arranged into sequences to tell a story or to make an argument.

HISTORIANS CAN EASILY SEE HOW SUCH FILM CONVENTIONS of both the dramatic feature and the documentary shape or distort the past, in part because we have written work by which the piece of visual history can be judged. What we too easily ignore, however, is the extent to which written history, and especially narrative history, is also shaped by conventions of genre and language. This needs to be underscored. So many scholars have dealt with questions of narrative in recent years that “narratology” has become a separate field of study. Here I only wish to call to mind a few of their insights that seem relevant to history on film. First, neither people nor nations live historical “stories”; narratives, that is, coherent stories with beginnings, middles, and endings, are constructed by historians as part of their attempts to make sense of the past. Second, the narratives that historians write are in fact “verbal fictions”; written history is a representation of the past, not the past itself. Third, the nature of the historical world in a narrative is in part governed by the genre or mode (shared with forms of fiction) in which the historian has decided to cast the story—ironic, tragic, heroic, or romantic. And, fourth, language is not transparent and cannot mirror the past as it really was; rather than



reflecting it, language creates and structures history and imbues it with meaning.<sup>12</sup>

If written history is shaped by the conventions of genre and language, the same will obviously be true of visual history, even though in this case the conventions will be those of visual genres and visual language. To the extent that written narratives are "verbal fictions," then visual narratives will be "visual fictions"—that is, not mirrors of the past but representations of it. This is not to argue that history and fiction are the same thing or to excuse the kind of outright fabrication that marks Hollywood historical features. History on film must be held accountable to certain standards, but these standards must be consonant with the possibilities of the medium. It is impossible to judge history on film solely by the standards of written history, for each medium has its own kind of necessarily fictive elements.

Consider the following: in any dramatic feature, actors assume the roles of historical characters and provide them with gestures, movements, and voice sounds that create meaning. Sometimes, film must provide a face for the faceless, such as that South African railway conductor, undescribed in Gandhi's autobiography, who pushed the young Indian out of a train compartment for whites and started him on the road to activism. In such cases, certain "facts" about individuals must be created. Clearly, this is an act of fictionalizing, yet surely no real violence is done to history by such an addition to the written record, at least not so long as the "meaning" that the "impersonators" create somehow carries forth the larger "meaning" of the historical character whom they represent.

To begin to think about history on film not simply in comparison with written history but in terms of its own is not an easy task. Current theories of cinema—structuralist, semiotic, feminist, or Marxist—all seem too self-contained and hermetic, too uninterested in the flesh-and-blood content of the past, the lives and struggles of individuals and groups, to be directly useful to the historian. Still, the insights of theoreticians do offer valuable lessons about the problems and potentialities of the medium; they also point toward some of the important differences between the way words on the page and images on the screen create versions of "reality," differences that must be taken into account in any serious attempt to evaluate history on film.<sup>13</sup> At the very least, historians who wish to give the visual media a chance will have to realize that, because of the way the camera works and the kinds of data that it privileges, history on film will of necessity include all sorts of elements unknown to written history.

ALTHOUGH THE BIG HOLLYWOOD FEATURE AND THE STANDARD DOCUMENTARY ARE currently the most common forms of history on film, it would be a mistake to regard them as the only possible forms. In recent years, directors from a variety of countries have begun to make movies that convey some of the intellectual density that we associate with the written word, films that propose imaginative new ways of dealing with historical material. Resisting traditional genres, these

<sup>12</sup> Hayden White has made this point in a number of works, including *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, Md., 1973); and in various articles in *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore, 1978).

<sup>13</sup> A good survey of recent film theory is Dudley Andrew, *Concepts in Film Theory* (New York, 1984).

filmmakers have moved toward new forms of cinema capable of exploring serious social and political issues. The best of these films present the possibility of more than one interpretation of events; they render the world as multiple, complex, and indeterminate, rather than as a series of self-enclosed, neat, linear stories.

The names of these innovative filmmakers are not well known in the United States outside of specialized cinema circles, but some of their works are available here. For the historian interested in the possibility of complex ideas being delivered by film, the most interesting and provocative of such works may be the feature-length *Sans Soleil* (1982). This best-known work of Chris Marker, an American who lives in Paris, is a complex and personal visual and verbal essay on the meaning of contemporary history. The film juxtaposes images of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands with those of Japan in order to understand what the filmmaker calls “the poles of existence” in the late twentieth-century world. It can also be seen as an oblique investigation of Marker’s contention (made in the narrative) that the great question of the twentieth century has been “the coexistence of different concepts of time.”<sup>14</sup>

*Far from Poland* (1985), made by Jill Godmilow, is another good example of how film can render historical complexity. An American who had spent some time in Poland, Godmilow was unable to get a visa to go there to make a “standard” documentary on the Solidarity labor movement. Staying in New York, she made a film anyway, a self-reflexive, multi-level work, one that utilizes a variety of visual sources to create a highly unusual “history” of Solidarity—it includes actual footage smuggled out of Poland, images from American television newscasts, “acted” interviews from original texts that appeared in the Polish press, “real” interviews with Polish exiles in the United States, a domestic drama in which the filmmaker (read “historian”) raises the issue of what it means to make a film about events in a distant land, and voice-over dialogues of the filmmaker with a fictional Fidel Castro, who speaks for the possibility of contemporary revolution and the problems of the artist within the socialist state. Provocative visually, verbally, historically, and intellectually, *Far from Poland* tells us much about Solidarity and even more, perhaps, about how Americans reacted to and used the news from Poland for their own purposes. Not only does the film raise the issue of how to represent history on film, it also provides a variety of perspectives on the events it covers, thus both reflecting and entering the arena of debates surrounding the meaning of Solidarity.

The topics of both Marker and Godmilow may be contemporary, but the presentational modes of their films are applicable to subjects set more deeply in the past. Nor are documentarists the only filmmakers who have been seeking new ways of putting history onto the screen. All historians who feel a need to resist the empathic story told in Hollywood films, with its “romantic” approach and its satisfying sense of emotional closure, will find themselves at one with many

<sup>14</sup> Quotations are from the narration of *Sans Soleil*. A longer discussion of the film as a work of history is contained in my lecture on *Sans Soleil*, delivered at the Neighborhood Film Project, Philadelphia, April 3, 1987. An interesting article on it is Janine Marchessault, “Sans Soleil,” *CineAction!* 5 (May 1986): 2–6.

Western radical and Third World filmmakers who have had to struggle against Hollywood codes of representation in order to depict their own social and historical realities.<sup>15</sup> In some recent Third World historical films, one can find parallels to Bertolt Brecht's "epic" theater, with its distancing devices (such as direct speeches or chapter headings for each section of a work) that are supposed to make the audience think about rather than feel social problems and human relationships. Although the filmmakers are no doubt working from a native sense of history and aesthetics, this distancing is what seems to happen in such works as Ousmane Sembene's *Ceddo* (1977) and Carlos Diegues's *Quilombo* (1986), both of which present historical figures with whom it is almost impossible to identify emotionally. Made in Senegal, *Ceddo* portrays the political and religious struggle for dominance that occurred in various parts of Black Africa during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when a militant Islam attempted to oust both the original native religion and the political power structure. The Brazilian film, *Quilombo*, presents a history of Palmares, a remote, long-lived, seventeenth-century community created by runaway slaves that for many decades was able to hold off all attempts of the Portuguese to crush its independence. Each film delivers its history within a framework of interpretation—*Ceddo* upholds the pre-Islamic values of Black Africa, and *Quilombo* glorifies the rich tribal life of a culture freed of the burden of Christian civilization.<sup>16</sup>

For anyone interested in history on film, the chief importance of these works may lie less in their accuracy of detail (I have been unable to find commentaries on them by specialists in their fields) than in the way they choose to represent the past. Because both films are overtly theatrical in costuming and highly stylized in acting, they resist all the usual common-sense notions of "realism" that we expect in movies like *Reds*. Clearly, the camera in these films does not serve as a window onto a world that once existed; clearly, it represents something about the events of the past without pretending to "show" those events accurately. Just as clearly, each of these films is a work of history that tells us a great deal about specific periods and issues of the past.

In their unusual forms, *Ceddo* and *Quilombo* work to subvert a major convention of history on film—its "realism." At the same time, they also highlight, and call into question, a parallel convention of written history—the "realism" of our narratives, a realism based, as Hayden White showed two decades ago, on the model of the nineteenth-century novel. It is possible, in fact, to see these works as examples (in a different medium) of what White was calling for when he wrote that, if history were to continue as an "art," then to remain relevant to the issues of our time

<sup>15</sup> See Teshome H. Gabriel, *Third Cinema in the Third World: The Aesthetics of Liberation* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1982), and Roy Armes, *Third World Filmmaking and the West* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), especially 87–100.

<sup>16</sup> For a full discussion of *Ceddo*, see Gabriel, *Third Cinema in the Third World*, 86–89; and Armes, *Third World Filmmaking*, 290–91. For *Quilombo*, see Coco Fusco, "Choosing between Legend and History: An Interview with Carlos Diegues," and Robert Stam, "Quilombo," both in *Cineaste*, 15 (1986): 12–14, 42–44. For the history of Palmares, see R. K. Kent, "Palmares: An African State in Brazil," *Journal of African History*, 6 (1965): 161–75; and Arthur Ramos, "The Negro Republic of Palmares," in *The Negro in Brazil* (Washington, D.C., 1939), 42–53.

historians would have to move beyond the artistic models of the nineteenth century. *Ceddo* and *Quilombo* may be products of Third World nations, but they point the way toward the narrative forms of the twentieth century, toward the necessity for modernism (expressionism, surrealism) in its many varieties, or even post-modernism, as modes of representation for dramatizing the significance of historical data.<sup>17</sup>

ALMOST A CENTURY AFTER THE BIRTH OF THE MOTION PICTURE, film presents historians with a challenge still unseized, a challenge to begin to think of how to use the medium to its full capability for carrying information, juxtaposing images and words, providing startling and contrastive mixtures of sight and sound, and (perhaps) creating analytic structures that include visual elements. Because the conventions of the visual media are strong and, to the historian, initially startling, they also serve to highlight the conventions and limitations of written history. Film thus suggests new possibilities for representing the past, possibilities that could allow narrative history to recapture the power it once had when it was more deeply rooted in the literary imagination.<sup>18</sup>

The visual media present the same challenge to history that they have to anthropology, a field in which the ethnographic documentary, invented to illustrate the "scientific" findings of written texts, has in recent years cut loose from its verbal base to seek what one scholar calls "a new paradigm, a new way of seeing, not necessarily incompatible with written anthropology but at least governed by a distinct set of criteria."<sup>19</sup> Now it seems time for such a "shift in perspective," one occasioned by the opportunity to represent the world in images and words rather than in words alone, to touch history. Doing so will open us to new notions of the past, make us ask once more the questions about what history can or cannot be. About what history is for. About why we want to know about the past and what we will do with that knowledge. About possible new modes of historical representation, both filmed and written—about history as self-reflexive inquiry, as self-conscious theater, as a mixed form of drama and analysis.

The challenge of film to history, of the visual culture to the written culture, may be like the challenge of written history to the oral tradition, of Herodotus and Thucydides to the tellers of historical tales. Before Herodotus, there was myth, which was a perfectly adequate way of dealing with the past of a tribe, city, or people, adequate in terms of providing a meaningful world in which to live and relate to one's past. In a post-literate world, it is possible that visual culture will once again change the nature of our relationship to the past. This does not mean giving up on attempts at truth but somehow recognizing that there may be more than one

<sup>17</sup> Hayden White, "The Burden of History," *History and Theory*, 5 (1966): 110–34, especially 126–27, 131. This article is also reprinted in White, *Tropics of Discourse*, 27–50.

<sup>18</sup> Hayden White has made this argument in a number of articles. See, for example, "Historical Text as Literary Artifact," and "Historicism, History, and the Figurative Imagination," both in *Tropics of Discourse*, 81–120.

<sup>19</sup> Bill Nichols, *Ideology and the Image* (Bloomington, Ind., 1981), 243.

sort of historical truth, or that the truths conveyed in the visual media may be different from, but not necessarily in conflict with, truths conveyed in words.

History does not exist until it is created. And we create it in terms of our underlying values. Our kind of rigorous, “scientific” history is in fact a product of history, our special history that includes a particular relationship to the written word, a rationalized economy, notions of individual rights, and the nation-state. Many cultures have done quite well without this sort of history, which is only to say that there are—as we all know but rarely acknowledge—many ways to represent and relate to the past. Film, with its unique powers of representation, now struggles for a place within a cultural tradition that has long privileged the written word. Its challenge is great, for it may be that to acknowledge the authenticity of the visual is to accept a new relationship to the word itself. We would do well to recall Plato’s assertion that, when the mode of the music changes, the walls of the city shake. It seems that to our time is given this vital question to ponder: if the mode of representation changes, what then may begin to shake?



---

*AHR Forum*  
Am I a Camera?  
Other Reflections on Films and History

---

DAVID HERLIHY

HISTORY, I TELL MY FRESHMEN STUDENTS, OUGHT TO DO TWO THINGS. It should tell them about the past, informing them not only about events but also about thoughts, images, textures, styles. And it will (or ought to) introduce them to a particular way of thinking. That way of thinking requires an awareness of the gaps, ambiguities, and prejudices present in any set of historical sources. It further requires recognition of the complexities inherent in any human situation. The successful students will learn to acknowledge the complexities, do justice to them, and yet find pattern and order within them. In the philosophical terminology of the Middle Ages, historians ought to be nominalist in observation (all data are unrelated) and realist in presentation (and yet there is order). They will learn how difficult it is to say anything at all about the past but will also learn that this goal is not totally foreclosed. I promise the freshmen, who in their vast majority will not become professional historians, that history will serve them well. A knowledge of the past will enrich them culturally, and an awareness of history's methods will be useful to them in many walks of life, whenever they are called on to make sense of complex human behavior.

Can films aid us in presenting history to our students, to the public, even perhaps to our colleagues? In his provocative essay, Professor Robert A. Rosenstone taxes the profession for its lack of imagination, for its reluctance to take the initiative in developing what he calls "visual history." He means by this not the familiar documentary film. Nor is he favorably disposed toward historical romances on film, which must bow to crippling conventions. Action must be fast, pageantry lavish, and young love tested and rendered triumphant. I have not seen any of the films he cites as models of the mode, and perhaps I do not fully grasp what "visual history" represents. It seems to mean a presentation of historical themes in images and words, not just words alone; combined images and words will enliven the past and make it meaningful to the present. Visual history, Rosenstone argues, suits the style of contemporary culture. We live within a visually oriented world; we should address our students and the public through the media most congenial to their style of life.

Rosenstone is certainly correct in maintaining that most historians, trained in texts and their manipulation, do not make effective use of images, whether in

researching or in reproducing the past. His call to historians to test the limits of visual representation certainly should be heeded. We are a kind of priesthood, duty-bound to remind our society of its near and distant origins, of the experiences that have shaped it, of its cultural wellsprings. We should pursue any means that makes our message stronger, clearer, more appealing to often skeptical listeners. And yet the problem remains: can films genuinely interpret the past for the present?

THE GREAT POWER OF FILM is that it makes the viewer an eyewitness of the events portrayed. But, when depicting the past, this is also the medium's great drawback. Like every other kind of dramatic presentation, the historical film requires a suspension of disbelief on the part of those who view it. In what we may call standard history, students are often given primary sources to peruse. They recognize them for what they are—accounts, usually by eyewitnesses, of what transpired. They see at once that these are descriptions of events and may well be biased or otherwise faulted. Students will usually also read a historian's version of the events and again will recognize it for what it is: a presumably critical reconstruction, on the basis of the primary records, of what actually happened. But in a film, in order to achieve the aesthetic effect on which the intellectual impact will normally depend, the viewers must pretend that they directly observe the historic happenings. As eyewitnesses, they also become contemporaries with those happenings, react to them, and to this extent participate in them. They know that the sights and sounds are not history and that they are not themselves living in another time, another place. But the viewers must accept these premises; otherwise, the film fails, aesthetically and intellectually. The historical film not only creates illusion but also extends its domain to include its audience.

The documentary film is not exempt from this requirement that disbelief be suspended. As Rosenstone observes, the documentary film often truncates actions: we see the cannon fire and the shell explode in another place, almost instantaneously. Usually, too, the documentary film forces the events into a narrative scheme—with a beginning, middle, and end; with crisis and resolution. In contrast, authentic history is always a continuum. But, as viewers, we must believe that we are cameras, leaping over space and time with miraculous agility.

The very clarity of the illusions undermines awareness that all historical knowledge comes to us through filters. These filters are in the main written records, and the traditional function of historical criticism is to collect, evaluate, and sort them, in the hope of learning from them what actually happened. Historical criticism is not, as Rosenstone implies, just another way of looking at history, no better than any other; it is not really a product of nineteenth-century nationalism, industrialism, and democracy. It is a way of looking not so much at history as at records. Its roots go deep into the humanistic philology of the Renaissance, the documentary criticism of Bollandists and Maurists in the seventeenth century, the nineteenth-century methods of *Quellenforschungen*, principally developed in German lands. It did not win its earliest, most impressive victories in reconstructing national or recent history but in its critical treatment of

the sources of classical antiquity and the Middle Ages. It destroyed many myths and illusions. But the tough standards of source criticism it established laid the foundation for all scientific historical research, no matter what the epoch or the place. Films can create illusions but not easily criticize or destroy them. In asking viewers to repress critical reserve, indeed, to become part of the illusion, films make history seem too easy and our knowledge of the past appear too certain.

We the viewers of historical films are cameras. But how can we be warned, without destroying the illusion, that the lenses through which we view the past may be faulty? Recently, Natalie Zemon Davis has proposed several ingenious ways by which the viewer might be subtly informed concerning the quality of the sources, the bases for conclusions, and the possibility of alternate interpretations.<sup>1</sup> For example, some references to sources and their weaknesses might be introduced early in the film, to serve as a warning that what follows is an interpretation, perhaps not the right interpretation and usually not the only possible interpretation. The crucial texts might be photographed. Umberto Eco, in his brilliant novel, *The Name of the Rose* (1983), attempts something similar; he begins by presenting an ingeniously contrived history of a manuscript, which only a scholar trained in medieval studies could have concocted. The manuscript supposedly contains the memoirs that the story's protagonist, Adso of Melk, writes in his old age, recalling events of his youth. The novel thus pretends to be a contemporary account of happenings. But this ploy serves principally to quash the reader's initial disbelief, not to raise his or her critical consciousness. Can a film achieve these contrary goals? Can it, through the same sights and sounds, instill both belief in the narrative and critical disbelief in its total accuracy?

I am myself a consultant for a planned film tentatively titled *The Revolt of the Shepherds*. The author of the script is Professor Pamela Berger, of the Department of Art History, Boston College. Professor Berger has to her credit an earlier script in a medieval setting, successfully produced by a Franco-American team and called in its English title *The Sorceress*. At present, *The Revolt of the Shepherds* is under consideration for funding by the National Endowment for the Humanities. The story deals with the revolt of shepherds in northern France in 1250, led by a Hungarian master. The leader claimed that he wished to lead the shepherds to Egypt and the Holy Land, to rescue the captured king of France, Louis IX, but the bands soon turned to perpetrating pogroms. Against this historic event, Berger related a fictional tale of a love affair between a Christian boy and a Jewish girl. In developing her script, she carefully researched the shepherd's revolt itself and the costumes and customs of contemporary Christians and Jews. She footnoted her script, to show the sources on which particular scenes or types of behavior are based. This allows the National Endowment for the Humanities' panel to judge the authenticity of the scenes. But of necessity the footnotes will not be part of the film itself. Footnotes cannot be filmed, and the information they provide and cautions they express cannot easily be visually conveyed. In *The Revolt of the Shepherds*, the

<sup>1</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis, "'Any Resemblance to Persons Living or Dead': Film and the Challenge of Authenticity," *Yale Review*, 76 (1987): 457-82.

viewer will have to accept on faith that every effort was made (as it was) to assure authenticity. But the film will not serve as a means of developing critical modes of thought; it will not show very well what historians do. These were not the author's purposes.

Warnings of any sort, appeals to maintain critical detachment, cannot be easily photographed. Doubt is not visual. Warnings require a retreat from the visual to the verbal—to placing footnotes in the script, which the viewer does not see at all, to displaying disclaimers on the screen, to enlisting a sage lecturer, who will introduce or interrupt the story with suitable admonitions. These clumsy devices detract from the aesthetic integrity of the work. Knowledge of the past is overwhelmingly conveyed in written words; can criticism of those words be aught but verbal too?

IN MAKING THE VIEWER AN EYEWITNESS to what purport to be past events, the historical film must pretend to show more about the past than its makers could possibly know. It must fill the field of vision with objects that will serve to maintain the illusion of reality. It is hard to choose appropriate objects, especially for events that occurred in the centuries and millennia before the very recent past. The makers of historical films must then resort to imagination. They must fill the screen with scenes or backgrounds that may or may not be accurate. Like Thucydides, they must also place in the actor's mouths words that were probably never spoken but that seem appropriate to the person and the occasion. The visual portrayal of most of the unique scenes of history requires fabrication. For example, Charlemagne was crowned emperor at Rome on Christmas night, 800; several chronicles record the event. But they do not describe what the interior of old St. Peter's—a church not now standing—looked like on that evening, what the courtiers and priests were wearing, what music was heard. To present this scene on film would require that the cinematographers supply all the missing information; they have no choice but to embroider the sparse records.

Films, in sum, require thick descriptions, which most historical records for most places and periods do not supply. Perhaps it may be possible to get by with thin descriptions of scenes and surroundings. The background could be clothed in darkness or with stylized objects to fill in the furnishings of historic scenes. But the recourse to stylized or symbolic representation is in truth a retreat from the visual. It is an admission that the filmmakers cannot fully depict historic reality, nor can films convey it.

In making the viewer an eyewitness to what purport to be historic events, the film also locks him or her in the present. The camera—and the viewer—observes only what is currently before the lens. The present tense is the only tense permitted in cinematographic discourse. It is admirably suited to recount a tale transpiring over time but is unsuited for many other kinds of analysis or presentation. The film may of course show the past through flashbacks and anticipate the future through flashes forward. But these recourses only convert past or future into the present. By displaying what once was, by predicting what will be, these stratagems

also undermine the illusion that what we are seeing is reality. Film is trapped within the indivisible “now.” The orientation of the film is horizontal; it scans the horizon present to the eye. But, of its nature, history assumes a vertical orientation, a linkage from past to present.

To be sure, there are devices that filmmakers can use to escape this limitation. The many fine television productions of the British Broadcasting Corporation characteristically use a learned narrator to instruct the viewers where a viewed object came from and what its future importance may be. A classic of the genre was *Civilization: A Personal View*, narrated by Kenneth Clark in thirteen parts and produced in 1970 by the BBC (distributed in the United States by Time-Life Films). But this and many similar series are in fact filmed lectures. They are beautifully illustrated lectures, to be sure. But words primarily link and give meaning both to the individual objects and to their sequential presentation. They are therefore not fundamentally different from what many teachers of history try to do with slide projections and accompanying lectures.

LIMITED TO THE PRESENT TENSE, THE FILM NARRATIVE tends to be one-dimensional in another sense. Films cannot easily explore beneath surfaces and illuminate the desires or motives that drive behavior. They can only hint at motives through actions and hope that the audience catches the implications correctly. Or they can have the actors explain what they feel or believe in conversation or asides. But this, too, is a retreat to the verbal.

Interior motivation is opaque to the viewer, as are broader influences that affect groups of people or entire societies. Since the late 1920s, historians associated with the so-called *Annales* school—notably, such departed giants as Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre, and Fernand Braudel, and their many living followers—have called for an approach to the past that at first blush would seem unfilmable. They have been very disparaging of *histoire événementielle*, “the history of happenings,” the type of history most amenable to film presentation. Single events, they have contended, were in large part accidents, stochastic occurrences, splashing surface waves on the great sea of history. To approach the past scientifically required the study of structures—those, like climate, that changed hardly at all, and those, like levels of prices or numbers of people, that changed only slowly (*conjunctures*). Structures could also be mental or spiritual. They were in fact anything that supported or influenced human behavior in the past.

In spite of its exaggerated disparagement of narrative history, the school of the *Annales* has enriched historical culture. But how can structures—numbers of people, levels of prices, collective mentalities—be presented in film? The film might depict bread riots, or the misery of the multitudinous poor, in an effort to convey by implication to the viewer what a few statistics might more cleanly and clearly represent. Films beautifully depict action and event but not the abiding structures that shaped the action and make the event, if not explained, at least understandable.

The camera excels in one type of history—the narrative; it has manifest difficulties in offering anything beyond simplistic explanations as to why those



events occurred. The visual only sees skins and surfaces, not what lies beneath them or soars above them. It cannot easily supply for the events it records an appropriate context, whether based in personal motivations, in overarching economic forces, or in reigning ideologies.

THE UNIQUE SCENES OF HISTORY CANNOT BE REPLICATED on film with full precision and exact dialogue; internal motives and most overarching structures will remain opaque to the film media. What, then, does film offer history? Paradoxically, the disparagement of narrative history, characteristic of the *Annales* and similar structuralist approaches to the past, leaves room for visual portrayals of historic situations but does so in a distinctive way. If events are not the essential stuff of history, then even fictional events may be used as a vehicle for portraying visual reconstructions of the past. Thus Berger's *The Revolt of the Shepherds* uses a fictional love story as a central theme, and this serves to link portraits depicting many aspects of thirteenth-century habits, customs, and behavior. The history here lies not in the action but in the backgrounds, but it is history, nonetheless.

I have also served as consultant to two film productions that similarly used fictional stories to weave together scenes out of the Middle Ages. The two films were based on two books by the artist David Macaulay. The first, called *Castle*, produced as a film by Unicorn Productions in 1982, used several devices to convey its message.<sup>2</sup> Macaulay himself, on the sites of the great Welsh castles, discussed with Sarah Bullen the castles and his own drawings of them. The film also made use of animation, to relate a fictional story about their construction. The second was called, like the book on which it was based, *Cathedral*.<sup>3</sup> Released in 1985, it similarly relied on conversations between Macaulay and a questioner, this time, Caroline Berg, that were filmed on the sites of several of the great cathedrals of northern France. In both films, the stories helped to explain how the great buildings were planned, financed, built, and used, and what they meant to contemporaries. But the fictional accounts were not the real purpose of the films; rather, they were an effective means for illustrating both the material and cultural dimensions of two sorts of buildings central to medieval life.

Films are superb in representing the visual styles and the textures of the past—values almost impossible to convey in written words. Let the visual serve the visual. I think that it is a mistake to dismiss such beautiful film productions as *The Return of Martin Guerre* as empty romances. Many of its scenes were clearly inspired by contemporary artistic styles and have a real claim to historic authenticity. Films, even with a fictional plot, like Pamela Berger's *Sorceress* or *Revolt of the Shepherds*, can convey very effectively a sense of style, tastes, and customs. They can show what it was like to be alive in times and places very different from our own. The production of such films ought to be applauded and the producers urged to fill the screen as best they can with authentic representations. Films undoubtedly can aid historians to make the past visually alive, tactile even, to the present. And

<sup>2</sup> *Castle*, illustrated by David Macaulay (Boston, 1977, 1982).

<sup>3</sup> *Cathedral*, illustrated by David Macaulay (Boston, 1973, 1981).

historians ought, as Rosenstone urges, continually to test the limits of the visual in fulfilling their mission.

Film, a visual medium, can effectively present the visual aspects of history but not the whole of history. Nor can it really show the methods of history. I do not see how films can carry a critical apparatus, how they can at the same time invite a suspension of disbelief and a cultivation of the critical sense. Illusions must first be accepted, understood, and even believed before they can be criticized. If the film is intended to achieve an aesthetic response only, there is no need for a critical apparatus. But if it is meant to teach history, that apparatus is indispensable. It will doubtlessly have to be presented independently, through another medium, the printed word. Students viewing historical films should be encouraged to accept the stance of contemporaries and pretend that they are direct witnesses to the events portrayed. But then they should be asked to change modes and to assume the stance of critical historians, viewing this depiction of the past as they would one laid out in words.

Should a professional journal such as the *American Historical Review* aid in this process of viewing and reviewing by publishing appraisals of historical films? I see a principal difficulty here. Movie makers, like storytellers in the past, constantly exploit historical moments and memories, and reviews of the many films that they yearly produce well might swamp the pages of a journal. And if historical films are reviewed, why not historical novels? Eco's *Name of the Rose* was a very successful novel and, while a fiction, was very instructive about many aspects of fourteenth-century civilization. It was also made into a good, if less instructive, film. Why should the film and not the book be reviewed in professional journals?

In years past, *Speculum*, the journal of the Medieval Academy of America, published, albeit at irregular intervals, review essays on recently published historical novels. The author of the essays was B. J. Whiting, a professor of English at Harvard and an expert on Chaucer.<sup>4</sup> In composing the essays, Whiting was able to select only those novels he considered worthy of note, excluding the large number that had little or no historical authenticity. Perhaps the *AHR*, or another historical journal, might sponsor similar essays on films. The review essays would probably have to be restricted to particular periods of history. They would serve to call the readers' attention to films of pedagogical interest and also offer critical reflections on their content, from the viewpoint of a professional historian.

Any recourse that awakens interest in history among students and the public should be encouraged. Films are particularly powerful in accomplishing this. But they cannot serve as independent statements regarding the past. They are illusions and must be recognized as such. Somehow, somewhere, they must be accompanied by a critical commentary. Movies own no immunities; like every other representation of the past, they must answer for their messages in the high court of historical criticism.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, B. J. Whiting, "Historical Novels (1948-49)," *Speculum*, 25 (1950): 104-22; "Historical Novels (1949-50)," *Speculum*, 26 (1951): 337-67; "Historical Novels (1951)," *Speculum*, 28 (1953): 527-54.

---

*AHR Forum*  
Historiography and Historiophoty

---

HAYDEN WHITE

ROBERT ROSENSTONE'S ESSAY RAISES AT LEAST TWO QUESTIONS that should be of eminent concern to professional historians. The first is that of the relative adequacy of what we might call "historiophoty" (the representation of history and our thought about it in visual images and filmic discourse) to the criteria of truth and accuracy presumed to govern the professional practice of *historiography* (the representation of history in verbal images and written discourse). Here the issue is whether it is possible to "translate" a given written account of history into a visual-auditory equivalent without significant loss of content. The second question has to do with what Rosenstone calls the "challenge" presented by historiophoty to historiography. It is obvious that cinema (and video) are better suited than written discourse to the actual representation of certain kinds of historical phenomena—landscape, scene, atmosphere, complex events such as wars, battles, crowds, and emotions. But, Rosenstone asks, can historiophoty adequately convey the complex, qualified, and critical dimensions of historical thinking about events, which, according to Ian Jarvie, at least, is what makes any given representation of the past a distinctly "historical" account?

In many ways, the second question is more radical than the first in its implications for the way we might conceptualize the tasks of professional historiography in our age. The historical evidence produced by our epoch is often as much visual as it is oral and written in nature. Also, the communicative conventions of the human sciences are increasingly as much pictorial as verbal in their predominant modes of representation. Modern historians ought to be aware that the analysis of visual images requires a manner of "reading" quite different from that developed for the study of written documents. They should also recognize that the representation of historical events, agents, and processes in visual images presupposes the mastery of a lexicon, grammar, and syntax—in other words, a language and a discursive mode—quite different from that conventionally used for their representation in verbal discourse alone. All too often, historians treat photographic, cinematic, and video data as if they could be read in the same way as a written document. We are inclined to treat the imagistic evidence as if it were at best a complement of verbal evidence, rather than as a supplement, which is to say, a discourse in its own right and one capable of telling us things about its referents that are both different from what can be told in verbal discourse and also of a kind that can only be told by means of visual images.

Some information about the past can be provided only by visual images. Where imagistic evidence is lacking, historical investigation finds a limit to what it can legitimately assert about the way things may have appeared to the agents acting on a given historical scene. Imagistic (and especially photographic and cinematic) evidence provides a basis for a reproduction of the scenes and atmosphere of past events much more accurate than any derived from verbal testimony alone. The historiography of any period of history for which photographs and films exist will be quite different, if not more accurate, than that focused on periods known primarily by verbal documentation.

So, too, in our historiographical practices, we are inclined to use visual images as a complement of our written discourse, rather than as components of a discourse in its own right, by means of which we might be able to say something different from and other than what we can say in verbal form. We are inclined to use pictures primarily as “illustrations” of the predications made in our verbally written discourse. We have not on the whole exploited the possibilities of using images as a principal medium of *discursive* representation, using verbal commentary only diacritically, that is to say, to direct attention to, specify, and emphasize a meaning conveyable by visual means alone.

ROSENSTONE PROPERLY INSISTS THAT SOME THINGS—he cites landscapes, sounds, strong emotions, certain kinds of conflicts between individuals and groups, collective events and the movements of crowds—can be better represented on film (and, we might add, video) than in any merely verbal account. “Better” here would mean not only with greater verisimilitude or stronger emotive effect but also less ambiguously, more accurately. Rosenstone appears to falter before the charge, made by purists, that the historical film is inevitably both too detailed (in what it shows when it is forced to use actors and sets that may not resemble perfectly the historical individuals and scenes of which it is a representation) and not detailed enough (when it is forced to condense a process that might have taken years to occur, the written account of which might take days to read, into a two or three-hour presentation). But this charge, as he properly remarks, hinges on a failure to distinguish adequately between a mirror image of a phenomenon and other kinds of representations of it, of which the written historical account itself would be only one instance. No history, visual or verbal, “mirrors” all or even the greater part of the events or scenes of which it purports to be an account, and this is true even of the most narrowly restricted “micro-history.” Every written history is a product of processes of condensation, displacement, symbolization, and qualification exactly like those used in the production of a filmed representation. It is only the medium that differs, not the way in which messages are produced.

Jarvie apparently laments the poverty of the “information load” of the historical film, whether “fictional” (such as *The Return of Martin Guerre*) or “documentary” (such as Rosenstone’s own *The Good Fight*). But this is to confuse the question of scale and level of generalization at which the historical account ought “properly” to operate with that of the amount of evidence needed to support the generali-

zations and the level of interpretation on which the account is cast. Are short books about long periods of history in themselves non-historical or anti-historical in nature? Was Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, or for that matter Fernand Braudel's *The Mediterranean*, of sufficient length to do justice to its subject?<sup>1</sup> What is the proper length of a historical monograph? How much information is needed to support any given historical generalization? Does the amount of information required vary with the scope of the generalization? And, if so, is there a normative scope against which the propriety of any historical generalization can be measured? On what principle, it might be asked, is one to assess the preference for an account that might take a hour to read (or view) as against that which takes many hours, even days, to read, much less assimilate to one's store of knowledge?

According to Rosenstone, Jarvie complemented his critique of the necessarily impoverished "information load" of the historical film with two other objections: first, the tendency of the historical film to favor "narration" (Rosenstone himself notes that the two historical films he worked on "compress[ed] the past to a closed world by telling a single, linear story with, essentially, a single interpretation") over "analysis"; and, second, the presumed incapacity of film to represent the true essence of historiography, which, according to Jarvie, consists less of "descriptive narrative" than of "debates between historians about just what exactly did happen, why it happened, and what would be an adequate account of its significance."<sup>2</sup>

Rosenstone is surely right to suggest that the historical film need not necessarily feature narrative at the expense of analytical interests. In any event, if a film like *The Return of Martin Guerre* turns out to resemble a "historical romance," it is not because it is a narrative film but rather because the romance genre was used to plot the story that the film wished to tell. There are other genres of plots, conventionally considered to be more "realistic" than the romance, that might have been used to shape the events depicted in this story into a narrative of a different kind. If *Martin Guerre* is a "historical romance," it would be more proper to compare it, not with "historical narrative" but with the "historical novel," which has a problematic of its own, the discussion of which has concerned historians since its invention in much the same way that the discussion of film today ought properly to concern them. And it ought to concern them for the reasons outlined in Rosenstone's essay, namely, because it raises the specter of the "fictionality" of the historian's own discourse, whether cast in the form of a narrative account or in a more "analytical," non-narrative mode.

Like the historical novel, the historical film draws attention to the extent to which it is a constructed or, as Rosenstone calls it, a "shaped" representation of a reality we historians would prefer to consider to be "found" in the events themselves or, if not there, then at least in the "facts" that have been established by historians' investigation of the record of the past. But the historical monograph is no less

<sup>1</sup> Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London, 1776–88); Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World* (New York and London, 1972).

<sup>2</sup> Robert A. Rosenstone, "History in Images/History in Words: Reflections on the Possibility of Really Putting History onto Film," *AHR*, 93 (December 1988): 1174; I. C. Jarvie, "Seeing through Movies," *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 8 (1978): 378.



“shaped” or constructed than the historical film or historical novel. It may be shaped by different principles, but there is no reason why a filmed representation of historical events should not be as analytical and realistic as any written account.

JARVIE’S CHARACTERIZATION OF THE ESSENCE OF HISTORIOGRAPHY (“debates between historians about just what exactly did happen, why it happened, and what would be an adequate account of its significance”) alerts us to the problem of how and to what purpose historians transform information about “events” into the “facts” that serve as the subject matter of their arguments. Events happen or occur; facts are constituted by the subsumption of events under a description, which is to say, by acts of predication. The “adequacy” of any given account of the past, then, depends on the question of the choice of the set of concepts actually used by historians in their transformation of information about events into, not “facts” in general, but “facts” of a specific kind (political facts, social facts, cultural facts, psychological facts). The instability of the very distinction between “historical” facts on the one side and non-historical (“natural” facts, for example) on the other, a distinction without which a specifically historical kind of knowledge would be unthinkable, indicates the constructivist nature of the historian’s enterprise. When considering the utility or adequacy of filmed accounts of historical events, then, it would be well to reflect upon the ways in which a distinctively imagistic discourse can or cannot transform information about the past into facts of a specific kind.

I do not know enough about film theory to specify more precisely the elements, equivalent to the lexical, grammatical, and syntactical dimensions of spoken or written language, of a distinctly filmic discourse. Roland Barthes insisted that still photographs do not and could not predicate—only their titles or captions could do so. But cinema is quite another matter. Sequences of shots and the use of montage or closeups can be made to predicate quite as effectively as phrases, sentences, or sequences of sentences in spoken or written discourse. And if cinema can predicate, then it can just as surely do all the things that Jarvie considered to constitute the essence of written historical discourse. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the sound film has the means by which to complement visual imagery with a distinctive verbal content that need not sacrifice analysis to the exigencies of dramatic effects. As for the notion that a filmed portrayal of historical events could not be “defend[ed]” and “footnote[d],” respond to objections, and “criticize the opposition,” there is no reason at all to suppose that this could not in principle be done.<sup>3</sup> There is no law prohibiting the production of a historical film of sufficient length to do all of these things.

Rosenstone’s list of the effects of historians’ prejudices against “historiophoty” is sketchy but full enough. He indicates that many of the problems posed by the effort to “put history onto film” stem from the notion that the principal task is to translate what is already a written discourse into an imagistic one.<sup>4</sup> Resistance to

<sup>3</sup> Jarvie, “Seeing through Movies,” 378.

<sup>4</sup> Rosenstone, “History in Images/History in Words,” 1175.

the effort to put history onto film centers for the most part on the question of what gets lost in this process of translation. Among the things supposedly lost are accuracy of detail, complexity of explanation, the auto-critical and inter-critical dimensions of historiological reflection, and the qualifications of generalizations necessitated by, for instance, the absence or unavailability of documentary evidence. Rosenstone seems to grant the force of Jarvie's claim that the "information load" of the filmed representation of historical events and processes is inevitably impoverished when he considers the question of whether a "thinning of data" on the screen "makes for poor history." While pointing out that film permits us to "see landscapes, hear sounds, witness strong emotions . . . , or view physical conflict between individuals and groups," he seems unsure whether historiophoty might not "play down the analytical" aspects of historiography and favor appeals to the emotive side of the spectator's engagement with images. But, at the same time, he insists that there is nothing inherently anti-analytical about filmed representations of history and certainly nothing that is inherently anti-historiological about historiophoty. And, in his brief consideration of the film documentary, Rosenstone turns the force of the anti-historiophoty argument back on those who, in making this argument, appear to ignore the extent to which any kind of historiography shares these same limitations.<sup>5</sup>

He grants, for example, that, although the film documentary strives for the effect of a straightforwardly direct and objective account of events, it is always a "shaped"—fashioned or stylized—representation thereof. "[W]e must remember," he writes, "that on the screen we see not the events themselves . . . but selected images of those events."<sup>6</sup> The example he gives is that of a film shot of a cannon being fired followed by another shot of an explosion of the (or a) shell some distance away. Such a sequence, he suggests, is, properly speaking, fictional rather than factual, because, obviously, the camera could not have been simultaneously in the two places where first the firing and then the explosion occurred. What we have, then, is a pseudo-factual representation of a cause-effect relation. But is this representation "false" thereby, that is to say, is it false because the explosion shown in the second shot is not that of the shell fired in the first shot but rather is a shot of some other shell, fired from who knows where?

In this case, the notion that the sequence of images is false would require a standard of representational literalness that, if applied to historiography itself, would render it impossible to write. In fact, the "truthfulness" of the sequence is to be found not at the level of concreteness but rather at another level of representation, that of typification. The sequence should be taken to represent a *type* of event. The referent of the sequence is the *type* of event depicted, not the two discrete events imaged, first, the firing of *a* shell and, then, *its* explosion. The spectator is not being "fooled" by such a representation nor is there anything duplicitous in such a rendering of a cause-and-effect sequence. The veracity of the representation hinges on the question of the likelihood of this *type* of cause-and-

<sup>5</sup> Rosenstone, "History in Images/History in Words," 1178–80.

<sup>6</sup> Rosenstone, "History in Images/History in Words," 1180.

effect sequence occurring at specific times and places and under certain conditions, namely, in the kind of war made possible by a certain kind of industrial-military technology and fought in a particular time and place.

Indeed, it is a convention of written history to represent the causes and effects of such events in precisely this way, in a sequence of images that happens to be verbal rather than visual, to be sure, but no less “fictional” for being so. The concreteness, precision of statement, and accuracy of detail of a sentence such as, “The sniper’s bullet fired from a nearby warehouse struck President Kennedy in the head, wounding him fatally,” are not in principle denied to a filmed depiction either of the event referred to in the sentence or of the cause-and-effect relation that it cites as an explanation. One can imagine a situation in which enough cameras were deployed in such a way as to have captured both the sniper’s shot and the resultant effect with greater immediacy than that feigned in the verbal representation and, indeed, with greater factual precision, inasmuch as the verbal utterance depends on an inference from effect to cause for which no specific documentation exists. In the filmed representations of this famous event, the ambiguity that still pervades our knowledge of it has been left intact and not dispelled by the specious concreteness suggested in the provision of the “details” given in the verbal representation. And if this is true of micro-events, such as the assassination of a head of state, how much more true is it of the representation in written history of macro-events?

For example, when historians list or indicate the “effects” of a large-scale historical event, such as a war or a revolution, they are doing nothing different from what an editor of a documentary film does in showing shots of an advancing army followed by shots of enemy troops surrendering or fleeing, followed by shots of the triumphant force entering a conquered city. The difference between a written account and a filmed account of such a sequence turns less on the general matter of accuracy of detail than on the different kinds of concreteness with which the images, in the one case verbal, in the other visual, are endowed. Much depends on the nature of the “captions” accompanying the two kinds of images, the written commentary in the verbal account and the voice-over or subtitles in the visual one, that “frame” the depicted events individually and the sequence as a whole. It is the nature of the claims made for the images considered as evidence that determines both the discursive function of the events and the criteria to be employed in the assessment of their veracity as predicative utterances.

Thus, for example, the depiction, in Richard Attenborough’s film *Gandhi*, of the anonymous South African railway conductor who pushed the young Gandhi from the train, is not a misrepresentation insofar as the actor playing the role may not have possessed the physical features of the actual agent of that act. The veracity of the scene depends on the depiction of a person whose historical significance derived from the *kind* of act he performed at a particular time and place, which act was a function of an identifiable type of role-playing under the kinds of social conditions prevailing at a general, but specifically historical, time and place. And the same is true of the depiction of Gandhi himself in the film. Demands for a verisimilitude in film that is impossible in any medium of representation, including

that of written history, stem from the confusion of historical individuals with the kinds of "characterization" of them required for discursive purposes, whether in verbal or in visual media.

Even in written history, we are often forced to represent some agents only as "character types," that is, as individuals known only by their general social attributes or by the kinds of actions that their "roles" in a given historical event permitted them to play, rather than as full-blown "characters," individuals with many known attributes, proper names, and a range of known actions that permit us to draw fuller portraits of them than we can draw of their more "anonymous" counterparts. But the agents who form a "crowd" (or any other kind of group) are not more misrepresented in a film for being portrayed by actors than they are in a verbal account of their collective action.

TOO OFTEN, DISCUSSIONS OF THE IRREDEEMABLY FICTIONAL NATURE of historical films fail to take account of the work of experimental or avant-garde filmmakers, for whom the analytic function of their discourse tends to predominate over the exigencies of "storytelling." Rosenstone cites a number of experimentalist films that not only depart from but actually seek to undermine the conventions of commercial (especially the Hollywood variety of) filmmaking. A film such as *Far from Poland*, he points out, not only does not feature storytelling at the expense of analysis but actually brings under question the conventional (nineteenth-century) notions of "realistic" representation to which many contemporary historians, analytical as well as narrational, still subscribe. He specifically likens the work of experimental filmmakers to that of Bertolt Brecht in the history of the theater. But he might just as well have likened it to the work of those historians of the modern age who have taken as their problem less the "realistic representation" of "the past" than what Jarvie himself calls the question of "what would be an adequate account" of "what exactly did happen, why it happened, and . . . its significance." This is surely the lesson to be derived from the study of recent feminist filmmaking, which has been concerned not only with depicting the lives of women in both the past and present truthfully and accurately but, even more important, with bringing into question conventions of historical representation and analysis that, while pretending to be doing nothing more than "telling what really happened," effectively present a patriarchal version of history. The kind of experimentalist films invoked by Rosenstone do indeed "subvert" the kind of "realism" we associate with both conventional films and conventional historiography, but it is not because they may sacrifice "accuracy of detail" in order to direct attention to the problem of choosing a way to represent the past.<sup>7</sup> They show us instead that the criterion for determining what shall count as "accuracy of detail" depends on the "way" chosen to represent both "the past" and our thought about its "historical significance" alike.

<sup>7</sup> Rosenstone, "History in Images/History in Words," 1183.

---

*AHR Forum*  
History in Images/Images in History:  
Reflections on the Importance of Film and  
Television Study for an Understanding of the Past

---

JOHN E. O'CONNOR

ROBERT ROSENSTONE WRITES PERCEPTIVELY ABOUT HIS UNIQUE EXPERIENCE in "filmland." His experience is unique, or nearly so, because few historical scholars have had the opportunity to work in both documentary and feature film production, or in either of them, for that matter. I disagree with none of Rosenstone's observations and will confine my remarks to emphasizing that such reflections of historian filmmakers are of real importance to the larger community of scholars, who must recognize the relevance of film and television study to their work as professional historians.

While the number of historians who work in film or television production will always be small, the lessons they can teach their colleagues are important in two ways. First, they can help anyone involved in the research and writing of modern history to think about the contributions visual evidence can make to their understanding of the past. It has now been 150 years since the invention of photography, a hundred years since the invention of motion pictures, and fifty years since the invention of television. In politics, diplomacy, and an ever expanding number of research areas, questions arise in which ignoring the visual evidence is an injustice to the subject. Three recent books, for example, one of them a Bancroft prize winner, focus on questions of governmental policy and public perception of issues related to the dust bowl of the Great Plains in the 1930s. But none of them gives adequate attention to what may have been the most important effort of the government to influence public perception on the question. The Resettlement Administration's 1936 film, *The Plow That Broke the Plains*, was planned to be the first government-produced documentary to have a wide distribution in commercial theaters. Although hopes for the production were not completely fulfilled, an agency administrator observed that the film had been screened in more than 3,000 of the approximately 14,000 theaters in the United States before it was withdrawn from circulation in the midst of political controversy in 1940.<sup>1</sup> The best of the three books, Donald Worster's *Dust Bowl: The Southern*

<sup>1</sup> See Richard Dyer MacCann, *The People's Films: A Political History of U.S. Government Motion Pictures*



*Plains in the 1930s*, includes one thoughtful paragraph on the film. R. Douglas Hurt's *Dust Bowl: An Agricultural and Social History* mentions it briefly. Paul Bonnifield's *Dust Bowl: Men, Dirt, and Depression* does not mention it at all. The film was not given anything like the careful analytical attention the same authors accorded to manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> The failing is not unusual, and can be explained in part by the fact that few historians think of film or television as anything more than lightweight entertainment, and in part because of the absence of any accepted, coherent, and comprehensive methodology for analyzing them as historical artifacts.

Second, the unique experiences of historian filmmakers can offer important assistance to their colleagues who, regardless of research interest, spend much of their time in undergraduate classrooms teaching future accountants and engineers. How many of those students are likely to subscribe to the *American Historical Review*, read a historical monograph, or even turn to more popular forms of historical writing, once they are finished with their required college history course? However unfortunate, it appears likely that even well-educated Americans are learning most of their history from film or television. It is reasonable, therefore, that at least some of the classroom attention we normally devote to the critical reading of textbooks and journal articles should be extended to teaching people to be informed, critical viewers of historical film and television. If we begin to think seriously about those media productions, they suggest wonderfully provocative approaches to teaching history.

SINCE THE 1930s, FILM AND TELEVISION have become major factors in politics and culture. The close study of film and television must accordingly be included in the history of that politics and culture.

Some of the most important events of the past century took place before newsreel or television cameras, such as the ones that caught the assassination of Egyptian president Anwar Sadat and the attempted assassination of U.S. president Ronald Reagan, the tragedy of the *Hindenberg* zeppelin in 1937, and Bobby Thomson's famous home run in the 1951 National League playoff. On rare occasions (though less rare today), important events were captured on amateur films, like the Zapruder footage of the Kennedy assassination. While, like all pieces of evidence, these images are limited in their value, they cannot be ignored.

The full historical analysis of the *Hindenberg* story, a public event tied to politics, economics, and technology, would require the study of: the policy of the German government that encouraged the development of lighter-than-air transatlantic service, the log of the trip in question, the design of the airship, the economics of the decision to use (flammable) hydrogen gas, the statistics of the cost of the disaster (in money and in setbacks to the growth of transatlantic travel as well as in lives),

---

(New York, 1973), 71.

<sup>2</sup> See Donald Worster, *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (New York, 1979), 96; R. Douglas Hurt, *The Dust Bowl: An Agricultural and Social History* (Chicago, 1981), 61–62; and Paul Bonnifield, *The Dust Bowl: Men, Dirt, and Depression* (Albuquerque, N. Mex., 1979).

the recent experience and frame of mind of the radio commentator whose emotional reaction to the accident has for generations influenced the way it has been popularly perceived as a significant event in 1930s America, and much more. The image of the exploding airship crashing to the ground would not directly illuminate any of these matters. But a historian who tried to describe the event—what it looked like to eyewitnesses, the speed with which the flames spread, and how people fell to earth from the burning craft—without looking carefully at the images would miss an essential dimension of the research.

Many events covered in the newsreels and on television news are really pseudo events in Daniel Boorstin's terms; they take place because the cameras will be present and are planned for fullest possible media impact.<sup>3</sup> This fact necessarily complicates their use as evidence. But sometimes the knowledge that an event was carefully orchestrated can enhance the value of film documents. In their close study and comparison of two Nazi party films, *Sieg des Glaubens* [Victory of Faith] (1933), and *Triumph des Willens* [Triumph of the Will] (1934), historians Martin Loiperdinger and David Culbert were able to demonstrate how these films go beyond illustrating Nazi ideas. The films themselves were key vehicles of party strategy in the early years of the Nazi ascendancy, "significant instances in which mass media served as part of the political decision-making process."<sup>4</sup>

In film compilations prepared for use in courses at the University of Leeds and in several series produced for the British Broadcasting Corporation, Nicholas Pronay has examined how during the mid-1930s Neville Chamberlain learned to perform before the newsreel cameras and became far more effective as a public communicator than many of his contemporaries. While pointing to the irony of Chamberlain's famous "peace for our time" statement, historians are apt to forget the importance of the effectiveness with which his statements reassured a British public fearful of war. Had Chamberlain been less cool and composed when the cameras were turned on and a microphone thrust before him, the public response might have been different. As Pronay demonstrated, the political or diplomatic historians of Britain in the 1930s who fail to study the newsreels as well as the manuscripts and the papers miss essential dimensions. Their work is incomplete.<sup>5</sup>

The need to study film and television in connection with social and cultural history may be more obvious. If the funeral of Rudolph Valentino deserves the citation it receives in textbook after textbook, understanding the appeal of his performance should be at least as worthwhile. What was there about movie musicals in the 1930s that made them so appealing to audiences at the time? Surely, there is something to the argument that they represented the ultimate escapist safety valve in a hegemonic capitalist society facing the Great Depression, but there was more as well. In the pre-television days, when vaudeville circuits provided the

<sup>3</sup> See Daniel Boorstin, *The Image: Or What Happened to the American Dream* (New York, 1962).

<sup>4</sup> Martin Loiperdinger and David Culbert, "Leni Riefenstahl, the SA, and the Nazi Party Rally Films, Nuremberg 1933–1934: 'Sieg des Glaubens' and 'Triumph des Willens,'" *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 8 (1988): 3–38.

<sup>5</sup> See Nicholas Pronay, "The Newsreels: The Illusion of Actuality," in Paul Smith, ed., *The Historian and Film* (Cambridge, 1976), 95–120; and Nicholas Pronay and D. W. Spring, eds., *Propaganda, Politics and Film, 1918–1945* (London, 1972).

only alternative for similar musical entertainment, films allowed far larger numbers of people to enjoy the best-known entertainers. The directors of the film musicals of the 1930s made a point of having their dance routines and production numbers transcend the limits of the proscenium stage to which vaudeville was tied. These films provided distinctly new experiences, not least because they made dynamic use of the synchronized sound tracks that had been introduced to movies only a few years before. Understanding what it meant to be a member of an audience in the 1930s (for radio and sporting events as well as for films) should be a subject for mainstream social historians, not one reserved for those who write about the media.

Far too many conference papers, articles, and books written on film and culture adopt an overly simple, reflective model of the film-culture connection. The subject demands some awareness of theory and a recognition of the need to understand a film or television program as one part of a much larger, complex, and ever-changing culture.

Since the 1960s in America, and more recently in Europe, television has created a distinct media environment, an electronic milieu within the culture. Because events captured on television can become central in the broader social and cultural environment, historians must be prepared to deal with them seriously. Consider how television allowed viewers around the world to participate in the funeral of John F. Kennedy and witness the astronauts' first steps on the moon as important news events had never been shared before. How many suburban and rural American white children had their first contact with black people through popular television programs? Series such as *Roots* (1976) and *Holocaust* (1978) may be challenged for their historical accuracy,<sup>6</sup> but no one denies that as media events they raised major historical issues for discussion in living rooms and over lunch tables as never before.

Until now, few historians have recognized the need to archive and preserve such historical artifacts as television commercials. Yet it is thirty years since David M. Potter pointed to America's psychology of abundance and identified advertising as the most characteristic American institution.<sup>7</sup> Can future scholars expect to deal with these ideas in America since the 1950s without understanding more about how TV commercials influence people, visually and aurally (and ultimately psychologically) programming them with a desire to consume?

**BUT HOW DO WE DO IT?** How do we adapt the methods of historical research to these challenging new types of moving-image documents? Few historians have had the

<sup>6</sup> In fact, they deserve more credit than they have received. Although the creators did take liberties in fictionalizing characters, the series presented a reasonable survey of the historical issues dealing with slavery and the Holocaust. See, for example, Leslie Ellen Fishbein, "Roots, Document and Docudrama," in John E. O'Connor, ed., *American History/American Television: Interpreting the Video Past* (New York, 1983), 279–305. The observations on *Holocaust* are based on discussions with Wilhelm Van Kampen, past president of the International Association for Audio-Visual Media in Historical Research and Education (IAMHIST) and author of a study guide that was widely distributed when the series was aired in West Germany.

<sup>7</sup> See David M. Potter, *People of Plenty* (Chicago, 1954).

formal training appropriate for the critical analysis of newsreels, television news, feature films, or TV sitcoms. To date, most thoughtful writing about film and television is the work of people trained in cinema studies, literary analysis, or communications theory but not in history. Much of this work, as Rosenstone notes, is driven by theoretical approaches—structuralist, semiotic, feminist, or Marxist—which may not lend themselves directly to the work of the historian. What elements of film theory should historians be aware of? Can traditional historical methods provide the basis for another approach to moving-image analysis, one more sensitive to both concrete evidence and to historical context?

These were the central questions addressed in a project funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities on “The Historian and the Moving-Image Media,” which I directed for the American Historical Association. The project resulted in a forthcoming book, *Image as Artifact: The Historical Analysis of Film and Television* (co-published with Robert E. Krieger Publishers); a pamphlet, *Teaching History with Film and Television*; and a two-hour video compilation with study guide, all published by the association. Taken together, the book, pamphlet, and video compilation lay out the groundwork for a coherent and comprehensive historical methodology that has been lacking until now.

To summarize, the project suggests that there should be two stages to the historical analysis of a moving-image document, one general and another more specific. The general analysis raises the same types of questions that would be asked of any manuscript document—questions about its information content, its background context, and its historical influence. But these are questions that most historians are not used to asking about films or television programs, and they may have to acquire new tools to answer them.

The full comprehension of the content of a film, for example, demands close consideration of camera angle, lighting, shot composition, editing, and the ways in which each of these and other elements of visual language add subtle (even unconscious) patterns of interpretation. We can learn from film and television scholars about how to examine the visual and aural content of moving images. There are difficulties in establishing that the print of a film to be studied is complete as originally released and not missing footage destroyed by film-hungry projectors or stolen by collectors, that it has not been edited for television, not altered in the transfer from film to video. If not a frame-by-frame or shot-by-shot analysis, surely a scene-by-scene or sequence-by-sequence breakdown is necessary for understanding the order of the images and how they may play on one another and interact with whatever soundtrack there may be. It may even be worth a struggle with at least some of the difficult jargon of the semiologists to help understand the ways in which symbolic images work their meaning.

Consider the opening sequences of *The Return of Martin Guerre* (1982), in which Martin and Bertrande de Rols are married in the small parish church of Artigat and return to the home of the bride’s family for the execution of the marriage contract. Many of the details in the setting of the scene were based on historical research by Natalie Zemon Davis—the finger on which to place the ring, the vows to be spoken, the red wedding dress. But each of these details might be given

different symbolic meaning by viewers. The subdued lighting in the interior of the house was intended to duplicate a candle-lit sixteenth-century interior, but twentieth-century audiences might think it a romantic touch. One might or might not notice that, as the camera approaches the house where the two families are facing off in legal negotiations, we see two dogs fighting in the street. The decision of the producers to have one woman tend a fire while another kneads bread dough and a third plucks a chicken, all in the same room where the contract is being drawn, was significant. In addition to evoking the aura of a life in a sixteenth-century peasant household, the *mise-en-scène* communicates a message about the importance of marriage and the extended family in the everyday life of the time.<sup>8</sup>

Understanding a film as artifact requires a consideration of its production background, the complex collaborative process involved in its creation, and the political or other purposes a film may be meant to serve. Historical methods (informed by the observations of historian-filmmakers, such as Davis's published observations on her involvement in making *The Return of Martin Guerre* and Rosenstone's comments on the behind-the-scenes tensions in the production of *Reds* [1982] and *The Good Fight* [1984]), can offer something to film and communications scholars whose theoretical approaches often limit them to internal analysis. Historians have led the way, for example, in finding and studying the paper archives in Washington, Los Angeles, and elsewhere for the production memos, censor's notes, and script revisions that allow us to trace the production background of specific films.

In a few cases, the behind-the-scenes production story exposed in this sort of "paper trail" has been shown to be even more revealing than the study of the films themselves. Thomas Cripps demonstrated that, in addition to a study of *Birth of a Nation* (1915), a comprehensive understanding of racial attitudes in Progressive America demands a close look at *The Birth of a Race* (1918), intended to serve as black America's answer to D. W. Griffith. In this case, Cripps's careful tracing of the "paper trail" reveals that the original intentions of the filmmakers were dampened by the wavering commitment of white liberals and the desire for social peace during the European war.<sup>9</sup> The film is a valuable historical artifact, but its value cannot be understood without asking the proper questions about its production.

Finally, the general analysis of a moving image requires an examination of what it meant to people who saw it at the time. How might it have served as an agent of history, influencing events (the Walter Cronkite documentary on Vietnam that is said to have convinced Lyndon Johnson not to run again in 1968) or shaping popular perception (the making and remaking of Russian history on Soviet screens since the 1920s)? One especially active area of cinema scholarship today is the study of reception, or spectatorship. Based on the recognition that people may read

<sup>8</sup> For more on the close viewing of this film, see the study guide to the *Image as Artifact Video Compilation*. The compilation includes two short scenes from the film with a voice-over commentary by Davis discussing the important issues.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Cripps, "Following the Paper Trail to *The Birth of a Race* and Its Times," *Film and History* 18 (December 1988): 50–62.

messages in a single film differently, attention has focused on the ways in which class, gender, and political associations influence the understanding of a film's signs and symbols.

This area of research should draw historians' attention to equally important differences in the meaning films hold for people in various cultures or other eras. Analyzing the meaning that a film may have had for an audience in the 1930s or 1940s requires an effort to reconstruct the experience of that audience. What were the other films current at the time, the novels, the news and magazine stories, and other social or cultural influences that may have oriented the viewer at some specific place and time in the past to respond to a film in one way or another? We should not, for example, be drawing conclusions about the impact of propaganda on past audiences without thinking about how they made meaning from what they saw and heard.

The second stage of historical analysis involves more specific questions based on the particular historical inquiry at hand. Too much concern has been given in the past to distinguishing between the historical value of documentaries and that of feature films. As Rosenstone notes, documentaries are no more inherently accurate, no more objectively true in what they communicate than are fiction films. All are carefully structured creations that present a particular point of view. Far more important than the type of film are the questions we ask of it, for the questions invariably determine the relative importance of certain methodological concerns.

When we study film in search of certain types of historical data (as with the *Hindenberg* zeppelin footage discussed above), we must concentrate on specific film shots and not allow ourselves to be led astray by editorial manipulation or rearrangement of the sequence of shots. Some of the footage for *The Plow That Broke the Plains* was surely staged for the cameras, and its edited sequences include footage shot in different places at different times, thus compromising the film's value as evidence for actual conditions on the plains. But if we study the film for another purpose, for example, to ask how the Roosevelt administration sought to influence public opinion regarding the problems on the plains, *The Plow* becomes a most relevant artifact, one that has to be understood in all its visual and aural complexity. In this type of inquiry, the editing may be especially important. In the best of films, the ideological message is communicated as much (if not more) through the visual texture and the juxtaposition of images as through voice-over narration.

When a researcher is seeking not discrete factual data but indications of social and cultural values in films or television products of a time, a different kind of film may be of interest and a different kind of analysis needed. It is here that the Hollywood entertainment films and TV sitcoms offer special potential. On one level, conclusions are obvious—success of *Birth of a Nation* confirms our understanding about the American public's willingness to accept racist ideas in 1915. On other levels, however, there is more to think about, such as the response of black America in the courts of censorship and in their efforts to answer with *The Birth of a Race*.



Should films be seen as shaping social values as well as reflecting them? When the black Jefferson family moved to the same street as the stereotypically racist Archie Bunker of the television show *All in the Family* (in 1975, the Jeffersons moved “uptown” and into their own time slot in prime time), the change signaled the producers’ belief that the viewers were ready for the confrontations (comedic and otherwise) that would ensue. Addressing issues of racial prejudice surely also had an impact on the people who watched and laughed at the shows. But were the viewers laughing at Archie or agreeing with him? Different sections of the audience defined by race, class, and political opinion must have reacted in different, even opposite, ways to the program’s approaches to racial stereotyping. Some observers at the time feared that the character of Archie Bunker may have served to reaffirm the beliefs of bigots in the audience despite the supposedly liberalizing intentions of the producers.<sup>10</sup> The issues are complex, but they cannot be ignored.

This second stage of analysis, then, should be driven less by the nature of the film or television material than by the nature of the historical inquiry. Virtually every film lends itself to analysis in at least two or three of the four forms of inquiry that usually bring historians to the study of moving-image documents. These include efforts to understand how a film represents or interprets history (as in how *The Good Fight* interprets the Spanish Civil War); to find confirmation of then-current social and cultural values (as in how *The Good Fight* is an expression of the values of 1984); to glean factual data not otherwise available (as with the close shot-by-shot study of the archival battle footage included in *The Good Fight*); and to document the history of film and television (studying *The Good Fight* as an example of independent documentary film production in the mid-1980s).

Each of these four types of inquiry carries its own special methodological concerns, its own approach to content, production, and reception analysis. An awareness of these concerns and approaches should become a part of every methods course for research historians. As the twenty-first century closes in on us, a more general “visual literacy” and the ability to deal thoughtfully with visual images, should be a part of everyone’s education.<sup>11</sup>

HOW ARE WE TO RESPOND IF, as certainly seems likely, more and more people in the future learn their history from films and television rather than from the written work of historical scholars? Certainly, we should be trying to make better historical films—ones, as Rosenstone indicates, that allow for alternate interpretations and complex motivations. But this is not enough. We should also be preparing our students for lifelong learning, training them (and the public at large) to be more thoughtful viewers of historical films and television.

We can do this by challenging our students to think analytically about the historical films we show them in the classroom. To what extent do they seem to

<sup>10</sup> Leonard Gross, “Do Bigots Miss the Message?” *TV Guide* (November 8, 1975): 14–18.

<sup>11</sup> The book, *Image as Artifact: The Historical Analysis of Film and Television* and the pamphlet entitled *Teaching History with Film and Television* both contain a summary introduction to visual language for the historian and history teacher.

be based on the same level of research we expect to be the basis of good historical writing? What elements of historical interpretation are presented, either overtly in the narrative or characterization or more subtly through *mise-en-scène* and visual language? How, if at all, does the film relate the past to the present (the period of the film's production)? How do the inherent limits of the medium restrict the ways that a story can be told or an issue addressed? What alternatives might have been considered? Have the characters been unnecessarily simplified or modernized? Has time been collapsed or the order of events changed in significant ways? If fictional characters or story elements have been added, where does the history end and fiction begin, and to what extent do the fictional elements intrude on the historical material? How does the material and the point of view presented conform with the available historical literature (students should always wind up in the library).

We must rely to a great extent on historian-filmmakers and scholars who have worked in film production to help us with answers about what went on behind the scenes. Scholars who become involved in the production process have a responsibility to speak and write about their good and bad experiences, as Rosenstone, Davis, Robert Brent Toplin, and Daniel Walkowitz have done, rather than simply allowing the film to stand on its own. The study guides prepared to accompany films or videos for classroom use should do more than pose questions about the subject matter and make suggestions for further reading. They should discuss the ways in which complex characters and subtle story elements had to be simplified, raise alternative interpretations and provoke examination of the film's content, production, and reception. Equally important, journals like the *American Historical Review* must join the *Journal of American History* and others in recognizing the need to offer critical reviews of historical film and television by qualified scholars—ones who understand the medium as well as the history being presented through it.

Even if we have no concrete answers to many of the questions noted above, teachers who use historical films in their classes uncritically (without ever raising these types of questions) do their students a disservice. They reinforce the habits of passive viewing that youngsters develop at home in front of their television sets. In contrast, raising the types of questions suggested above sparks active lessons in critical historical thinking. Once involved in the discussion of authenticity and historical representation in film and television, students will begin to ask the same critical questions of what they read.

The study of film also suggests one of the most direct means for demonstrating the relevance of history to contemporary life. Visual literacy is an essential tool for citizenship in contemporary America. It would be easy to teach students to be cynics (or to reinforce them in their cynicism), but this would be neither productive nor educational. Not long ago, the naive presumption was common that whatever people saw on the news they accepted as fact. Today, people are so ready to disbelieve news reports, and especially news analysis, that "media bashing" has become an effective political tool. Political campaigning has become a contest between the principals and the press. Candidates and consultants try to orchestrate the media, while journalists resist the manipulation by concentrating more on

campaign strategy than on substantive issues. Historical research of any political campaign since the 1960s demands the close analysis of television news and broadcast political advertising.<sup>12</sup> Students who have thought about such issues in the context of their history classes are far more likely to respond as thoughtful citizens.

In a free society, the goal of history teaching, like the goal of journalism, must go beyond simply informing people (chronicling events or passing on the traditions of a culture to new generations) to giving people the wherewithal to think out important issues. It should be a given therefore that we teach our students to use audiovisual sources as stimuli to thought. They should not be left either to believe or disbelieve what they see on television news or in a history film but to understand a television news report or a historical documentary for what it is, one of the many available sources of information, a source with inevitable personal, institutional, and technological limitations on what it tells and how it tells it, a source that requires the intelligent viewer to have some facility with visual language.

Where do we fit visual literacy into a curriculum already overcrowded? We start, at least, by rethinking what it means to be history teachers. We must recognize that, details of the specific subject area aside, all history classes should be lessons in critical thinking. If we allow the close study of film and television to play the part it deserves, we will have taken a major step toward teaching our students and ourselves to appreciate both history in images and images in history.

<sup>12</sup> Another issue that demands our attention is the preservation of film and television materials. Thus far this has been the crusade, almost exclusively, of cinema and television scholars. There are people struggling to save threatened television news materials and political television commercials, to preserve current news and television for future generations of scholars, and to make all of it accessible. They need the support of the AHA and its members.

---

*AHR Forum*  
The Filmmaker as Historian

---

ROBERT BRENT TOPLIN

IN RECENT DECADES, historians have eagerly turned to an analysis of films for insights into the changing interests of past generations. They have, for example, treated dramatic film as a mirror that reflects the conscious and unconscious values of the producers and their audiences. Historians also have examined film and television in order to study the history of the entertainment industry and to understand film's role as an influence on public opinion and as an instrument of propaganda.<sup>1</sup> Robert A. Rosenstone focuses, however, on another area of investigation—on film as a representation of the past. Surprisingly, historians have given very little formal attention to this topic. Occasionally, they write reviews of films dealing with historical themes, but very few have analyzed broad questions about film's potential for interpreting history. Consideration of the differences between written discourse and filmed history are noticeably absent, and few scholars assess the implications of film's new prominence as a popular communicator of history.

Academicians often look skeptically on the media's renditions of history and for good reason. They have seen history compromised, stretched, abused, and fabricated. The strong Nielsen ratings for historical dramas such as *Roots* (1977), *Holocaust* (1978), and *Shogun* (1980) give them little reason for enthusiasm, since the producers of these films exploited artistic license to invent scenes, characters, and dialogue.<sup>2</sup> Documentaries, with their supposedly educational format, disappoint, too, in that filmmakers often construct them with an eye to entertainment value rather than the priorities of scholarship. Gerda Lerner, in an article in the *Journal of American History* eight years ago, acknowledged the popularity of the new

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Robert A. Rosenstone, "Genres, History, and Hollywood: A Review Article," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 27 (1985): 368–70; Garth Jowett, *Film: The Democratic Art* (Boston, 1976); Robert Sklar, *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies* (New York, 1976); John E. O'Connor and Martin A. Jackson, eds., *American History/American Film: Interpreting the Hollywood Image* (New York, 1979); Ian C. Jarvie, *Movies as Social Criticism: Aspects of Their Social Psychology* (Metuchen, N.J., 1978).

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the growing popularity of docudramas, see Robert B. Musburger, "Setting the Stage for the Television Docudramas," *Journal of Popular Film and Television*, 13 (Summer 1985): 92–101; Joseph P. McKerns, "Television Docudramas: The Image as History," *Journalism History*, 7 (Spring 1980): 24; Eric Breitbart, "From the Panorama to the Docudrama: Notes on the Visualization of History," *Radical History Review*, 25 (1981): 115–25; Thomas W. Hoffer and Richard Alan Nelson, "Evolution of Docudrama on American Television Networks: A Content Analysis, 1966–1978," *Southern Speech Communications Journal*, 45 (Winter 1980): 149–63.

filmed history but found the medium strikingly deficient when compared to print-oriented history. She criticized films for their present-mindedness, shallowness, and uncritical handling of issues. Historians must try to influence and improve the media, she argued. Unfortunately, the approaches of media history “run counter to the mind-set of the historian and to the values and perspective historical studies provide,” she remarked.<sup>3</sup> In 1985, Stanley N. Katz observed that academicians sometimes make exciting contributions to film projects, but producers usually are hesitant to convey ideas through “talking heads.” Katz considered television a “special disaster” from the scholar’s point of view. “Breast-beating will not change this situation,” wrote Katz. “It is up to the scholarly community to find other means of presenting itself to the public.”<sup>4</sup> Even scholars working on educational films supported by government grants often express disappointment. Theodore K. Rabb, for example, reported considerable frustration after working with producers on a documentary about the Renaissance. The major problem, argued Rabb, “is a fundamental division of purpose between scholarship and television . . . Academics deal in nuances, qualifications, and subtle distinctions, while film makers seek broad strokes, drama, and simple, vivid ideas.”<sup>5</sup> Lerner, Katz, and Rabb all acknowledged that film and television have occasionally turned out sophisticated products, but they argued that the good examples appear all too infrequently.

While there is substantial evidence of films treating historical subjects superficially, insensitively, or inaccurately, the dismal record does not, in itself, negate film’s potential for making contributions to historical study. The challenge is to examine the record of film productions and discern achievements amid the general wreckage. Above all, we need to ask, what kind of historical understanding do historians expect to achieve from film? How, as Rosenstone asks, can film introduce new ways of dealing with historical materials? And how do filmmakers approach the task of interpreting history through images and words?

Unfortunately, the profession provides few tools with which to conduct an analysis. Not much has been done to articulate ideas about what constitutes good filmed history, what methods of visual interpretation deserve acclaim or a disapproving stare, or which liberties taken by producers are within the bounds of professional acceptance. Some historians, such as David Hackett Fischer, have criticized their colleagues for a lack of precision, method, and logic in written discourse; certainly, there is even less identification of standards in the evaluation of image-oriented history.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps we agree on some common-sense criteria for evaluating filmed evidence and interpretation (as Robin Winks suggested historians share for print materials), yet those standards receive little discussion.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Gerda Lerner, “The Necessity of History and the Historical Profession,” *Journal of American History*, 69 (June 1982): 16–17.

<sup>4</sup> Stanley N. Katz, “The Scholar and the Public,” *Humanities*, 6 (June 1985): 15.

<sup>5</sup> Theodore K. Rabb, “If Scholars Are to Produce Powerful, Serious Television, They May Have to Resort to Purple Prose—Even Hokum,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 34 (October 7, 1987): B1.

<sup>6</sup> David Hackett Fischer, *Historians’ Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York, 1970), xxi.

<sup>7</sup> Robin Winks, ed., *The Historian as Detective: Essays on Evidence* (New York, 1968), xvi.

Sometimes, a set of expectations emerges from the review process, but the record is of limited value for films. Professional journals devote abundant space to book reviews but usually leave analysis of film and video productions to the few periodicals specifically devoted to the visual media. Frequently, the reviewers assigned to this analysis are film enthusiasts rather than those known for their expertise in the historical subject addressed in the film. The introduction of film reviews in the *Journal of American History* two years ago represented an exception to this general pattern. Furthermore, few historians have received an education in filmmaking or film criticism. "Film is a unique 'language,'" argued William Hughes, "but the historian's professional training provides no guarantee of cinematic literacy."<sup>8</sup> Indeed, very few graduate programs in the country offer students even the most elementary formal introduction to the analysis of visual history.

In view of the dearth of literature on the subject, it is difficult to identify specific standards for evaluating filmed history and comparing its contributions to those achieved in written scholarship. Like the judge who could not define pornography but thought he knew it when he saw it, we depend on emotional reactions to individual films to sort out satisfaction and disappointment. If asked to identify a few models of achievement from the substantial number of documentaries and historical dramas that have come to public attention in recent decades, each observer can point to some examples that deserve acclaim. Because of the depth of research behind a production, the producer's commitment to render the past with sensitivity, the film's power to arouse interest and stir emotions, or a number of other factors, we appreciate its achievement.

Perhaps this case-study approach has its merits, particularly if it helps to identify general qualities evident in films that enhance the viewer's thinking about history. With the goal of establishing broadly applicable principles concerning film's potential for examining history, the following exploration cites a variety of cases from documentary and dramatic films. I do not suggest that each of the films reviewed represents a stellar example of visual history, and in many respects each is interesting for the problems it illuminates as well as the contributions it makes. Nevertheless, each provides some guideposts for exploring the uses of film in communicating information and ideas about the past as well as a feeling for the past. Each also helps to show a variety of ways that filmmakers deal with evidence and shape interpretations. Attention to the filmmaker's craft is particularly important, because film producers, directors, writers, and editors are today assuming the role of the historian for larger and larger audiences.

WHEN FILMMAKERS CRITICIZE HISTORIANS for applying an inappropriate set of criteria to the evaluation of film, they often cite the problem of comprehensiveness. Too often, they argue, academics examine films with an interest in finding a complete, balanced, and detailed exposition on a subject. Scholars expect films to

<sup>8</sup> William Hughes, "The Evolution of Film as Evidence," in Paul Smith, ed., *The Historian and Film* (Cambridge, 1976), 51.



explore multiple causes of behavior and events and point out other accounts of what happened, much as a historian attempts in footnotes or reflective analysis. Academics, they claim, readily expect the same breadth of coverage they seek in a book and complain too frequently that a film “leaves out” important information or alternative explanations. But is it valid to evaluate films by the standard of comprehensiveness? A script for an hour-long television documentary may amount to only five or ten pages of commentary, hardly the source for extensive discourse on a subject. A documentary film is not like a book, observed Av Westin, an executive producer with ABC television; it is analogous to a chapter in a book or, more appropriately, to a highly focused sub-section of a chapter.<sup>9</sup> A film can only introduce a subject, maintained Alvin Perlmutter, an independent producer of documentaries for the Public Broadcasting System (PBS).<sup>10</sup> If it is successful, it will bring a subject to the attention of people who did not know much about it before, and it will encourage them to ask questions and seek further information through reading. Perhaps most important, producers argue, a film quickly loses its audience to confusion and boredom if it attempts to present a detailed and highly complicated perspective on a topic. Because filmmakers must remain sensitive to an audience’s reception in a industry in which production expenses are high and commercial marketability is essential, they remember the maxim of *60 Minutes*’ influential producer, Don Hewitt, who believed that documentaries must reduce their message to a principal idea and repeat the thesis over and over again in a variety of ways. Such a strategy may strengthen viewer ratings and clarify the audience’s understanding, but it cannot satisfy the historian who searches for a sophisticated analysis that recognizes ambiguity and complexity.

While films often fail to deliver a comprehensive view of a subject, they may, nevertheless, contribute to understanding as stimuli for thought. Films work well, not in presenting a complete chronology of events, maintained Peter Davis, but in exciting feeling and emotions. The medium functions as poetry, not as an encyclopedia. Davis, producer (along with Bert Schneider) of the Academy Award-winning documentary, *Hearts and Minds* (1974), pointed out that he would not want to get his history from historical films any more than he would want to get his science from science fiction. To Davis, films are effective when they are emotive, when they help viewers to appreciate the viewpoint of people in different times, places, and conditions. In making *Hearts and Minds*, a documentary about the American experience in Vietnam, Davis tried not to present the film as a history of the war. He wanted, instead, “a psychological inquiry with historical reference points.” *Hearts and Minds* does feature chronological markers (it begins with the story of the French debacle at Dien Bien Phu and ends with the return of U.S. prisoners of war in the 1970s). But the main focus is on people—American and Vietnamese—and what the war did to them.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Interview with Av Westin, May 25, 1988.

<sup>10</sup> Interview with Alvin Perlmutter, May 24, 1988.

<sup>11</sup> Interview with Peter Davis, May 24, 1988.

*Hearts and Minds* excites interest and promotes thinking about history through its imaginative format. The film does not feature a narrator, the familiar interpreter who explains the meaning of historical material with apparent omniscience. It lets the original sources carry the story—archival film footage, scenes Davis shot in Vietnam and the United States, propaganda films, clips from Hollywood movies, and numerous interviews with U.S., French, and Vietnamese citizens and officials. Davis hoped the accumulation of stimuli would give audiences insight into the thinking of the American people as their country became involved in Southeast Asia. He wanted to understand the image of the “warrior” and its relevance to U.S. intervention. All of the Americans featured in the interviews were, at one time or another, supporters of U.S. involvement (several of them, as they explain on camera, eventually changed their opinion), and many of them associated their posture on the war with toughness and manliness.

The emotional impact of *Hearts and Minds* builds to a crescendo. Images and words absorbed in the early minutes take on new meaning in the context of a growing bombardment of disturbing and sometimes shocking filmed evidence. Audiences see the destruction of Vietnamese homes and the release of sickly political prisoners from the South Vietnamese government’s “tiger cages”; they see Daniel Ellsberg choking up on recalling the loss of Robert Kennedy and hence also hopes for an early peace; they watch Lyndon Baines Johnson summoning the nation to fight on, and they hear a disabled war veteran describe the blast that destroyed his limbs. *Hearts and Minds* engages the viewer’s emotions more deeply each minute and brings anger to a boil. By the final scenes, individuals who are inclined to see the past through Davis’s lens feel moral indignation, while those still inclined to defend America’s role in Vietnam are likely to feel anger. Indeed, *Hearts and Minds* came under attack from some scholars. They claimed that the film took the words of interviews out of context and juxtaposed images in subtle ways to support a thesis (the segment that excited most debate placed an interview in which General William Westmoreland said Asians showed less regard for human life than Westerners next to a scene showing a screaming Vietnamese woman trying to climb into the grave with her dead son).

*Hearts and Minds* is an instructive example of the documentary as stimulus, because its design draws attention to questions about evidence, interpretation, and bias. The presentation of film segments and interviews without a narrator first suggests an objective, unmediated presentation of facts. Yet the accumulation of filmed sources soon shows that the filmmaker did not approach evidence from a neutral position. *Hearts and Minds* reveals the subtle ways that a producer’s choice of materials and editing decisions can turn a film into a powerful instrument to promote thought and stir emotion. An analysis of its structure brings to mind Erik Barnouw’s observation: “The documentarist makes endless choices. He selects topics, people, vistas, angles, lenses, juxtapositions, sounds, words. Each selection is an expression of his point of view, whether he is aware of it or not, whether he acknowledges it or not.”<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Erik Barnouw, *Documentary: A History of Non-Fiction Film* (Oxford, 1983), 313.

MANY PRODUCERS, AND ACADEMIC HISTORIANS AS WELL, AGREE with Davis's assumptions about film's shortcomings as a conveyor of information. They see it as a useful vehicle for arousing interest or sensitizing viewers to a problem, but they consider it a poor mechanism for presenting detailed, balanced, and comprehensive coverage of a subject. Books perform the task more effectively, they argue (although they recognize that comprehensiveness is difficult to achieve in any format). Films and written discourse can complement each other nicely, but one is not a substitute for the other.<sup>13</sup> This conclusion remains popular, yet examples continue to appear of information-laden documentary films. These productions are not designed to replace written history (in fact, the producers frequently release related books simultaneously with the films' appearance on television).<sup>14</sup> Still, they take on the appearance of a text on film, of a broad-based visual monograph.

The advantages and the difficulties of the genre are evident in the record of a well-known documentary series, *Vietnam: A Television History* (1983). Its producers explored television's potential for addressing a controversy with breadth and depth. The thirteen hourly programs, developed by WGBH-Boston and British and French co-sponsors, presented a highly detailed picture of the thirty years of fighting in Southeast Asia. Richard Ellison, the executive producer, noted that there was limited writing and filmed discussion of the Vietnam conflict during the second half of the 1970s, and he suspected that many people remained confused about the war and would soon want a clearer understanding of its history. WGBH's series effectively anticipated the demand for information that erupted in the 1980s. In many respects, it offered a model for a "television history," a visual text encompassing a wide range of material and points of view. The series studied a highly complicated and controversial subject with clarity and evenhandedness. Its numerous and sometimes lengthy interviews with Vietcong and North Vietnamese participants as well as U.S. and South Vietnamese soldiers, civilians, and politicians provided an informative oral history of the war. The series constituted one of television's better examples of an instructive documentary, and it accomplished the task with an impressive audience rating for educational fare. An average of 9.7 million watched each of the original thirteen episodes that aired on Public Broadcasting, and millions more saw later broadcasts in the United States and Europe and showings in high school, college, and adult classrooms.

The Vietnam series won praise for its "fair and generally balanced" treatment and its "dispassionate narrative," but it also received strong criticism for biased interpretation.<sup>15</sup> Vietnamese expatriots claimed that the programs displayed ideological preferences. They said the film stressed Ho Chi Minh's nationalism over his communism, relied on propaganda for source materials, and depended heavily on a pro-communist Vietnamese translator and consultant. Some Viet-

<sup>13</sup> S.R.G., "Print Culture and Video Culture," *Daedalus*, 111 (Fall 1982): v.

<sup>14</sup> Among the familiar examples of books that appeared in connection with television documentaries are Jacob Bronowski, *The Ascent of Man* (1974); Kenneth Clark, *Civilization: A Personal View* (New York, 1970); Stanley Karnow, *Vietnam: A History* (New York, 1984).

<sup>15</sup> *Time Magazine* (October 3, 1983): 76; *Newsweek* (October 10, 1983): 91.

namese demonstrated outside PBS affiliate stations in Houston, New Orleans, San Diego, and Washington, D.C. Conservative groups in the United States gained much more publicity by demanding a rebuttal in the same format that WGBH used: television.<sup>16</sup> Reed Irvine's organization, Accuracy in Media (AIM), obtained a special grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to support production of two programs for airing on PBS. The films disputed a number of points of interpretation. AIM's films characterized the war as a fight between communist slavery and freedom, and they suggested that a liberal press and television media presented biased and inaccurate coverage and underestimated the success of U.S. policies in Vietnam.

AIM's claim that *Vietnam: A Television History* was not the completely detached, objective study that it was advertised to be amounted to a truism. No film on a controversial subject—or any book on one for that matter—can assume complete non-partisanship. The choice of interviews, the juxtaposition of words and images, nuances in the narrative, and other factors give the composition shape and potentially guide the viewer toward specific conclusions. “The facts speak only when the historian calls on them,” wrote Edward Hallett Carr, and his words apply to the film producer as well as the author of the written text.<sup>17</sup> *Vietnam's* producers built subtle points of view into their product. The thirteen programs constitute an interpretation, not a detached, encyclopedic rendering of history. But as history it is more inquisitive and thought-provoking than AIM's unidimensional interpretation. *Vietnam: A Television History* remains an extraordinary accomplishment in view of the breadth of information and the multiple perspectives it offers on a very controversial subject.<sup>18</sup>

WE HAVE COME TO EXPECT CONVENTIONAL HISTORY FROM FILM, not innovative approaches to looking at the past. Documentaries frequently deliver history through the voice of a formal interpreter whose confident narration suggests that all the facts are knowable and their meaning understandable. Through dialogue and action, docudramas also attempt precise explanations for events. As Rosenstone notes, they move toward climax and denouement. By presenting subjects in a conclusive manner, films imply that the study of history is a tidy operation, that it involves little more than laying out a chronology and “getting the story straight.” Films rarely give audiences a sense of the challenges in historical interpretation. They address subjects authoritatively, suggesting that the investigator works with an orderly universe of evidence. They fail to show that a filmmaker must give shape and meaning to the sources. In short, films rarely point

<sup>16</sup> Nguyen Manh Hung, “‘Vietnam: A Television History’: A Case Study in Perceptual Conflict between the American Media and the Vietnamese Expatriots,” *World Affairs: A Quarterly Review of International Problems*, 147 (Fall 1984): 71–84; James Banerian, ed., *Losers Are Pirates: A Close Look at the PBS Series ‘Vietnam: A Television History’* (Phoenix, Ariz., 1985), i–iii, 19–20, 29, 38.

<sup>17</sup> Edward Hallett Carr, *What is History?* (New York, 1961), 9.

<sup>18</sup> See the review essay on *Vietnam: A Television History* and AIM's *Television's Vietnam* by George C. Herring in *Journal of American History*, 74 (December 1987): 1123–25.

out that facts do not speak for themselves and that the filmmaker must speak for them.<sup>19</sup>

Exceptions to the rule are worthy of study, for a few films take viewers beyond neatly packaged history and confront them with questions about the way a researcher obtains evidence and draws conclusions. These films do not usually accomplish the task through formal instruction in methodology. Rather, they act as subtle communicators that, by example, illustrate the value of critical thinking. *Radio Bikini* (1987), a film about the atomic explosions at the Bikini atoll in 1946, illustrates some of the possibilities. It challenges viewers to consider the uses of evidence by showing them a film within a film. *Radio Bikini* presents a wide assortment of original films gathered when the U.S. Navy planned to produce a lengthy documentary about the atomic tests.<sup>20</sup> The military brought 104 still cameras, 208 motion picture cameras, and eighteen tons of film to the sites, and *Radio Bikini*'s producer Robert Stone uncovered much of the uncut footage collected for the navy's documentary at the National Archives. The U.S. government eventually abandoned plans to produce the documentary when levels of radiation at the bomb sites turned out to be surprisingly high, and the buildup of the cold war made atomic weapons an increasingly sensitive issue. For years, the extensive record of the project remained tucked away, and Stone had to make considerable effort to gain access to the materials.<sup>21</sup>

As in Davis's *Hearts and Minds*, Stone presented evidence without use of a narrator or host. He included original film footage along with excerpts from radio broadcasts and newsreels and interviews with just two individuals: a "chief" of the Bikini islanders and a navy veteran who had been present for the tests. Most important, he showed that the original producers staged many of the scenes from the "Operation Crossroads" project. By including the original "takes" (complete with clapboard and scene calls) as well as outtakes and shots of the photographers and cinematographic equipment at Bikini, Stone reminds audiences that people stand behind the images that make up a historical documentary. The cinematographer or the director, driven by personal goals or the purposes of the sponsoring institution, often selects scenes and interviews by design rather than by randomly choosing evidence from the scene of history. *Radio Bikini* shows that "facts" in a documentary are not neutral, and the configuration of choices affects the structure of interpretation. This message comes across powerfully when the film displays several "takes" in which a military officer changes his delivery so that he can more persuasively tell the islanders (in a speech rehearsed on film) that the atomic bombs will do "something good for mankind." *Radio Bikini* allows us to witness the making of propaganda, and it challenges us to ask what we can believe about filmed

<sup>19</sup> Hayden White's remarks on written history relate to this discussion. See *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore, Md., 1978), 121–30. Also see Bill Nichols, *Ideology and Image: Social Representation in the Cinema and Other Media* (Bloomington, Ind., 1981), 237.

<sup>20</sup> For a discussion of the purposes of the tests, see W. A. Shurcliff, *Bombs at Bikini: The Official Report of Operation Crossroads* (New York, 1947). David Bradley, a medical doctor assigned to the testing site, expressed concern about the dangers of radioactivity in *No Place to Hide: 1946/1984* (Hanover, N.H., 1983).

<sup>21</sup> Interview with Robert Stone, May 23, 1988.

evidence. It raises pointed questions about fairness to the exiled islanders and the safety of the sailors who were transported to the radioactive ships near ground zero shortly after the explosions. Stone effectively uses the navy's own documentary footage to call into question the very conclusions the U.S. government wanted viewers to reach.

While Stone's film works splendidly as an imaginative examination of propaganda, its structure and dramatic production techniques reveal the interpretive style of the filmmaker in bold relief. As producer, director, and editor, Stone made conscious decisions that shaped the film's conclusions. For instance, he selected only two individuals for present-day interviews—both of them victims of the U.S. presence at Bikini. The presentation of archival film footage also is selective. It consistently shows U.S. military, medical, and political figures in awkward performances. The personnel deliver their rehearsed lines badly and show non-spontaneous behavior. In contrast, the footage showing the islanders almost always portrays a happy and serene people living in an unusually beautiful setting that is about to be destroyed. Sweet Marshallese music accompanies several of these scenes. Raising questions about these techniques should not suggest a defense of the atomic tests at Bikini. But the analysis is useful for considering the ways in which a producer carefully chooses samples from thousands of feet of film to establish a thesis. *Radio Bikini*'s exciting approach to the original source material draws attention to questions about interpretation and persuasion.

THE PUBLIC DOES NOT EXPECT AN INTRODUCTION TO HISTORIANS' debates when watching a film about the past. Rarely do films point directly to historiographical questions, and they almost never give specific attention to the scholars who are behind them. Yet films, by their presentation of evidence and attempts to draw conclusions, take sides. Through example, they contribute to the controversies that animate historical writing. Indeed, many producers fashion their films as statements on these debates, for they draw their conclusions from the theses of influential monographs. The connection, then, between media and print-oriented interpretation is often significant, even though film reviews rarely take note of the relationship.

Peter Watkins's *The Battle of Culloden* (1966) provides an interesting example of the interconnectedness between film and print. For a number of years, "Bonnie Prince Charlie" had been the subject of romantic depictions in historical writing, novels, poetry, and song. A Hollywood film showed him sailing into the sunset at the end while a tearful Flora MacDonald waved from a windy hilltop. Watkins borrowed ideas from John Prebble's popular narrative, *Culloden* (1961), to make an unusual docudrama. His BBC production assaulted the legends about Charles Edward Stuart, showing him to be cowardly and indecisive in the famous battle near Inverness, Scotland. *The Battle of Culloden*, though a film, stirred debates in scholarly circles, and Susan MacLean Kybett, in a lengthy new biography of Charles Edward Stuart, admitted that the television film excited her interest in



getting to the truth about “Bonnie Prince Charlie” and the horrible massacre.<sup>22</sup>

*The Battle of Culloden* raises questions about familiar explanations for the English victory over the Highland clans in the famous battle of 1746. The docudrama shows a “Whig historian” interpreting the fighting from afar, hidden behind a wall of stones and dependent on the lens of a telescope to discern the course of events. Hinting that such a poorly placed eyewitness can hardly be trusted for an informed account, the film forces viewers to question evidence. As one reviewer noted, it offers a considerable contrast from the old CBS television docudrama that confidently announced, “You Are There.” *The Battle of Culloden* makes us wonder: “Are We There?”<sup>23</sup> It asks, in effect, which version of events is to be believed. Watkins presented his own perspective of the battle by taking the motion-picture camera through the lines. An unseen narrator describes and interviews the combatants. He introduces the clans’ rag-tag army of hungry and tired troops, which is hardly a match for the well-armed English and their Scottish allies. The Duke of Cumberland’s forces rout the clan army, and the duke lives up to his reputation as “the Butcher.”<sup>24</sup> After the battle, the English commit atrocities, slaughtering wounded Highlanders in the field and plundering the Highlanders’ homes. With intense sympathy for the victims, the film reexamines the victory that has been vigorously defended in some British schoolbooks. It argues that “pacification” of the Highlands established the hegemony of English institutions while erasing much of the culture of the Highlanders. Borrowing words from history, the narrator concludes that the English “created a desert and called it peace.”

Obviously, Watkins did not deliver the last word on Culloden. Like the author of a highly partisan monograph about a controversial subject, he presented a biting indictment that stirs audiences to ask questions and seek more information. And, like many works in historiography, it bears markings of the present. Indeed, some have interpreted the film as a metaphor about British society in the twentieth century, because it directs its sympathy to the humble masses and displays contempt for the rich and powerful. *The Battle of Culloden*, as well as *Hearts and Minds*, and *Radio Bikini*, are strongly colored perspectives, not definitive histories. Each represents a form of historiographical muckraking through the medium of film. We may lament the degree of partisanship evident in these presentations and wish for a more balanced and objective style. Yet partisanship adds a dimension that often works with particular effectiveness in film.<sup>25</sup> Many of the more influential documentaries dealing with American history, for example, aimed to persuade. Pare Lorenz’s *The Plow that Broke the Plains* (1936) tried to show that

<sup>22</sup> Susan MacLean Kybett, *Bonnie Prince Charlie: A Biography of Charles Edward Stuart* (New York, 1988), xix. Also see David Daiches, *Charles Edward Stuart: The Life and Times of Bonnie Prince Charlie* (London, 1973).

<sup>23</sup> Ina Rae Hark, “On Eyewitnessing History: The Compromised Spectator in Peter Watkins’ ‘Culloden,’” *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 84 (Summer 1985): 301.

<sup>24</sup> For a recent examination of the debate about Cumberland, see W. A. Speck, *The Butcher: The Duke of Cumberland and the Suppression of the 45* (Oxford, 1981), xi, 3–4, 147–55.

<sup>25</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis discussed partisanship in history films in “‘Any Resemblance to Persons Living or Dead’: Film and the Challenge of Authenticity,” *Yale Review*, 76 (Summer 1987): 477–78.

uncontrolled cultivation of the Great Plains helped to create the ecological disaster of the 1930s; Frank Capra's *Why We Fight* series (1942–1944) contrasted freedom with fascist dictatorship for a nation gearing for war; and recent documentaries concerning American social history such as *With Babies and Banners* (1978) and *The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter* (1980) attempted to elevate the role of women in history and excite anger over the discrimination they had faced. In each case, partisanship gave direction to the documentary and helped generate audience interest.<sup>26</sup>

Still, film displays significant inadequacies if it does not communicate some of the ambiguity and complexity of life. The causes of problems are not always so singular as films frequently make them, solutions not always so obvious, good and evil not always so stark. If film is to make viewers sensitive to historiographical debates, it must throw light on them and expose audiences to multiple perspectives. Challenges to understanding such as those addressed by the Japanese filmmaker Akira Kurosawa, who showed four different accounts of a case of rape and murder in his classic film, *Rashomon* (1950), deserve our consideration. Kurosawa presented the viewpoints of the rapist-murderer, the raped woman, the woman's murdered husband, and a witness. Instead of choosing a specific explanation for the event, he left audiences to reach their own conclusions.<sup>27</sup>

A number of filmmakers have experimented with formats that examine problems from diverse points of view. Thames television, for example, employed the technique effectively in its presentation of *The Troubles* (1981), a documentary about the historic tensions in Ireland. The filmmakers avoided editorializing; instead, they allowed eyewitnesses and experts to contradict each other, leaving viewers to decide where the truth lay.<sup>28</sup> Producer Ken Burns applied this approach in a related manner in *Huey Long* (1986), a compelling personality study of the controversial politician from Louisiana. His documentary shows the Depression-era governor both as a corrupt, power-hungry demagogue and as a folk hero who brought highways, hospitals, and college buildings to one of the least developed states in the nation. Interviews, narration, and archival film draw the audience variously toward one interpretation and then another. The result is a powerful intellectual exercise that encourages the viewer to ask questions and contemplate alternative viewpoints.

Complexity is perhaps even more difficult to communicate in dramatic film. Producers are often reluctant to portray ambiguity in character development or show individuals motivated by several conflicting factors. The "great man" theory of history is a particular problem of this genre. Filmmakers appear to be enthusiasts of Thomas Carlyle's perspective on history, although, evidently, few have read this British master. Strong personalities create events in these dramas;

<sup>26</sup> The two documentaries about women's issues have come under fire for the way they treated evidence and strenuously presented a point of view. See Daniel J. Leab, "Writing History with Film: Two Views of the 1937 Strike against General Motors by the UAW," *Labor History*, 21 (Winter 1979–80): 111–12; Alice Kessler-Harris, "'Rosie the Riveter': Who Was She?" *Labor History*, 24 (Spring 1983): 249–51.

<sup>27</sup> Davis, "'Any Resemblance to Persons Living or Dead,'" 478–82.

<sup>28</sup> Jerry Kuehl, "Television History: The Next Step," *Sight and Sound*, 51 (Summer 1982): 188–89.

rarely do conditions make the person. Television has treated audiences to dramatic portrayals of Christopher Columbus, George Washington, Napoleon, Abraham Lincoln, Benito Mussolini, and Martin Luther King, Jr., in which the biographical approach dominates the interpretations. Rarely do the historical dramas show behavior resulting from broad, impersonal forces, including economic and environmental factors. Enthusiasts of the *Annales* school are not likely to draw satisfaction.

Docudramas frequently avoid representations that suggest their conclusions are open to argument, that evaluations of human behavior and the factors that influence it are subject to intense disagreement. Consequently, they lose rich opportunities to explore some of the important questions that animate historical scholarship. The treatment of John Brown in commercial films is a case in point. Brown has been the subject of conflicting assessments in numerous books published since the Civil War. He has been described as a violence-prone lunatic, as a sensitive, Christ-like hero fighting for the oppressed, as a clever conspirator who believed he could promote abolitionism even if his immediate goal failed, and as a foolish fanatic who could not recognize the obvious flaws in his plan of attack—to name a few of the popular characterizations. Brown has been portrayed in several dramatic films, most recently in two melodramatic television mini-series, *The Blue and the Gray* (1982) and *North and South* (1985). In each case, this complex and fascinating man appeared as a one-dimensional figure, simply as a dedicated abolitionist. A viewer unfamiliar with the literature on Brown would obtain absolutely no sense of the larger questions asked about his behavior by historians such as C. Vann Woodward or David M. Potter.<sup>29</sup>

Even when producers base their rendition on published investigations, the pressures of popular entertainment often intrude, resulting in a very limited perspective on a complex subject. The difficulty is evident in the way Lyndon Johnson has been portrayed in two television specials. Both films presented compelling drama, but they demonstrated the producers' preference for neatly packaged history. The video versions greatly amplified themes originally developed in print. *LBJ: The Early Years* (1986) drew heavily on Robert Caro's impressive critical biography, *The Path to Power*.<sup>30</sup> The film accented ugly elements in Johnson's character, depicting the Texan as a clever, power-seeking politico who enjoyed humiliating his associates. A second film, *Lyndon Johnson* (1987) presented a one-man drama fashioned after Merle Miller's *Lyndon*.<sup>31</sup> It offered viewers a lovable president who cared deeply about issues and people. When dealing with Johnson's painful problems in Vietnam, the film portrayed the president as well-intentioned but misled by advisers who confidently urged escalation. Which of these two distinct characters was the real Lyndon Johnson? Audiences could gain valuable insight into the challenges of interpretation by watching both programs, but exposure to only one could draw them toward simple conclusions.

<sup>29</sup> C. Vann Woodward, *The Burden of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, La., 1968), 41–68; David M. Potter, *The South and the Sectional Conflict* (Baton Rouge, 1968), 201–18.

<sup>30</sup> Robert Caro, *The Path to Power: The Years of Lyndon Johnson* (New York, 1982).

<sup>31</sup> Merle Miller, *Lyndon: An Oral Biography* (New York, 1980).

Again, film failed to reflect the multiple dimensions of life. To be sure, the written history that inspired these films also reflected points of view, but the docudramas significantly amplified the single-minded perspective.

The impressive success of another film, *Concealed Enemies* (1983), reveals that sometimes the docudrama format can open viewers' eyes to the complexity of human affairs. It shows that a dramatic film may raise more questions about a historical controversy than it answers. *Concealed Enemies*, a mini-series on PBS, addressed a subject that had attracted partisan opinion for years—the Alger Hiss-Whittaker Chambers case.<sup>32</sup> The Emmy Award-winning film treated the case so evenhandedly that it provoked dismay among partisans of both antagonists. Some considered the film a whitewash of Hiss, who they assumed to be a perjurer, liar, and traitor, while others thought the film made Hiss appear guilty.<sup>33</sup> Alger Hiss, who saw the script, said, "Their objective was to be evenhanded—and therefore there are parts of it that I don't agree with. There are not two sides to the case as far as I'm concerned."<sup>34</sup>

The purpose of the film's production team was, indeed, to draw audiences into the mystery of the case, expose them to the conflicting evidence, and encourage questions about the past rather than acceptance of the filmmaker's prejudices. According to Peter B. Cook, the producer, viewers are sufficiently sophisticated to see the subject from more than one perspective. Ambiguity is the key to effective historical drama, he argued, saying, "If you're confident enough to accept ambiguity, you have a chance to do a great service." Cook believed his docudrama provided a much more complex treatment of the Hiss-Chambers case than an earlier documentary entitled *The Trials of Alger Hiss* (1980), which featured a transparently pro-Hiss agenda. In this instance, said Cook, a dramatic presentation gave more food for thought than a film using the supposedly educational format.<sup>35</sup>

*Concealed Enemies* is a masterpiece of historical drama not only because of the sophistication of its script but also because of its sensitivity to details. The production team conducted meticulous research. They interviewed all of the principal figures they could reach, including Hiss, and tried to establish the complexity of their characters in the portrayals. They also scrupulously avoided tell-tale shots: when Hiss or Chambers speaks, the camera does not move in on key phrases to suggest the possibility of lying (this is a familiar editorial device that directors frequently resort to in documentary interviews as well as in docudrama scenes). As effectively as a fine book on the subject, *Concealed Enemies* teaches viewers to be skeptical about evidence and to resist uninformed assumptions. It

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, Allen Weinstein, *Perjury* (New York, 1978); Whittaker Chambers, *Witness* (New York, 1952); Ronald Seth, *The Sleeping Truth: The Hiss-Chambers Affair Reappraised* (New York, 1968); Ralph De Toledano, *Seeds of Treason: The True Story of the Hiss-Chambers Tragedy* (New York, 1950); John Chabot Smith, *Alger Hiss: The True Story* (New York, 1976); Alger Hiss, *In the Court of Public Opinion* (New York, 1957); and Morton Levitt, *A Tissue of Lies: Nixon vs. Hiss* (New York, 1974).

<sup>33</sup> Diverse conclusions about the film's message appear in the "Concealed Enemies" file, office of Peter B. Cook, WGBH-TV, Boston: Judy Mobley to WGBH, May 21, 1984; Eleanor Garrow to Sirs, n.d.; Jeanette Birnbaum to the Staff at KCET-TV, May 16, 1984; Beverly Blair to John J. Iselin, WNET, May 11, 1984; Alice D. Bouvrie to Peter Cook, June 1, 1984.

<sup>34</sup> *Newsweek* (November 28, 1983): 23–25.

<sup>35</sup> Interview with Peter B. Cook, May 26, 1988.

arouses interest in historical interpretation and encourages audiences to seek further information.

*Concealed Enemies* is not, of course, a perfect example of objective, impartial analysis. The architects of a book or a film bring personal baggage to their project, and trends in historiography easily influence them. In fact, both the producer and the writer of *Concealed Enemies* were impressed by Allen Weinstein's *Perjury* (1978), which appeared a few years before the film went into production. Weinstein's study provided a comprehensive look at the particulars and concluded that Hiss probably perjured himself.<sup>36</sup> *Concealed Enemies* does not adopt Weinstein's thesis completely, although at some points it reveals the book's influence. But the purpose of the film, as its producer was quick to point out, was not to render a verdict. It was to study character and personal tragedy as they operated in the context of a unique era in American history. The film's contribution is not in identifying truth but in provoking thought. Rather than treating the historian as a stenographer who simply records the past, it assumes the historian works as does a detective who must make sense of confusing and sometimes contradictory evidence.

*Concealed Enemies* REPRESENTS AN ACHIEVEMENT IN HISTORICAL DRAMA not only because of the sophistication of its script and the quality of the acting but because the director and the set designers re-created the setting of the story with considerable care. From the smoke-filled rooms of the House Un-American Activities Committee to the city streets filled with 1940s automobiles to Whittaker Chambers's Maryland farm with its famous pumpkin, *Concealed Enemies* transports the viewer back in time and establishes the mood of the postwar era. Even the muted, grainy tone of the film, by design, adds to the sense of time and place. This capacity to pull audiences into the historical environment, to show the distinctiveness of the past, is a precious contribution that is lacking in many historical dramas. Frequently, producers and directors fail to understand the achievement, thinking that scrupulous attention to small details constitutes, in itself, good visual history. But the goal is not simply getting the clothing and the furniture right. It is not just re-shooting a scene for *The Blue and the Gray* to make sure the actor playing General Ulysses S. Grant signs a dispatch with his right hand, not his left, and it is not simply calling on military advisers to get the precise measurement of a twelve-pounder (cannon) for the BBC's production of *Tolstoy's War and Peace*.<sup>37</sup> The real achievement comes from a grasp of the interplay of diverse historical elements, from an insight into something larger than the individual parts. It is the result of extensive research into the geography, dress, language, and customs that

<sup>36</sup> Weinstein, *Perjury*, 565.

<sup>37</sup> William C. Davis, "Making 'The Blue and the Gray,'" *Civil War Times Illustrated*, 21 (June 1982): 28; D. G. Chandler, "War and the Past: The Historian and the Media," *History Today*, 31 (August 1981): 54.



informs the production and enables it to educate audiences in a variety of ways.<sup>38</sup>

The impressive scholarly and commercial reception of *The Return of Martin Guerre* (1983) shows the value of such a wide-ranging investigation into the physical and social background. The film succeeds in telling a fascinating story but it also constantly intrigues viewers by drawing them into the life and times of peasants in a distant era. Each scene subtly introduces information about conditions in sixteenth-century France—from the rituals of a marriage ceremony to the economic livelihood of the villagers to the treatment of law in the Grande Chambre of the Parlement of Toulouse. The film is well appreciated in the historical profession, not for its sophistication alone but also because of the role of an academic historian in its making. Natalie Zemon Davis became an important consultant to the producers. Her expert advice helped to give the film depth. Davis provided the production team with abundant information about the economy, society, institutions, and language. She also gave individual actors details about the characters they were playing, and the director took note of paintings and woodcuts in creating the look of individual scenes.<sup>39</sup>

The producers of *The Return of Martin Guerre* worked hard to achieve verisimilitude, but, as in all attempts to combine fiction and history, artistic liberty was essential in the *modus operandi*. Davis has identified a number of small ways in which the filmmakers shaped the story to fit their needs and did not follow the historical record to the letter (citizens were not present for a trial in the sixteenth-century court of Toulouse, for example, but they were visible in the film). Robert Finlay has raised questions about the way Davis interpreted the story of Bertrande de Rols and Martin Guerre in her book, questions that bear, to a degree, on the film's depiction.<sup>40</sup> However, the drama displays a general respect for scholarship that makes occasional flights from fact tolerable to most academic observers. As Daniel Walkowitz observed, particular details may be negotiated in a historical drama "so long as the overriding conceptual framework remains inviolate."<sup>41</sup> But where do we establish limits? What constitutes unacceptable fictionalizing? Does it matter that the famous scene on the steps of Odessa in Sergei Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin* (1925) never occurred?<sup>42</sup> Is it important that Richard Attenborough's *Gandhi* (1985) conveniently left out questions about the Indian leader's domineering personality, his support of the British empire in three wars, and other factors that reveal a different perspective?<sup>43</sup> How should appropriate questions about accuracy and responsible representation apply to the loose treatment of fact evident in historical dramas?

<sup>38</sup> James A. Michener's recommendations for research on a historical novel may apply to dramatic film. See Michener, "Historical Fiction," *American Heritage*, 33 (April–May 1982): 47.

<sup>39</sup> Ed Benson, "Martin Guerre: The Historian and the Filmmakers: An Interview with Natalie Zemon Davis," *Film and History*, 13 (September 1983): 55–58.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 61; Robert Finlay, "The Refashioning of Martin Guerre," *AHR*, 93 (June 1988): 553–71; Natalie Zemon Davis, "On the Lame," *AHR*, 93 (June 1988): 572–603.

<sup>41</sup> Daniel J. Walkowitz, "Visual History: The Craft of the Historian-Filmmaker," *Public Historian*, 7 (Winter 1985): 60.

<sup>42</sup> John E. O'Connor and Martin Jackson, *Teaching History with Film* (Washington, D.C., 1974), 43.

<sup>43</sup> Richard Grenier, "The Gandhi Nobody Knows," *Commentary*, 73 (March 1983): 59–64.



Perhaps the issues are similar to the ones a student of history confronts in examining literature. Historical fiction has held a prominent place in Western culture for centuries. From Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to Shakespeare's plays about Julius Caesar and English kings, to Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* and Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, writers have blended fact and imagination to arouse, educate, and entertain. The popularity of such marriages between history and fiction has been evidenced by the public's interest in books such as Margurite Yourcenar's *Memoirs of Hadrian*, Henryk Sienkiewicz's *Quo Vadis?* and James Michener's many novels. The debate over William Styron's *Confessions of Nat Turner* (1967) is particularly instructive, for it concerns the propriety of inventing dialogue and creating events for situations in which historians lack specific information. Styron based his novel primarily on the brief but thought-provoking confession of Turner, a rebel slave leader, recorded by a Virginia lawyer in 1831. Some lambasted him for taking liberties with facts, but C. Vann Woodward praised Styron for his informed imagination. The book did not do violence to history, he argued, and its picture of slavery was not inconsistent with anything historians knew. *Confessions*, Woodward wrote, "is informed by a respect for history, a sure feeling for the period, and a deep and precise sense of place and time."<sup>44</sup> Whatever the merits of Styron's novel (and its interpretation is, indeed, controversial), Woodward's words provide a model for assessing achievement in historical films as well as fiction. All the details may not be in place, but the historian hopes the product reflects a deep interest in the subject, a feeling for the people, the culture, and the era, and a commitment to re-creating the past in a responsible way.

Hayden White has argued that historical discourse shares much with novelistic discourse. Can connections be drawn to filmed presentations as well? White maintained that historians too easily distinguish their own search for truth from the poetic fabrications of the fiction writer. Influenced by the perspective of Leopold von Ranke, they describe the historian's approach as an objective, scientific search for reality and assume literature concentrates on the imagined, not the real. But the process of fusing facts into a comprehensive totality is a poetic process, according to White. In both fiction and historical writing, an author tries to display an orderly, understandable world even though he or she encounters "disorder and chaos" when first approaching the facts. Both history and literature create a "literature of fact," establishing the interconnectedness of evidence and providing a verbal (and now a visual?) image of truth.<sup>45</sup> If these ideas have application to film, it is appropriate to conclude that there are many ways to seek reality, and the perspective of the dramatic filmmaker may not be as far removed from that of the historian as is often assumed.

<sup>44</sup> C. Vann Woodward, "Confessions of a Rebel," *New Republic*, 157 (1967): 25. Also see Seymour L. Gross and Eileen Bender, "History, Politics and Literature: The Myth of Nat Turner," *American Quarterly*, 23 (1971): 487–518; William E. Akin, "Toward an Impressionistic History: Pitfalls and Possibilities in William Styron's *Meditation on History*," *American Quarterly*, 21 (Winter 1969): 805–07. For a relevant discussion of novels dealing with American history, see Richard N. Current, "Fiction as History: A Review Essay," *Journal of Southern History*, 52 (February 1986): 77–90.

<sup>45</sup> White, *Tropics of Discourse*, 121–30.

WHILE ACADEMICIANS HAVE AMPLE REASON TO EXPRESS DISAPPOINTMENT over the many poor efforts to portray history on film, their suspicions about the fundamental handicaps of filmed history vis-à-vis written history appear exaggerated. The case studies suggested here represent only one sampling of dramatic and documentary films that, in one way or another, make a contribution to our thinking. Numerous other entries could receive consideration, including the products of filmmakers in Latin America, Asia, and other regions, in a different sampling of visual perspectives that can illuminate questions about the past. I believe Rosenstone is essentially correct when he suggests that the new visual history is not really a foreign, distinct field of study but a field that shares much with the traditions of written discourse. Films use different techniques to explain the past, but the truths conveyed in images are not necessarily in conflict with the truths conveyed in words. Films may not deliver precisely the gift of understanding that we expect of written scholarship, but they show exciting potential for providing their own insights. As a stimulus for thought and feeling, as a visual text addressing broad problems, as a foray into historiography, or as a sensitive reconstruction of times, places, people, and events, films can promote new ideas.

Perhaps, then, film does not represent a formidable challenge to the historical profession through substitution of visual interpretation for written interpretation. The two modes of telling historical tales are different but related, and the goals of the storytellers are—or ought to be—related. Perhaps a greater problem is the separation of the storytellers in two different worlds. Very few historians are significantly involved in the making of historical films, and very few filmmakers are themselves impressively literate in the scholarship on subjects they address in film. This division of territories, with one group assuming charge of written activity and the other of visual representation, has disturbing implications in the age of the electronic media. Filmmakers, assuming the role of historians, are interpreting the past for ever larger audiences in the late twentieth century. Academicians often bemoan this state of affairs, troubled by a sense that flashy salesmen are intruding on their turf and marketing colorful packages to gullible clients. They fear for a future in which the public's historical "literacy" will be drawn from superficial products of the media.<sup>46</sup> But expressions of anger and contempt will not make filmed history go away; the public's enthusiasm for it is likely to grow in the decades ahead. Historians can deal with the crisis by becoming filmmakers themselves, but this option is realistic for only a few, and representatives of the media, not the academy, will always dominate the field of film production. What should be done?

One of the first tasks for consideration is to recognize producers, directors, writers, and editors for what they have become—historians. Their techniques of communication are different, yet in many respects their tasks are similar to the ones faced by interpreters who employ written discourse. And if filmmakers are,

<sup>46</sup> For a discussion of the way producers rather than professional historians dominate the media's interpretations of history, see James C. Curtis, "Clio's Dilemma: To Be a Muse or to Be Amusing," in Ian M. G. Quimby, ed., *Material Culture and the Study of American Life* (New York, 1978), 202–03, 214–15; William H. Cohn, "History for the Masses: Television Portrays the Past," *Journal of Popular Culture*, 10 (Fall 1976): 286.

in effect, historians, some of the questions typically posed about authors are applicable to them. We need to know, for instance, how the filmmaker operates within the context of historiography. It is unfortunate, of course, that producers often work without the broad exposure to relevant scholarship that is expected of academic historians. Nevertheless, producers do frequently operate under the influence of specific works in print. When the academician analyzes a film, it is helpful to appreciate which books made a strong impression on the historian-filmmaker and to consider how the theses in those works sometimes affected the filmed interpretation. In examining *Vietnam: A Television History*, for example, it is useful to know that George C. Herring's *America's Longest War* (1979) served as a bible to some of the producers or that David Bradley's *No Place to Hide* inspired Robert Stone in his work on *Radio Bikini*. It is important, too, to understand how filmmakers operate in the context of other media productions. Like the historian who models a monograph on the technique or structure of an influential work, filmmakers often approach their subject with a seminal example of film in mind. When Peter Davis produced *Hearts and Minds*, for instance, he was deeply impressed by the example of *The Sorrow and the Pity* (1972), a powerful documentary about French collaboration with the Nazis. Stone found a model in the film, *Atomic Cafe* (1982), which compiled original footage concerning the U.S. atomic testing program. An understanding of "filmography" as well as historiography can throw light on the interpreter's perspective and technique.

Consideration of the filmmaker's approach represents one step toward a larger task for academicians. If filmed history is to receive greater public attention in the years ahead, historians will want to place its products under greater scrutiny. The profession lacks a broad dialogue about the criteria for judging the media's perspectives, an extensive discussion of what is expected from film as well as what is not. Historians have devoted considerable time to viewing film as a symbol that reflects the conscious and subconscious thoughts of people in earlier ages, but they have given surprisingly little attention to its promise and shortcomings in re-creating the past. Until they more aggressively judge the filmmaker as historian, they will leave much of the field of popular interpretation, by default, to people who operate free of the pressures that monitor scholarship. I am reminded of the words of a responsible filmmaker who expressed surprise at the latitude a producer enjoys in rendering history to the public. "Nobody is watching us," he said.

---

## The Mask of Obedience: Male Slave Psychology in the Old South

---

BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN

Oppression driveth the wise man mad.

Benjamin Drew, *The Refugee*<sup>1</sup>

IN AUGUST 1788, THOMAS FOSTER, A DIRT FARMER of Spanish Natchez, purchased for \$930 two slaves—"dos negros brutos," the deed said, meaning that they were recent imports from Africa. One of the slaves was named Samba, "second son" in the Fullah language of his native locale in the Futa Jallon country of modern Guinea. The other captive had a much more unusual name and finer pedigree: Abd-al-Rahman Ibrahima. He was the son of Sori, the *alimami*, or theocratic ruler, of the Fulani tribal group, whose capital was Timbo, an inland center that traded with distant Timbuktu, where Ibrahima had received Islamic training.<sup>2</sup> Some months earlier, at the head of a cavalry detachment in his father's army, Ibrahima had been assigned to punish coastal tribesmen interfering with Fulani trade. He had been ambushed, captured, and sold to *slattees*, or native African slave traders.<sup>3</sup>

Through some means, Ibrahima conveyed to Foster the possibilities of ransom for himself in cattle and other valuables, perhaps including slaves, of which there was a great supply in Futa Jallon. But Foster had more immediate prospects in mind. The master dubbed his new prize "Prince" and at once had Ibrahima's long plaits of hair cut, although it took several men to restrain him. Intentionally or not,

A shorter version of this article was presented as the Commonwealth Fund Lecture at University College, London, on February 2, 1985. I wish to acknowledge the useful commentaries of the following participants at the seminar: Howard Temperley, most especially, and also Hugh Brogan, Peter J. Parish, Owen Dudley Edwards, and Betty Wood. Also, I thank these American critics for their helpful reviews of the document: Lawrence J. Friedman, Stanley L. Engerman, Timothy Huebner, and, above all, Anita Rutman. A fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities is also acknowledged.

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Drew, *The Refugee: A North-Side View of Slavery* (1855; rpt. edn., Reading, Pa., 1969), 4.

<sup>2</sup> There are a number of terms by which the Fulani are known, but for the sake of clarity I use only this form in singular, plural, noun, and adjectival position.

<sup>3</sup> This account is based on Terry Alford, *Prince among Slaves* (New York, 1977), esp. 3–38. See also Charles S. Sydnor, "The Biography of a Slave," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 36 (January 1937): 59–73; "The Unfortunate Moor," *African Repository*, 3 (February 1828): 364–67; and Thomas H. Gallaudet, *A Statement with Regard to the Moorish Prince, Abduhl Rahhahman* (New York, 1828), 3–4. There are inaccuracies, however, in these accounts, so Alford's careful researches are to be preferred. See also Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformation in Slavery: A History of Slavery in West Africa* (Cambridge, 1983), 114–15; and entries for March 9–12, 1794, in "Journal of James Watt in his expedition to and from Teembo in 1794 copied from the author's own hand," MSS Afr. 22, Rhodes House Library, Oxford University.

Foster had deeply shamed his black antagonist. In Ibrahima's eyes, he, a Fulani warrior, had sunk to the level of a tribal youngster.<sup>4</sup>

Other and worse humiliations followed when Ibrahima refused to work. The Fulani were pastoral folk among whom even the lowliest herdsman looked on manual labor with disdain. Agricultural work was the task of the Jalunke, many of whom the Fulani had conquered and enslaved.<sup>5</sup> After one of several whippings, Ibrahima ran off to the woods. Like most runaways, African or Creole, he probably did not stray too far from the Fosters' five-acre clearing. Weeks passed, and Ibrahima realized the hopelessness of his situation. Since suicide was a serious violation of the Koran, he was left to assume that Allah had intended his predicament. According to a story long remembered in Natchez, he appeared in the doorway when Thomas Foster's wife Sarah was alone. Looking up, she saw the tall and ragged frame of the missing slave, eyes fierce and staring. But rather than recoil in terror, she smiled, according to the story, and offered her hand in greeting. Ibrahima took it, then knelt on the floor and placed her foot on his neck.<sup>6</sup>

IBRAHIMA'S EXPERIENCE WITH BONDAGE offers us clues about male slave psychology. The discussion is best limited, it should be added, to male slaves because they were considered the most troublesome, and therefore on them fell the greater demands for signals of full compliance. For newly acquired Africans, the requirement of docility and abject obedience, masters believed, had to replace traits associated with manly independence and self-direction. For those males born in slavery, dangerous signs of resentment or resistance were bound to meet prompt reprisal. In the struggle for control, masters ordinarily had less reason to fear open rebellion from their female property: the women could be coerced with threats against their men or their young. Slaveholders expected that the women would fall into line if the men were subdued and that mothers would raise their children with an understanding of the system and their circumscribed roles in it.

Few anecdotes—or even legends—explain how newly arrived Africans reacted to this regimen, which commanded not only their labor but also their change of behavior, even personality. We are accustomed to think in terms of stereotypical and anonymous figures like Samba, the other slave that the New Orleans trader had sold to Foster. Yet there was a connection between the Timbo prince's bad luck and what has come to be called "samboism," the expression of complete servility.<sup>7</sup> In fact, Ibrahima's gesture of submission can symbolize for us that process of learning the demands of servitude as well as what servitude meant for the millions once in bondage. Although they learned subservience, Ibrahima and countless other blacks retained independent judgment. As Erik Erikson has pointed out, "it

<sup>4</sup> Alford, *Prince among Slaves*, 23, 44.

<sup>5</sup> In Futa Jallon, Ibrahima's region, slaves constituted a majority of the population. See Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Characteristics of Plantations in the Nineteenth-Century Sokoto Caliphate (Islamic West Africa)," *AHR*, 84 (December 1979): 1273.

<sup>6</sup> Alford, *Prince among Slaves*, 45–47; and Steve Power, *The Memento: Old and New Natchez 1700 to 1897* (Natchez, Miss., 1897), 13–14.

<sup>7</sup> Joseph Boskin, *Sambo: The Rise and Demise of an American Jester* (New York, 1986), 17–41.

takes a well established identity to tolerate radical change.”<sup>8</sup> The Fulani warrior had that kind of resiliency, pride, and dignity. His religion and former place in African society prepared him to make the best of things without losing his sense of who he was.

More important to our purposes, community life in American slave culture, as in all societies, can be rendered unstable with differing effects on individual members, as circumstance, temperament, and the general situation shape their responses. Under oppressive conditions, which traits are most affected may be subject to debate, but the issue of damage itself must be faced. We simply cannot continue expatiating on the riches of black culture without also examining the social and psychological tensions that slavery entailed.

Three approaches can help explain male slave psychology: the behaviorist, the Freudian, and the cultural. None of them can be wholly separated from the others. The first involves role-playing, which can be oversimplified as a superficial performance without internal effect on the actor. A more sophisticated perception suggests that role-playing does involve inner feelings. Pressure to conform to bondage, to recite the script as given, can lead to self-deprecation or even self-hatred. The problem is not confined to slaves alone. In the eyes of others, “deviants” of one description or another must meet the obligations of their assigned stereotypes. According to Erving Goffman, the response of the victim to such requirements may be “hostile bravado,” “defensive cowering,” inarticulateness, or some other ineffectual reaction. Eugene Genovese found the behavioral model inadequate in explaining slave behavior, but role-playing is itself part of one’s identity.<sup>9</sup> If we are brave or timid, confident or self-doubting, these traits will be registered by others. As Robert Park pointed out, “It is probably no mere historical accident that the word person, in its first meaning, is a mask.” In all social circumstances, everyone plays a part. By these roles “we know each other,” Park observed; “it is in these roles that we know ourselves.”<sup>10</sup>

The second approach, the Freudian, has been somewhat discredited, owing to the disfavor into which Stanley Elkins’s *Slavery*—and Sigmund Freud himself—has fallen. The pioneer scholar of slave psychology had adopted Harry Stack Sullivan’s concept of the “significant other.” As Elkins applied it, the Sullivanian theme was a variation on Freud’s oedipal theory, which the historian used to describe the totalitarian relationship of white master and black slave. According to this analysis, the “sambo” personality was derived from that loveless, brutal connection, one in which neither black culture, black family life, nor white institutions of church and

<sup>8</sup> Erik H. Erikson, *Insight and Responsibility: Lectures on the Ethical Implications of Psychoanalytic Insight* (New York, 1964), 96.

<sup>9</sup> Erving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (1963; rpt. edn., New York, 1974), 17; Eugene D. Genovese, “Toward a Psychology of Slavery: An Assessment of the Contribution of *The Slave Community*,” in Al-Tony Gilmore, ed., *Revisiting Blassingame’s “The Slave Community”: The Scholars Respond* (Westport, Conn., 1978), 27–41.

<sup>10</sup> Robert Ezra Park, *Race and Culture* (Glencoe, Ill., 1950), 249.



state played any major mitigating role.<sup>11</sup> Yet, for all its defects, which need not be recited here, Elkins's thesis was more Freudian than Eugene Genovese and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese have characterized it and is the stronger for that foundation.<sup>12</sup> Clearly, the slave in relationship with the master does not literally undergo the child's evolution from "object-choice" to identification with the master's superego as Freud described the process. Yet, in slavery, the power as well as the authority to demand dependency and total obedience was analogous to the impact of father on child, as the proslavery, "patriarchal" ideology emphasized.<sup>13</sup> Elkins recognized that subservience carried hidden psychic costs, which, even at the height of the controversy over *Slavery*, his more discerning critics acknowledged as well.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, Elkins introduced a topic that has now almost receded from historiographical consciousness, a circumstance that does injustice to the complexity of the matter.<sup>15</sup> As Moses I. Finley, the Oxford University classicist, wisely observed, "Nothing is more elusive than the psychology of the slave."<sup>16</sup>

A third approach combines elements of the first two but in addition stresses the cultural aspects of slave psychology. The focus is less on the individual psyche and more on the social character of the slave personality itself. As Bernard Meltzer reminded us, "The mind is social in both origin and function. It arises in the social process of communication. Through association with the members of his groups, the individual comes to internalize the definitions transmitted to him."<sup>17</sup> Moreover, such a characterization is particularly applicable to the small-scale, face-to-face community settings in which slaves and masters were placed. Under those circumstances, there was less room for the kind of individualism that modern societies encourage, with regard not only to the slave but also the master as well. The combining of behavioral, psychoanalytic, and cultural factors provides a much sturdier basis for understanding slave behavior and motivation than the adoption of one alone. In one of the few recent studies of the topic, Genovese and

<sup>11</sup> Stanley Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (Chicago, 1959); "Slavery and Ideology," in Ann J. Lane, ed., *The Debate over "Slavery": Stanley Elkins and His Critics* (Urbana, Ill., 1971), 325–78; "The Slavery Debate," *Commentary*, 60 (December 1975): 40–54.

<sup>12</sup> Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, *Fruits of Merchant Capital: Slavery and Bourgeois Property in the Rise and Expansion of Capitalism* (New York, 1983), 91–135, esp. 102–05, 117–25.

<sup>13</sup> See especially Sidney Axelrad and Lottie M. Maury, "Identification as a Mechanism of Adaptation," in George B. Wilbur and Warner Muensterberger, eds., *Psychoanalysis and Culture: Essays in Honor of Géza Róheim* (New York, 1951), 168–84. Sigmund Freud, *New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* (New York, 1933), is briefly and lucidly explained in Peter Gay, *Freud: A Life for Our Time* (New York, 1988), 415–16.

<sup>14</sup> See Kenneth M. Stampp, "Rebels and Sambos," in Allen Weinstein, Frank O. Gatell, and David Sarasohn, eds., *American Negro Slavery* (New York, 1979), 240, 252 n.39 and n.40, 241; James P. Comer, *Beyond Black and White* (New York, 1972), 174–75.

<sup>15</sup> Compare Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (New York, 1987); Boskin, *Sambo*, 17–41; Mary Frances Berry and John Blassingame, *Long Memory: The Black Experience in America* (New York, 1982), 11; Robert Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1974), 1: 228–32. For a more realistic appraisal of bondage and black reaction, see Willie Lee Rose, *Slavery and Freedom*, William F. Freehling, ed. (New York, 1982), 164–76.

<sup>16</sup> Moses I. Finley, *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece*, Brent D. Shaw and Richard P. Shaller, eds. (New York, 1983), 108.

<sup>17</sup> Bernard N. Meltzer, "Mead's Social Psychology," in Jerome G. Main and Bernard N. Meltzer, eds., *Symbolic Interaction: A Reader in Social Psychology* (Boston, 1972), 13.

Fox-Genovese recognized the value of this strategy: "Historians need some sensitivity to personality structure and unconscious mental processes as well as to material conditions in order to understand the cultural patterns to which the newly enslaved clung, the ways in which they compromised with their enslavement, and the cultural order they forged for themselves."<sup>18</sup>

Africans transported to the Western world were already acquainted with the dictates of absolute rule and absolute servility, the latter a condition that encouraged a resignation severely inhibiting thoughts of rebellion. Slave rebellions were as rare in Africa as they were in North America, perhaps because Americans combined a familial bondage—the African mode—with commercial cropping on relatively small estates. The purely commercial, impersonal, and large-scale plantations in the West Indies, by contrast, resulted in much greater degrees of unrest.<sup>19</sup>

The African past and the servile present that Ibrahima symbolizes had in common a cultural pattern both parties understood: the ethic of honor and shame. Indeed, the culture from which Ibrahima—and so many of the blacks enslaved in early America—came resembled much more the honor-shame paradigm I have proposed for the white South than the conscience-guilt model of the northern section. But the power exercised over the slaves complicated the situation. Slaves were forced by circumstance to adopt the amoral posture of shamelessness, a pose intended to avoid the excesses of their victimization but that resulted in personal and social instability for them.<sup>20</sup> Three major types of servility can be distinguished. The first is exemplified by Ibrahima—ritualized compliance in which self-regard is retained. The second is the socialization of subordination, a natural acceptance of circumstance that involves the incorporation of shame. The third type of subordination is the adoption of "samboism," as it may be called, or shamelessness. None of the forms of subservience is exclusive, for each merges into another with as much variation and contradictoriness as might be found in any individual. Samboism was a disengagement from, a denial of, the conventional ethic, though a part of the social order that both whites and blacks recognized. As a strategy for dealing with whites, samboism did not in itself signify mental aberration or perversion. It did, however, involve character disorder, an insensitivity to others, and a dangerous selfishness. The untroubled sambos served masters and themselves, sowing suspicion in the quarters and thus adding to the troubles of all. In other words, the slave who played sambo did not suffer much psychic injury, because, lacking a sense of morality at the time of taking the role, he lacked conflict. It was instead slaves of some sensitivity who had the real dilemma: how to maintain dignity in the face of shamelessness by masters and even

<sup>18</sup> Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *Fruits of Merchant Capital*, 109.

<sup>19</sup> James L. Watson, "Slavery as an Institution: Open and Closed Systems," in Watson, ed., *Asian and African Systems of Slavery* (Berkeley, Calif., 1980), 3–13; Allan G. B. Fisher and Humphrey J. Fisher, *Slavery and Muslim Society in Africa: The Institution in Saharan and Sudanic Africa and the Trans-Saharan Trade* (New York, 1971), 109.

<sup>20</sup> See Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York, 1982); Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

by fellow slaves. In fact, both shame, as accepted by the slave, and shamelessness, as sometimes adopted, were involved in community but not necessarily personal instability. In poorly run or cruelly mismanaged plantation households, however, emotional confusion, misdirected violence or scapegoating out of repressed anger, severe or mild depression, self-contempt, and collective paranoia and mistrust could easily arise.

First, let us review the chief aspects of the honor-shame culture. It differs from the conscience-guilt style of conduct—the introspective, democratic, and individualized patterns that we like to think guide our own lives. “Whereas,” wrote Gerhard Piers, “guilt is generated whenever a boundary . . . is touched or transgressed, shame occurs when a goal . . . is not being reached. It thus indicates a real ‘short-coming.’ Guilt anxiety accompanies transgression.”<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, shame involves a total failure of the individual: the incapacity to do, think, and feel the “right” way after recognizing the low opinion and disrespect in which one is held by others, who have respect and power. The excitation of shame involves a sense of defenselessness against the opinion and possibly the physical threats of others who claim superiority. Still more serious, a person shamed also suffers, as Norbert Elias, the German sociologist, pointed out, an internal conflict “with the part of himself that represents this social opinion. It is a conflict within his own personality; he recognizes himself as inferior.”<sup>22</sup> In the case of the male slave, shame operates to affect his relations with other slaves whose good opinion he wishes to have in order to enhance his own self-esteem. To some extent, shame also conditions him to seek the good will of his master, so that the master is less likely to shame him in front of his fellow slaves and the white world as well.

Just as shame and guilt are distinct, so too are honor and conscience. Here, honor refers to the expression of power through the prism of reputation and rank based on such factors as gender, skin color, age, wealth, and lineage, rather than on meritocratic criteria. Those who deviate from the accepted moral standards appropriate to their rank or who, by their race, color, or lowly occupation, are rejected by the group are subject to the sanctions of shame.<sup>23</sup> Honor distinguishes between kin and alien, friend and enemy, in very obvious terms. Group and personal esteem is tied to family and to friendship as well as to vengeance against betrayers of one or both. It follows that kinlessness and friendlessness are the marks of shame and disgrace in all honor cultures. For Africans like Ibrahima, the great fear was “unhappy solitude,” the dread of being alone. The same was also characteristic of white southern life.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Gerhard Piers quoted in Helen M. Lynd, *On Shame and the Search for Identity* (New York, 1958), 51.

<sup>22</sup> Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, Vol. 2, *Power and Civility*, Edmund Jephcott, trans. (1939; rpt. edn., New York, 1982), 292–93.

<sup>23</sup> See Julian Pitt-Rivers, “Honor,” in David L. Sills, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1968), 6, 503–11.

<sup>24</sup> Paul Riesman, *Freedom in Fulani Social Life: An Introspective Ethnography*, Martha Fuller, trans. (1974 French edn.; Chicago, 1977), 67.

Deference to illegitimate authority could not be countenanced by a man of honor. That was a principle that Ibrahima had come to live by. But, if enslavement was one's fate, the Fulani tribesman believed resignation to be the only response possible because divine forces had ordained it. The gesture that Ibrahima employed was the traditional emblem of unconditional surrender in West Africa. Orlando Patterson has called enslavement "social death," a literal reprieve from actual death.<sup>25</sup> By formalizing his subjection in this way, however, Ibrahima was not merely prolonging his life. He was helping to smooth out the hills and valleys of his emotions into a level plain. Rituals serve to inhibit and control wild feelings of total despair. Similar if less dramatic rituals of slave deference served that function for other slaves. Since honor was something that all whites shared in contrast to the shame of all blacks, acts of homage lent—or were intended to lend—predictability to a situation that offered no permanent security.

For Ibrahima, the act of subjection was the beginning of unlearning his old self and teaching himself to present a new face of conformity. But he determined not to confess to dishonor, not to lose self-control. The Fulani people from which he came were well versed in the connection between male honor and the ideal of emotional restraint. To lose control was to forfeit honor and authority, to acknowledge unmanliness. No doubt, his success in maintaining dignity prompted his master to recognize his leadership qualities. Ibrahima became Thomas Foster's chief driver, to whom other slaves, some of them also from Futa Jallon, had to defer.

THE SECOND CATEGORY OF SUBSERVIENCE, the inculcation of shame, can also be illustrated by reference to the Fulani experience in Africa. In the Fulani areas, the condition of slavery was one that anthropologist Paul Riesman argued "most clearly expressed everything that is the opposite of Fulani." Slaves and captives belonging to that people were labeled "black, fat, coarse, naive, irresponsible, uncultivated, shameless, dominated by their needs and their emotions."<sup>26</sup> Slavery was a status given to strangers who were captured or bought; they became and remained kinless and subordinate, a traumatic experience in a society based on lineage and kinship networks.

More to our purposes are the slaves born into that condition in another Fulani corner of West Africa today. Anthropologist Bernd Baldus has recently studied the slave systems of Fulani herdsmen in the Borgu region of northern Benin. The Batomba are agriculturalists and have lived side by side with the Fulani since Fulani migrations began in the eighteenth century. Like other West Africans, the

<sup>25</sup> Riesman, *Freedom in Fulani Social Life*, 66, 68–69; Paul Riesman, "The Art of Life in a West African Community: Formality and Spontaneity in Fulani Interpersonal Relationships," *Journal of African Studies*, 2 (Spring 1975): 39–63; Allan Hoben, "Social Stratification in Traditional Amhara Society," in Arthur Tuden and Leonard Plotnicov, eds., *Social Stratification in Africa* (New York, 1970), 195; O. Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*; Alford, *Prince among Slaves*, 47.

<sup>26</sup> See Riesman, *Freedom in Fulani Social Life*, 117, 135. Although slavery was practiced by many tribes from whom transatlantic slaves were drawn—Wolof, Yoruba, Azande, Ibo, Congolese, and Angolan—there were great variations in household incorporation, intermarriage, and means to emancipation.

Batomba have long believed that, if a child's teeth appeared first in the upper jaw, fearful disaster would afflict the kinspeople and tribe. Parents underwent rites of purification, but the affected babies were killed. After the Fulani had settled, the Batomba gave or sold the infants as slaves to their new pastoral neighbors, whose Islamic beliefs did not include the dental taboo.

Called *machube* (singular: *machudo*), the stigmatized slaves and their descendants thereafter stood lower than those subject to three other forms of servitude in the area. As a result, when slaves of Borgu were freed under French colonial rule eighty-odd years ago, the *machube* continued in bondage more or less by force of custom alone. (Except briefly and ineffectively at the time of official abolition, they have not risen up against their masters.) Today, the Fulani use neither physical nor legal means of coercion to enforce their will. When Baldus recently interviewed the slaves, he found that they had internalized their lowly status, ranking themselves below the Fulani and Batomba. Baldus discovered that the *machube* blamed themselves, not their superiors, for their plight. Their sense of humiliation was so powerful that, much abashed, they hesitated to account for their bondage until the anthropologist explained that he already knew. Somehow, the *machube* were convinced that the Fulani provided them with special status. Whereas a Fulani master assumes authority as a right, a *machudo* accepts slavery out of a mixture of awe for Fulani magic and a sense of gratitude. Said one: "I work for the Pullo [another term for Fulani] because he has taken me as a child from the Batomba. He has raised me, washed me, he has given me milk . . . For this reason, as a sign of recognition, one carries out all his commands."<sup>27</sup> This mode of adaptation to an oppressive system very much resembles what Anna Freud called "identification with the aggressor" as a "potent" means for surviving danger.<sup>28</sup> According to Robert A. LeVine, an African anthropologist with particular interest in the Fulani and Hausa peoples of Nigeria, the incorporation of an individual's status into patterns of childrearing requires a generation or two. Eventually, though, parents learn to shape their children's playing and acting to ensure a match between how the children perceive themselves and the social and occupational positions they are to take up in maturity. Those who adopt the strategy of imitative subservience are by no means irrational or "childish" in some pejorative sense. In fact, in a patron-client society such as that from which Ibrahima had come, "social incentives" tend to favor "the subservient follower" who understands human relations over the less politically minded, "independent entrepreneur or occupational achiever."<sup>29</sup> Nor are their actions altogether selfish, as the whole group may benefit from a greater sense of security.

<sup>27</sup> Bernd Baldus, "Responses to Dependence in a Servile Group: The Machube of Northern Benin," in Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, eds., *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison, Wis., 1977), 446; also 435–58.

<sup>28</sup> Anna Freud, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense* (New York, 1947), 117.

<sup>29</sup> Robert A. LeVine, *Dreams and Deeds: Achievement Motivation in Nigeria* (Chicago, 1966), 41; also 19–22.

Cosmic ideas also reinforce *machudo* docility. The slaves adopt a fatalism similar to Ibrahima's Islamic faith of centuries ago but more intense. They find safety, protection, and even ultimate salvation by doing exactly as their forebears had done and Allah commanded. "It has always been that way" and "we have found it this way from the beginning" were typical *machube* comments to explain their situation. Also, they responded with such aphorisms as, "If you have a cock, then you do with the cock what you want, don't you?"<sup>30</sup> This identification with the owner's perspective rather than their own suggests the mimetic feature of dependence: the desire to imitate the master's ways. By this means, something of the status of the Fulani master is supposed to be accessible to the slaves. They want "to look like a Pullo," dress like him, talk like him, swagger like him. In error-ridden and inappropriate ways, they adopt some of his exclusive customs despite the mockeries and derision of the Batomba and Fulani. The point is not to win favor from the masters. Instead, an acceptance of the master's power involves adaptation to his ways. As one former slave in America lamented, "The nigger during slavery was like the sheep. We have always had to follow the white folks and do what we saw them do."<sup>31</sup> Like the *machube*, American slaves imitated in order to raise their own low self-esteem and create a distance between themselves and whites whose position in society was equally low. When American slaves belonged to "quality folks," they often disdained "po' white trash."

This kind of behavior is part of the cultural order. Conventions of shame come out of the group's accepted wisdom, arising from necessity, not voluntary adoption. Just as whites in the Old South assumed their status over blacks and the sanctions and alleged superior worth that a higher position conferred, so slaves, as a means of day-to-day survival, accepted their position, only questioning it, consciously resenting it, when crises arose. Eugene Genovese claimed that such slaves had adopted "a paternalistic pattern of thought."<sup>32</sup> Frederick Douglass, with reference to the country slaves among whom he grew up, recognized the effects of ignorance and vulnerability. Alternatives to servitude were unimaginable because "life, to them, had been rough and thorny, as well as dark." Douglass, on the other hand, had experienced relative freedom as a slave in Baltimore, a circumstance that broadened his awareness of options and heightened his revulsion against bondage itself.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Baldus, "Responses to Dependence," 446, 447; also 446–58. The *machube* were Islamic in conviction as were their masters, a common identification of faith, as Max Weber first theorized regarding the nature of slave religious belief. So too does Weber's hypothesis apply in North American slavery. See Weber as discussed in John C. Gager, *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1975), 105–06.

<sup>31</sup> B. A. Botkin, ed., *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery* (Chicago, 1945), 14–15.

<sup>32</sup> Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1974), 143–44.

<sup>33</sup> Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, William L. Andrews, ed. (1855; rpt. edn., Urbana, Ill., 1987), 111. For examples of black identity arising from skills and social status, see the account of John Drayton, lumberjack, in Botkin, *Lay My Burden Down*, 11–12; and of May, harpoonist, in Louis D. Rubin, Jr., *William Elliott Shoots a Bear: Essays on the Southern Literary Tradition* (Baton Rouge, La., 1975), 1–27.



Internalization of the master's values was often so complete that slaves ignored opportunities to escape. Josiah Henson, a slave who eventually escaped to freedom, lamented that in his youth he, like other country blacks, had long assumed the legitimacy of his own bondage. Moving his property prior to a sheriff's sale, his master had assigned Henson to guide some eighteen slaves from Virginia to Kentucky. "My pride was aroused in view of the importance of my responsibility, and heart and soul I became identified with my master's project of running off his negroes." Even though they floated past the wharves of Cincinnati, where crowds of free blacks urged them to flee, Henson suppressed excited talk of freedom. As he sadly recalled, he "had a sentiment of honor on the subject." Accustomed to obedience and "too degraded and ignorant of the advantages of liberty to know what they were forfeiting," the crew heeded his orders, and the barge journeyed southward.<sup>34</sup> The incident was tragic, as Henson later realized in anguish, but most understandable. Plantation blacks who had little experience with autonomy were seldom quick to repudiate a humble conservatism that had long served as a means of survival.

To return momentarily to the African experience with bondage, Baldus argued that our Western notions of corrective conflict, whereby the oppressed inevitably rise up in moral indignation as if by scientific or Marxian law, may simply not apply to the forms of socialization found in the northern Benin culture.<sup>35</sup> Other evidence from Africa supports his generalization. Observing "a prescribed code of conduct," T. J. Alldridge, an English trader, recounted how Mende slaves were accustomed to "cringe up and place their two hands one on each side of their master's hand and draw them back slowly . . . while the head is bowed." Similarly, on one occasion, a recently imported African from Futa Jallon, possibly an enslaved Jalunke (a non-Fulani black), met and recognized Ibrahima in Natchez. "Abduhl Rahahman [Ibrahima]!" he cried in wonder and fear. At once, he prostrated himself on the ground before him.<sup>36</sup>

Although American bondage was different in purpose and context from that of the Borgu tribes, Baldus's insights are pertinent to understanding servility in the Old South. Long-aculturated American slaves, whose concepts of liberty were far more sophisticated than those of slaves serving the Fulani, held to a peasant caution, with its own sanctions and rituals of allegiance, as part of their cultural heritage. Even after emancipation, as Leon Litwack has observed, some country blacks found it hard to break old habits of deference—much to the gratification of previous masters. South Carolinian Louis Manigault, Litwack recorded, was

<sup>34</sup> Josiah Henson, *Father Henson's Story of His Own Life* (1858; rpt. edn., Williamstown, Mass., 1973), 48, 53.

<sup>35</sup> Baldus, "Responses to Dependence," 448; also 448–56.

<sup>36</sup> Alldridge quoted in John J. Grace, "Slavery and Emancipation among the Mende in Sierra Leone, 1896–1928," in Miers and Kopytoff, *Slavery in Africa*, 419; Alford, *Prince among Slaves*, 61. Jacob Stroyer, a former slave of South Carolina, recalled that "the [slave] boys were required to bend the body forward with the head down and rest the body on the left foot, and scrape the right foot backwards on the ground while uttering the words, 'howdy Massa and Missie.'" Stroyer quoted in Thomas L. Webber, *Deep Like the Rivers: Education in the Slave Quarter Community, 1831–1865* (New York, 1978), 33.

pleased that former slaves were still “showing respect by taking off their caps.”<sup>37</sup> That attitude of mind was not just a casual matter: it was handed down from parent to child to prevent disaster. The trickster stories, which instructed as well as entertained, explained not only how shrewd and manipulative behavior could outsmart the powerful foe but also how, sometimes, the trickster’s defiance led to trouble, defeat, even death. Recalling a ghost story from slavery days based on a real incident, ex-slave Silas Jackson, ninety years old, told how a slave, overheard praying for freedom, was killed by his master. “After that down in the swamp,” he said, “you could hear the man who prayed in his cabin praying.”<sup>38</sup> As such tales and interpretations of events indicated, children of oppression had to learn the hard ways of the world. Said another old-timer, interviewed in the 1930s, “I tells the young fry to give honor to the white folks and my [black] preacher tell ‘em to obey the white folks, that they are our best friends, they is our dependence.”<sup>39</sup>

It would be inappropriate to claim a universality of response from either such American examples or from the *machudo*’s experience. This form of slavery is unusual in its sole reliance on self-blame and on perpetual subjection. Undoubtedly, the American slave had access to different and more liberating values than did the *machube*. Even in Africa, other forms of slavery flourished along different lines and provided for the slaves’ more secure incorporation into the local society. Sometimes, descendants were allowed to marry into the nonslave community. When told on one occasion that African and American slavery were much alike, Ibrahima disagreed, “No, no, I tell you, [a] man own slaves [at Timbo]—he join the religion—he very good. He [master] make he slaves work till noon, go to church, then till he sun go down, they work for themselves.” Alas, Ibrahima exaggerated the benignity of his homeland institution, just as white masters did in America. As timocratic or honor-guided societies, the Fulani and other slaveholding tribes looked on slavery as a means to procure “basic needs.” Likewise, the southern ethic of honor upheld slavery just as slavery served honor.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Leon Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York, 1979), 253.

<sup>38</sup> Quoted in Norman R. Yetman, ed., *Life under the “Peculiar Institution”: Selections from the Slave Narrative Collection* (New York, 1970), 177.

<sup>39</sup> Botkin, *Lay My Burden Down*, 35. Dependence of this kind by no means implies servile gratitude, a sentiment arising from a balance of felt indebtedness and sense of independence. In a clientage or slave system in Africa, America, or anywhere, dependency leads directly to hostility when trust, ability, or exigency to protect the client is snapped, a situation that occurred on a massive scale with Civil War emancipation. So-called slave ingratitude and hostility to former, often “kind” masters, especially by domestics and others well-treated, grew from resentment of slavery (enforced dependence), from justifiable bitterness at abandonment, and from contempt for the once “superior” whites’ loss of honor and power. Given the honor-shame ethos of bondage, white expectations of slave gratitude were ridiculous. See O. Mannoni, *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization*, Pamela Powesland, trans. (New York, 1950), 44–48; see also Daniel E. Sutherland, “A Special Kind of Problem: The Response of Household Slaves and Their Masters to Freedom,” *Southern Studies*, 20 (Summer 1981): 151–66, which provides examples.

<sup>40</sup> Alford, *Prince among Slaves*, 49, but see also 208 (note for p. 8); John Grace, *Domestic Slavery in West Africa with Particular Reference to the Sierra Leone Protectorate, 1896–1927* (New York, 1975), 10, also 1–19. “Introduction,” in Miers and Kopytoff, *Slavery in Africa*, 3–81, shows the diversity of African slavery but stresses the severe marginality of the slaves’ status. Watson, “Slavery as an Institution,” 3–15, criticizes Miers and Kopytoff for underplaying the “closed” types and the “property” aspect of slavery

Nonetheless, the African experience of bondage involved only the issue of caste or status, not race as well.

The first two forms of servility, the ceremonial type that Ibrahima epitomized and the more common pattern of cultural response to subordination are somewhat different in character. The first involved less internalization than the second. Both, however, entailed outward demonstrations of fidelity beyond simply work faithfully performed. (Masters, for instance, liked to hear their slaves singing in the fields; silence was too ominous.) In keeping with that expectation, Ibrahima became what one of the Fosters' Pine Ridge neighbors described as "a faithful, loyal servant." To please his American-born wife and Sarah Foster, his owner's wife, Ibrahima even attended Baptist services on a regular basis after 1818, although he did not entirely forgo his Muslim religious practices.<sup>41</sup> Drab and demeaning though the role was, servility and its rituals were for him raiment to cover nakedness and vulnerability. By such means, one suspects, as his master's driver, he remained an aristocrat, never forgetting *pulaaku*, that is, the quality of character that identified the Fulani warrior as virtuous and honor-proud. He expressed his feelings by never smiling, or so one white acquaintance who observed him for years reported. The withholding could well have signified his submission to Allah's will, not to man alone.<sup>42</sup> Ibrahima's style represented the requisite obedience that all slaves had to display in the daily presence of whites, a demeaning ritual but not one that required internalized self-abasement. The second form of servility, a pattern that began with childhood and formed part of the social order of the slaves themselves, was more deeply ingrained and did require a degree of low esteem.

THE THIRD INGREDIENT IN THE FRAMEWORK OF MALE SUBSERVIENCE is the traditional sambo himself—one not so habitually deferential as the *machudo* example nor so reserved and dignified as Ibrahima. Elkins erred in defining this character as a whole personality. Sambo was in fact a guise, adopted and cast aside as needed. When a slave took the role—some resorting to it more often than others—he made use of the third proposition in the system of honor and shame, namely,

---

in all societies. See also M. G. Smith, "Slavery and Emancipation in Two Societies," *Social and Economic Studies*, 3 (December 1954): 243.

<sup>41</sup> Alford, *Prince among Slaves*, 48; also 17, 79–81. See also "Letter from a Gentleman of Natchez to a Lady of Cincinnati . . . April 7th, 1828," in *National Intelligencer* (Washington), May 8, 1828; *African Repository*, 3 (February 1828): 364–67; *African Repository*, 4 (May 1828): 77; (October 1828): 243; (February 1829): 379; John W. Blassingame, ed., *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews, and Autobiographies* (Baton Rouge, La., 1977), 682–86. In Blassingame, *Slave Testimony*, 470–74, Omar Ibn Said, another formerly highly placed Fulani, enslaved in North Carolina, refused inquiries about returning to his homeland; he also submitted to Christian convictions after years of serving Allah in America.

<sup>42</sup> In 1828, Ibrahima claimed to be a loyal Muslim but "anxious" to have a Bible in Arabic. See *National Intelligencer* (Washington), May 8, 1828; Alford, *Prince among Slaves*, 57. Gallaudet, *Statement with Regard to the Moorish Prince*, 3, asserted that Ibrahima's "wife, and eldest son have been baptized, and are in connexion with the Baptist Church." Paul Riesman, as quoted by Patterson, noted that, like "chivalry," *pulaaku* signifies "at once certain moral qualities and a group of men possessing these qualities"; O. Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 84.



Ibrahima, as he appeared in New York, October 1828. Drawing by Henry Inman. From the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress. Photo courtesy of Professor Terry Alford of Northern Virginia Community College.

shamelessness.<sup>43</sup> As Elkins correctly argued, naked power, unchecked by any custom or institutional restraint, morally but not necessarily emotionally deforms both victimizer and victim. In other words, repudiation of ordinary and mediated ethics on the master's part could have induced an excessive servility and sense of unworthiness on the part of the slave. As Anthony F. C. Wallace has noted, "shame—awareness of incompetence in any sphere, whether growing from self-observation or information from others—may arouse so much anxiety as to inhibit further the person's competence."<sup>44</sup> Such individuals were probably rare in the slave quarters, because most could find some skill or expertise to counteract the contempt of the whites.

Even though Elkins failed to recognize the different responses that slavery could elicit, he was essentially right that Sambo behavior was authentic—but as ritual behavior, similar to but not identical with Ibrahima's alleged gesture. A reminder

<sup>43</sup> Julian Pitt-Rivers, "Honour and Social Status," in J. G. Peristiany, ed., *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society* (Chicago, 1966), 40–43; Charles Joyner, "The Trickster and the Fool: Folktales and Identity among Southern Plantation Slaves," *Plantation Society*, 2 (December 1986): 149–56.

<sup>44</sup> Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Culture and Personality* (1961; rpt. edn., New York, 1966), 182–83.

of how well this model of servility could be acted out appears in the diary of that remarkable South Carolinian, Mary Chesnut, at the close of the war:

We had a wonderful scene here last Sunday—an old African—who heard he was free & did not at his helpless old age relish the idea. So he wept & prayed, kissed hands, rolled over on the floor until the boards of the piazza were drenched with his tears. He seemed to worship his master & evidently regarded the white race as some superior order of beings, he prostrated himself so humbly.

The whites rewarded his gratifying performance with a blanket and other throwaways.<sup>45</sup> The observers knew how insincere the beggar was, and all parties involved appreciated his immunity from moral responsibility in adopting the role.

The samboism of the roguish, coarse, and deceitful slave describes only one role slaves might play, but in all honor-shame societies in which slavery is a key institution, one finds the same ritualized and highly expressive practice: in Muscovite Russia, Greece, and Rome, in Brazil, the West Indies, in fact, nearly everywhere save parts of Asia. In all such societies, the slave was perceived as childlike and womanlike in character, only more so—violent (when spoiled) but usually passive, even affectionate.<sup>46</sup>

The necessity for adopting the trickster role lay in the unpredictability of the master's behavior, a point that Elkins convincingly made. The slaveholder could be shameless in rule and the slave shameless in protestations of dependency, driven by the emotions of the moment in a childish way. The survivor was the conscienceless "chameleon" who adopted the coloration that the totalitarian slave regime—or the master's whim—imposed. An example from contemporary society appears in Nien Cheng's *Life and Death in Shanghai*. In Communist China, "chameleon" is the term used for those able to adjust quickly to authoritarian changes of policy.<sup>47</sup> Both southern slaveowner and servant could act with a lack of decorous inhibition and yet not be mentally "damaged" or neurotic.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> C. Vann Woodward and Elizabeth Muhlenfeld, eds., *The Private Mary Chesnut: The Unpublished Civil War Diaries* (New York, 1984), June 4, 1865, p. 256.

<sup>46</sup> See W. Thomas MacCary, "Menander's Slaves: The Names, Roles, and Masks," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 100 (1969): 277–94; Philip Whaley Harsh, "The Intriguing Slave in Greek Comedy," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 86 (1955): 135–42; George E. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy* (Princeton, N.J., 1952), 249–50. On slave tricksters in other slave societies, see Nerys W. Patterson, "Honour and Shame in Medieval Welsh Society: A Study of the Role of Burlesque in the Welsh Laws," *Studia Celtica*, 16–17 (1981–82): 73–103, esp. 91–93; Keith Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (Cambridge, 1978), 121; Richard Hellie, *Slavery in Russia: 1400–1725* (Chicago, 1982), 313–17; Lionel Caplan, "Power and Status in South Asian Slavery," in Watson, *Asian and African Systems of Slavery*, 169–94; James H. Vaughan, "Mafakur: A Limbic Institution of the Margi (Nigeria)," in Miers and Kopytoff, *Slavery in Africa*, 95–96.

<sup>47</sup> Nien Cheng, *Life and Death in Shanghai* (New York, 1986), 363.

<sup>48</sup> Ebenezer Hazard, a New Englander visiting Georgia in 1778, remarked, "The Country Gentlemen are . . . accustomed to tyrannize from their Infancy, they carry with them a Disposition to treat all Mankind in the same manner they have been used to treat their Negroes. If a man has not as many Slaves as they, he is esteemed by them their Inferior, even though he vastly exceeds them in every other Respect." Entry for February 25, 1778, in Fred Shelley, ed., "The Journal of Ebenezer Hazard in Georgia, 1778," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 41 (September 1957): 318–19 (citation kindly supplied by George Crawford). See also Solomon Northup, in Gilbert Osofsky, ed., *Puttin' on Ole Massa: The Slave Narratives of Henry Bibb, William Wells Brown, and Solomon Northup* (New York, 1969), 338.



In pre-modern societies, men and women lived in a very public style over which collective opinion reigned supreme.<sup>49</sup> Among the classical Greeks, explained Kenneth Dover, to “be regarded as” virtuous was the moral equivalent of our more individualistic desire to *be* virtuous.<sup>50</sup> “I *wish* to be thought servile,” says the sambo, in effect; not, “I *am* servile.” But the shameless individual has no need to appear virtuous at all. As Orlando Patterson’s study points out, those outside the circle of honor “aspire to no honor” and therefore “cannot be [made to feel] humiliated.” In that freedom from the restraints and rules of dignity, the male slave exercised a certain level of autonomy in response to the willful and uncontrolled power of his owner. Probably the most eloquent form of shamelessness as a device for self-protection and enhancement was the wildly articulate lie. Mention has been made of the conscienceless trickster, Br’er Rabbit and others, in black tales for children and even adults. According to the stories’ common moral lesson, the mouth and brain, not the arm and weapon, were the best protections available to the slave. As Charles Joyner observed, many of the tales provided a fantastic story of triumph in which the wolf (master) is not only outdone by the weaker animal (slave) but also thoroughly humiliated. In these little narratives, victory for the slave lies in cunning and highly competitive action, but, as earlier remarked, sometimes the trickster is himself outwitted. The moral lesson was double: subterfuge was necessary to win against the stronger party but it was equally imperative to avoid being foolish and embarrassed oneself. Thus even thievery from the master, particularly appropriation of food, served as an implicit rejection of master’s honor and slave’s dependency on one level and a practical answer to hunger on another—without the insupportable risk that conspiracy to rebel involved.<sup>51</sup>

Not surprisingly, black manhood was connected with the capacity to think, talk, and act quickly. More significant than the moral lessons of folk tales, role-playing—“playing the dozens” as it is now called—taught by doing. In this children’s game, one boy insulted another’s family so that the second boy felt obliged “to defend his honor” (and that of his family). The challenges and replies escalate, while the group eggs on the participants with laughter and groans. The game served a number of functions—as group sport, as an outlet for aggression that could not be directed toward whites, as a way to pick leaders for verbal agility, but also, most important of all, as a device for making the repression of deep feelings habitual. A black psychologist explained it as the participants’ experiment in keeping “cool and think[ing] fast under pressure, without saying what was really on their minds.” Even if only half-believed, an elaborate alibi could reduce the chance of white revenge. Yet this kind of activity was amoral—shameless—defiantly so, since the

<sup>49</sup> Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, vol. 1, *The History of Manners*, Edmund Jephcott, trans. (1939; rpt. edn., Oxford, 1978).

<sup>50</sup> Kenneth James Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Berkeley, Calif., 1974), 226.

<sup>51</sup> O. Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 79, quoting from Julian Pitt-Rivers. See Pitt-Rivers, “Honour and Social Status,” 19–78; and Pitt-Rivers, “Honor,” 6: 503–11; Alex Lichtenstein, “‘That Disposition to Theft, with Which They Have Been Branded’: Moral Economy, Slave Management, and Law,” *Journal of Social History*, 22 (1988): 413–40.



honor-shame nexus left no room for individual expression except in the form of the dramatically deceptive self.<sup>52</sup>

Like honor and shame, sporting insult of this kind was another example of Afro-American cultural transference with modifications designed to meet new circumstances. In Ibrahima's homeland, games of verbal abuse today enable elders to discipline children and to vent tensions against others in a ritualized context, but the major objective remains teaching and learning how to show restraint under provocation. Fear paralyzes the tongue, so worthiness to belong among peers can be achieved through the exchanged tauntings. One Africanist called it "familiarity with a vengeance."<sup>53</sup>

An early and instructive example of how the male slave hid personal feelings and articulated servile responses to authorities can be found in recorded testimony before the Governor's Council in South Carolina, 1749. A group of slaves, most of whom belonged to James Akin, a Cooper River planter, had to testify before the council about an insurrectionary plot hatched by a former overseer on one of Akin's plantations a year or two before. The slaves' confessions before the dignitaries not only identified black conspirators on their own and other plantations but also named some white transients as guilty of complicity. The whole group, they claimed, was preparing to canoe down river to Charleston, burn the city, blow up the magazine, and seize a ship to sail for Spanish St. Augustine.<sup>54</sup> Other planters, including Akin's brother Thomas, eventually informed the council members that no such plot ever existed but was a concoction of Akin himself. Upon reexamination before the royal governor, one imprisoned slave named Cyrus recanted. He explained that, prior to their first appearance before the council, Agrippa, another alleged conspirator, had told him and Scipio to leave the talking to him, as he "knew how to go before Gentlemen . . . had waited before on his Master in the Council Chamber, and was used to it." But, Agrippa had warned, keep Kent quiet because he "was a Fool and did not know how to Talk before White People." Indeed, Cyrus continued, if Agrippa had not "stood by and Pinched him, he would have told all & blown them." Scipio also said that Kent had been deeply afraid and that Scipio had "hunched him to make him speak as he ought to" before

<sup>52</sup> See Harry G. LeFever, "'Playing the Dozens': A Mechanism for Social Control," *Phylon*, 42 (Spring 1981): 77; also 73–85; Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1977), 358.

<sup>53</sup> Riesman, *Freedom in Fulani Social Life*, 124; also 76–79, 198; John Dollard, "The Dozens: The Dialect of Insult," *American Imago*, 1 (November 1939): 3–25; Roger Abrahams, "Playing the Dozens," *Journal of American Folklore*, 75 (July–September 1962): 209–20, esp. 213; Donald C. Simmons, "Possible West African Sources for the American Negro Dozens," *Journal of American Folklore*, 76 (October–December 1963): 339–40; Millicent R. Ayoub and Stephen A. Barnett, "Ritualized Verbal Insult in White High School Culture," *Journal of American Folklore*, 78 (October–December 1965): 337–44; William Labov, "Rules for Ritual Insults," in Thomas Kochman, ed., *Rappin' and Stylin' Out* (Urbana, Ill., 1972), 314; Amuzie Chimezie, "The Dozens: An African-Heritage Theory," *Journal of Black Studies*, 6 (June 1976): 401–20; Walter F. Edwards, "Speech Acts in Guyana: Communicating Ritual and Personal Insults," *Journal of Black Studies*, 10 (September 1979): 20–39.

<sup>54</sup> South Carolina Sessional Papers, Minutes of Council, December 1748–December 1749, Journal 17, Part 1, Public Record Office, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 34, I.C.O. 5/457, microfilm, January 27, 1749, pp. 55–120, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

the governor. Some slaves could dissemble, as the testimony shows, especially those who had frequent contact with the master class. Others were unable to do so and were thought in the slave quarters to be "fools."

When it became obvious during the hearings at Charleston that truth would prove more advantageous than falsehood, again the shameless sambo type seemed the most articulate and credible. George, another slave, began his confession by saying: "Sir I am in your presence, my Master tells me that you are head of the Country. It is true I am not a white Man but I have a soul as well as others, and I believe there is a Heaven and a Devil." He claimed to be afraid that "God Almighty" would punish him if he continued to lie, and he was "glad he was sent for, that he might tell all."<sup>55</sup> The ease with which the stories changed to fit the exigencies of the situation, the care with which the slaves shielded themselves from blaming any white, especially their master, the contrast between the articulate sambos and the frightened mutes like Kent, and the unreliability that coercion had forced all of them to exhibit showed how smoothly slaves could function in the honor-shame context.

Nonetheless, the system of southern oppression was bound to have unhappy consequences for slave community and personal well-being. Black personality under bondage was partly dependent on the social climate that masters provided. Bitterness, hatred, or even the sense of security could be determined by a master's disposition.<sup>56</sup> Insofar as black honor under bondage is concerned, the true psychological limitation of slavery lay not in acceptance of honor-shame strictures but rather in the absence of rules and structure—anarchy, sometimes legalized anarchy. Plantation chaos and cruelty could place an emotional strain on the slave that is hard for us even to imagine. In other words, Ibrahima's maintenance of high character depended in part on the reliability of his master. Had Thomas Foster been monstrous, his princely driver's actions might have been different.

THUS A RANGE OF DIFFERENT DEGREES OF DEFERENCE and inner acceptance existed, with each slave adopting or, at times, rejecting servility as the plantation environment, personal temperament, mood, and even unconscious motive allowed. A small number may well have fit Elkins' unhappy description and lived lives of self-deprecation and deception. At the other, more inspired, extreme of samboism, some slaves took positive delight in the jesting, roguish performance. Almost all varieties of servility involved some degree of shamelessness, for that signaled an inner contempt for the values of honor on which the master rested his authority. But, in dealing with each other as opposed to the requirements of

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 64. Sambo, a witness, declared that they had collected no arms, at once a signal that no plot was underway. The head of the conspiracy was supposedly an overseer named James Springer, who had left for a northern colony long before the hearings and therefore could not be made a material witness. See *ibid.*, 73, 85. See also Philip D. Morgan and George D. Terry, "Slavery in Microcosm: A Conspiracy Scare in Colonial South Carolina," *Southern Studies*, 21 (Summer 1982): 122.

<sup>56</sup> See, for instance, the story of Essex in John George Clinkscales, *On the Plantation: Reminiscences of His Childhood* (1916; rpt. edn., New York, 1969), 12–36, a runaway slave who exhibited all these reactions in the course of a lifetime.

slavery, slaves avoided extremes for the most part. Some gave out contradictory or ambivalent signals. Such, for instance, was “Runaway Dennis,” a slave belonging to Katherine Du Pre Lumpkin’s grandfather in middle Georgia. Dennis so constantly quarreled with fellow slaves that they “‘fought shy’ of him” but protected him as well, she recalled from family retellings. When called to account by the black driver, the overseer, or the owner, Dennis would vanish. None of the slaves ever betrayed his whereabouts. He “shamefacedly” reappeared only when word reached him through the quarters that he had been promised amnesty, usually through the intercession of Lumpkin’s grandmother, whom he revered. For a short time, Dennis was once more a model of conscientiousness and servile compliance. After freedom, the unreconstructed former slave remained as “friendless” in the black community as he had been during slavery but showed his loyalty to Lumpkin by voting Democratic.<sup>57</sup>

Konstantin Stanislavsky, the famous acting instructor, would have appreciated such attention to proper slavish behavior—the shuffling feet, hunched shoulders, downcast eyes, aimless gesturings of hand and body, along with the shrewd or self-deprecating remark to entertain overseer or master. As Stanislavsky noted, “an actor lives, weeps, laughs on stage, but as he weeps and laughs he observes his own tears and mirth.”<sup>58</sup> This “double existence” could make “art” out of samboism. Unfortunately, the black slave, unlike the actor, had only one role to play before whites. No doubt that limitation had much to do with the rejection of shame that was part of the sambo role itself. “He who is ashamed,” wrote Erikson, “would like to force the world not to look at him, not to notice his exposure.” But, he continued, “too much shaming does not lead to genuine propriety but to a secret determination to try to get away with things, unseen—if, indeed it does not result in defiant shamelessness.”<sup>59</sup> Thievery, the breaking of tools, and other “subversions” by slaves should be seen in this light, not as rebellion but as a covert means of gaining advantage and, also, staining the vaunted honor of the master. “I was never acquainted with a slave who believed, that he violated any rule of morality by appropriating to himself any thing that belonged to his master, if it was necessary for his comfort,” declared Charles Ball, a fugitive slave.<sup>60</sup> Caught like a child in the grip of a demanding, arbitrary father, the slave might react in open shamelessness. Richard Wright in *Black Boy*, describes firsthand how an elevator operator named Shorty, playing the slavish clown, maneuvered a Memphis white man into giving him a quarter in exchange for a kick in the rear. Wright was

<sup>57</sup> Katherine Du Pre Lumpkin, *The Making of a Southerner* (1948; rpt. edn., Athens, Ga., 1974), 80; also 32.

<sup>58</sup> Konstantin Stanislavsky, *Building a Character*, Elizabeth Reynolds Hapgood, trans. (New York, 1949), 167.

<sup>59</sup> Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (1950; rpt. edn., New York, 1963), 252–53. Whereas guilt involves transgression of one’s own moral sense, shame arises from loss of pride, fear of ridicule, and anxiety of failure to achieve self-set, often unrealistic, goals. See Helen B. Lewis, *Shame and Guilt in Neurosis* (New York, 1971), 18–23.

<sup>60</sup> Ball quoted in Peter Kolchin, *Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 242.

disgusted with the triumphant Shorty. “‘But a quarter can’t pay you for what he did to you.’ ‘Listen, nigger,’ he said to me, ‘my ass is tough and quarters is scarce.’” Anything goes so long as it means survival, as Elkins asserted. Ethically, however, the southern black lived in two worlds.<sup>61</sup> To please those in one sphere could well mean loss of respect in another. Since ultimate power lay with the master, the temptation to rely on his largess and good favor was understandable.

To escape the dictates of shame and humiliation, then, male slaves had to repress emotions and maintain confident behavior under pressure. But, even so, the unpredictability of masters, the difficulty of avoiding white surveillance, the powerlessness of any slave in jeopardy could result in self-devaluation and especially doubt, what Erikson called “the brother of shame.”<sup>62</sup> Ball explained these feelings in the case of his own family under slavery. Helpless to prevent the sale of his wife, Ball’s father, once a man “of a gay social temper,” turned “gloomy and morose . . . and spent nearly all his leisure time with my grandfather, who claimed kindred with some royal family in Africa.” To avoid sale himself, Ball’s father had to run away, and only the grandfather remained to raise the boy, doing his best to endow Ball with a sense of selfhood based, like Ibrahima’s, on the family lineage.<sup>63</sup>

The male slave’s abuse of women—sexual violence, desertion, insult—recapitulated white men’s assaults on the black male ego, even as it arose from feelings of personal dissatisfaction.<sup>64</sup> These emotions of rage, depression, and stony resentment—often inwardly directed and involving alcoholism—are constantly emphasized in modern black autobiography and fiction, sources that put in artistic form some realities of black alienation.<sup>65</sup> The situation was the classic issue of neurotic conflict as Karen Horney portrayed it in *Neurosis and Human Growth*.<sup>66</sup> Although condemned for his unrealistic portrait of the historical Nat Turner, William Styron presented a picture of anarchic cruelty as the basis for such reactions, cruelty that blacks adopted in whole or in part to protect selfhood.<sup>67</sup> The very pecking order of the plantation—mirror image in the slave quarters of the patriarchal, male-dominated, honor-obsessed rankings of the white society—encouraged shamelessness, disesteem of others, and self-abnegation. Household servants were contemptuous of field hands, drivers of their underlings, lowly male slaves of their women, and women of the inferior members of their own sex.

<sup>61</sup> Richard Wright, *Black Boy: A Record of Childhood and Youth* (1945; rpt. edn., New York, 1966), 250.

<sup>62</sup> Erikson, *Childhood and Society*, 253.

<sup>63</sup> Charles Ball, *Fifty Years in Chains* (1858; rpt. edn., New York, 1971?), 12; also 12–13.

<sup>64</sup> Robert Staples, *Black Masculinity: The Black Male’s Role in American Society* (San Francisco, 1982), 62–71; Ronald L. Braithwaite, “Interpersonal Relations between Black Males and Black Females,” in Lawrence E. Gary, ed., *Black Men* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1981), 83–97.

<sup>65</sup> Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (New York, 1947); Richard Wright, *Native Son* (New York, 1940); Alice Walker, *The Third Life of Grange Copeland* (New York, 1970), and *The Color Purple* (New York, 1982); Ernest J. Gaines, *Bloodline* (New York, 1964), to name a few.

<sup>66</sup> Karen Horney, *Neurosis and Human Growth: The Struggle toward Self-Realization* (New York, 1950).

<sup>67</sup> William Styron, *The Confessions of Nat Turner* (New York, 1967); John Henrik Clarke, ed., *William Styron’s “Nat Turner”: Ten Black Writers Respond* (Boston, 1968); but see James R. Huffman, “A Psychological Redefinition of William Styron’s *The Confessions of Nat Turner*,” *Literary Review*, 24 (Winter 1981): 279–307.

Accepting white standards of physical beauty, slaves often expressed a preference for light skin.

Deep mistrust and rivalry rent the harmony of the slave quarters. Such problems had potentially tragic consequences. The darker side of "shamelessness," for instance, was that busy sambos made untrustworthy companions. They might have been and probably were emotionally undamaged. The male slave who acted the part but felt it contrary to his nature was a likely victim of his own rage and conflict. But an imperviousness to moral controls made the effective trickster dangerous to the stability of the slave community. In a novel, W. E. B. Du Bois created one such figure named Johnson, whom a Colonel Cresswell called "'a faithful nigger.' He was one of those constitutionally timid creatures," the narrator said, "into whom the servility of his fathers had sunk so deep that it had become second nature," but to the other Negroes, "he was a 'white folks' nigger,' to be despised and feared."<sup>68</sup> According to a recent study, Du Bois believed that the psychic damage of slavery was "an intense self-hatred" that made "racial solidarity an alien concept." Distrust and insecurity among blacks themselves multiplied as a result.<sup>69</sup> Of course, it is possible that sambo-like behavior—playing dumb or unconcerned—could well mask other designs or fool the white onlooker—to the satisfaction of the performer and his colleagues.<sup>70</sup> Nonetheless, one wonders how much effort, time, and emotional stress had to be directed toward self-protection alone, leaving less energy for more creative pursuits and self-development. What saved the situation from complete demoralization was the strength of family ties in a wide, extended-family kinship network characteristic of both North American black and African culture. Although circumstances differed on both continents, sources of security outside the family were not available. In the American South, it did not pay to trust others in the quarters under such circumstances.<sup>71</sup> Du Bois observed that blacks responded to the disruptive, unreliable world around them with a "double-consciousness," that is, a "sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks

<sup>68</sup> James B. Stewart, "Psychic Duality of Afro-Americans in the Novels of W. E. B. Du Bois," *Phylon*, 44 (June 1983): 99. Du Bois expanded on this theme in *Dark Princess*, explaining that "the white always felt a Negro was watching him and he acted his assumed part . . . of strutting walk, loud talk, and swagger . . . accordingly. And the Negroes did watch from behind another veil. This was the veil of amusement or feigned, impudent humility" (Stewart, "Psychic Duality of Afro-Americans," 102).

<sup>69</sup> Stewart, "Psychic Duality of Afro-Americans," 101. For a study of an analogous situation under colonial rule, see Leroy Vail and Landeg White, "Forms of Resistance: Songs and Perceptions of Power in Colonial Mozambique," *AHR*, 88 (October 1983): 883–919.

<sup>70</sup> See, for instance, Walter L. Williams, "The 'Sambo' Deception: The Experience of John McElroy in Andersonville Prison," *Phylon*, 39 (Fall 1978): 261–63.

<sup>71</sup> Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom 1750–1925* (New York, 1976); and Mitchell A. Green, "Impact of Slavery on the Black Family: Social, Political, and Economic," *Journal of Afro-American Issues*, 3 (Summer–Fall 1975): 343–56. On Afro-American family interconnections, see Raymond T. Smith, "The Nuclear Family in Afro-American Kinship," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 1 (Autumn 1970): 55–70; Niara Sudarkasa, "African and Afro-American Family Structure: A Comparison," *Black Scholar*, 11 (November–December 1980): 37–60; and Herbert J. Foster, "African Patterns in the Afro-American Family," *Journal of Black Studies*, 14 (December 1983): 201–31, both of which essays argue for Afro-American extended kinship patterns.



on in amused contempt and pity." How different from the studied and voluntary doubleness of the stage actor.<sup>72</sup>

Equally damaging was the sheer physical punishment that masters could inflict. The point is so obvious that I hesitate to belabor it, but even the most knowledgeable historians of slavery have underestimated its frequency and psychological effects.<sup>73</sup> The prospect of 150 lashes would make almost anyone a cringing coward. In fact, slaves exercised remarkable control. Their fortitude certainly had African roots. In some tribes, thrashing ceremonies, called in northern Nigeria the *sheriya*, tested stoic manhood. In any event, the physical effects could be very severe even under law rather than simply under the arbitrary passion of an irate master. Corydon Fuller, a pious young bookseller traveling through Louisiana, recorded that, in Claiborne Parish, Louisiana, 1858, a slave who had inadvertently struck his mistress in the face with a bridle was sentenced to "one thousand lashes to be inflicted 100 each day for ten days. Many think he will die."<sup>74</sup> Such punishments were scarcely everyday occurrences, but neither were they rare.<sup>75</sup>

From the psychological point of view, whippings had three major effects. They degraded the victim, shut down more normal communications, but, most important of all, compelled the victim to repress the inevitable anger felt toward those responsible for the pain and disgrace. As a result, even the merest hint of violence obliged the victim to retreat into as compliant a pose as could be managed. Edward Wilmot Blyden, an early nationalist and advocate for Liberian settlement, declared, "We have been taught a cringing servility. We have been drilled into contentment with the most undignified circumstances."<sup>76</sup> White oppression stirred both compliance and fierce resentment, as Genovese explained in *Roll, Jordan, Roll*.

In addition, less physically injurious cruelties abounded. We need not mention the threat of sale and separation from family and community, a sudden and often

<sup>72</sup> Jean Lee argued that, at least until the 1780s in the Chesapeake, "no group of enslaved Afro-Americans was ever free from the threat of disruption," a circumstance that severely limited slave community development. Jean Butenhoff Lee, "The Problem of Slave Community in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 43, 3d ser. (July 1986): 341; also 333–61. Peter Kolchin found problems of instability in community life for antebellum slaves on small holdings; see "Reevaluating the Antebellum Slave Community: A Comparative Perspective," *Journal of American History*, 70 (December 1983): 584; W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903; rpt. edn., New York, 1961), 16–17. On the internalization of the deferential mode, see John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (1937; rpt. edn., New York, 1949), 175–87, 286–313, pointing to a diversity of reactions, including degrees of deference and hostility.

<sup>73</sup> Herbert G. Gutman, *Slavery and the Numbers Game: A Critique of "Time on the Cross"* (Urbana, Ill., 1975).

<sup>74</sup> See Pearce Gervis, *Of Emirs and Pagans: A View of Northern Nigeria* (London, 1963), 183–84. Corydon Fuller Diary, June 21, 1858, in William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

<sup>75</sup> See, for instance, *State v. Dan* [Mrs. Letty Barrett's], September 22, 1862, *State v. Sam* [Robert H. Todd's], November 14, 1863, Magistrates and Freeholders Court, Anderson County, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia; Lawrence T. McDonnell, "The Whipping Post: Politics and Psychology of Punishment in the Slave South," unpublished paper, Social Science History Association, Toronto, October 26, 1984.

<sup>76</sup> Blyden quoted in Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms: Social and Literary Manipulations of a Religious Myth* (University Park, Pa., 1982), 51.



unpredictable event with sorrows hard to imagine. Also, masters sometimes used shaming rites, ones that could enlist the other slaves into enjoying the spectacle, thereby doubling the misery while keeping the slaves disunited. Bennet Barrow, a slaveholder of Louisiana, once threatened to put an offending slave on a scaffold in the yard, wearing a red flannel cap. In another example, a slave with an insatiable craving had stolen an enormous seed pumpkin from his master's patch. The other slaves told on him, and the master easily recovered the unconcealable object. He made the slave eat a "big bowl of pumpkin sauce." The old slave who recalled the incident declared, "it am funny to see that colored gentleman with pumpkin smear on he face and tears running down he face. After that us children call him Master Pumpkin, and Master have no more trouble with stealing he seed pumpkins."<sup>77</sup>

With all the psychological, social, political, military, economic, and educational advantages that whites wielded, slaves could scarcely avoid feelings of oppression—and therefore of repression in a part of their social personality. To be sure, an essential self remained inviolable. Behind the mask of docility, the male slave was still himself and gave the lie to southern claims of "knowing" their blacks. As W. J. Cash pointed out, "even the most unreflecting must sometimes feel suddenly, in dealing with him, that they were looking at a blank wall, that behind that grinning face a veil was drawn which no white man might certainly know he had penetrated."<sup>78</sup> And yet the cost of building that impenetrable wall was high: repressing the hatred of the oppressors, bearing the slave's own powerlessness and the slavishness of other blacks. Male honor was richly prized in the slave quarters, and a defense of it established rank among fellow slaves. But slave honor was confined to the slave quarters, a restriction that may have made them all the more brutal out of frustration. Judge Nash of the North Carolina Supreme Court once declared that the slaves "sometimes kill each other in heat of blood, being sensible to the dishonor in their own caste of crouching in submission to one of themselves." Such behavior betokened a self-despising that sought a scapegoat in another person. For instance, Dan Josiah Lockhart, a fugitive in Canada, but once a plantation driver, admitted, "I was harder on the servants than [my master] wanted I should be." From his account, he was clearly taking out his resentment against his owner for selling his wife to a farmer an unreachable eight miles away.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Edwin Adams Davis, ed., *Plantation Life in the Florida Parishes of Louisiana, 1836–1846, as Reflected in the Diary of Bennet H. Barrow* (New York, 1945), entry for December 24, 1869, p. 175; pumpkin story told in Botkin, *Lay My Burden Down*, 6. For a similar acceptance of white perceptions in labeling of deviant slaves, see Bessie Hough Williams, "Memoir of the King Family," William Rufus King Family Papers, Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery.

<sup>78</sup> See John W. Cell, *The Highest Stage of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South* (Cambridge, 1982), 241–43. Some planters were determined to insist on dependence for food, denying their slaves garden plots for fear of encouraging self-reliance, confidence, and laxity when working for their master. See "Governor [James H.] Hammond's Instructions to His Overseer," in Willie Lee Rose, ed., *A Documentary History of Slavery in North America* (New York, 1976), 348; Botkin, *Lay My Burden Down*, 25, 35, 93; W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York, 1941), 319.

<sup>79</sup> Nash quoted in Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 630; Lockhart quoted in Drew, *The Refugee*, 31.

Another sign of self-hatred can be located in the examples of sabotage or apparent plantation "accidents" that historians have largely attributed to motives of subversion rather than to racist ideas of black "laziness" and irresponsibility. For instance, James Redpath, a journalist with strong antislavery convictions, reported that, on a trip through the South, he had witnessed a slave drayman lashing the horses, legs unmercifully as they hauled uphill a two-ton load of plaster. "This is a fair specimen of the style in which Negroes treat stock," he remarked. Frederick Law Olmsted offered similar testimony. Planters, he said, used mules more often than horses because "horses cannot bear the treatment they always must get from negroes" whereas "mules will bear the cudgeling."<sup>80</sup> To take out disappointments on a hoe or horse would, then, be less politically calculated than an impulsive expression of anger against personal miseries in the quarters as well as in the slave system itself. We are unlikely ever to know.

Likewise, historians understand little about how mothers reared their slave children. One suspects that at some point early affection had to give way to stern and perhaps arbitrary discipline—a cuffing without explanation—to turn the child toward automatic obedience and toward staying out of trouble with the white man. Male children more than female would have to be so trained. Wright implied in *Black Boy*, his autobiographical novel, that the reason why his mother, grandmother, and other family elders cuffed, slapped, and beat him was not only a venting of their own miseries against a smaller creature but also an expression of a desperate love for him: without such treatment to curb his uncalculating independence, he would surely one day become, they thought, a white mob's victim.<sup>81</sup> "How many mothers and fathers had to punish severely children they loved so as to instill in them the do's and don'ts of a hideous power system in which a mistake could cost lives?" asked Genovese.<sup>82</sup>

Evidence of similar patterns in the experience of the Fulani slaves provides further insight. Bernd Baldus noted that the Fulani and Batomba superiors consider the *machudo* slave "uncivilized" or "wild." The *machube* are demoralized to the point of extreme aggressiveness toward each other. They never assault the mocking rulers but instead fall on one another in often fierce violence. "Mistrust" and lack of internalized controls are "pervasive, covering even close social ties among neighbors, friends, or family members." The experience of the *machube* was different from that of American slaves, who had the benefit of a Christian humanitarianism and more sophisticated attitudes with which to forge the bonds of a community. But such unhappy conditions could well have existed on those plantations where masters sought to destroy any sense of black collectivity.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>80</sup> James Redpath, *The Roving Editor: or, Talks with Slaves in the Southern States* (1859; rpt. edn., New York, 1968), 241; Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States, with Remarks on their Economy* (1856; rpt. edn., New York, 1968), 47; see also Raymond A. Bauer and Alice H. Bauer, "Day to Day Resistance to Slavery," *Journal of Negro History*, 27 (October 1942): 388–419.

<sup>81</sup> Wright, *Black Boy*, 94, and *passim*.

<sup>82</sup> Genovese, "Toward a Psychology of Slavery," 33.

<sup>83</sup> Baldus, "Responses to Dependence," 450–58; Clyde W. Franklin II, "Black Male–Black Female Conflict Individually Caused and Culturally Nurtured," *Journal of Black Studies*, 15 (December 1984):

In the last few years, the darker side of slave life has regained scholars' notice, but generally historians place the emphasis on the remarkable endurance and even joyousness that slaves extracted from harsh conditions. Significant and valid though the brighter view is, the costs of honor, shame, and shamelessness should not be ignored.<sup>84</sup> If repression and its manifestations in inappropriate ways was one of the chief emotional problems of bondage, another was the related problem of communal mistrust and its effect on the social personality of the slave.

NAT TURNER'S RECURRENT NIGHTMARE IN William Styron's novel about the great Virginia slave revolt involves Nat seeing himself floating down a river and on a hill stands a white temple, familiar but closed to him. As he drifts by, all Nat can do is worship from afar the power of the whites' world that the edifice represents. The river takes him nowhere, just as the real Nat Turner's rebellion, for all its



The great mosque at Timbo. Louis Tauxier, *Moeurs et histoire des peuls* (Paris, 1937). Photo supplied by Terry Alford.

139–54; Richard Staples, "The Myth of Black Macho: A Response to Angry Black Feminists," *Black Scholar*, 10 (March–April 1979): 24–32.

<sup>84</sup> See Bertram Wyatt-Brown, review of O. Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, in *Society*, 21 (March–April 1983): 92–94; Kolchin, "Reevaluating the Antebellum Slave Community," 579–601. See also Lawrence T. McDonnell, "Slave against Slave: Dynamics of Violence within the American Slave Community," unpublished paper, American Historical Association Convention, December 28, 1983; and "Whipping Post," kindly loaned to me by their author.

celebration in recent times, was futile.<sup>85</sup> Ibrahima also dreamed of water and familiar, distant places. After a lifetime of helping to build his master's estate into one of the great fortunes of Mississippi, Ibrahima hoped to die in his native land. His aged master, Thomas Foster, at last was willing to release him. But Ibrahima died at Monrovia, the home for freed slaves on the African coast, far from Timbo, with only his American kin to honor his memory.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Styron, *Confessions of Nat Turner*, 3–5.

<sup>86</sup> Alford, *Prince among Slaves*, 180–83.

---

## Junípero Serra's Canonization and the Historical Record

---

JAMES A. SANDOS

THE PROPOSED SAINTHOOD OF THE FOUNDER OF CALIFORNIA'S MISSION SYSTEM, Franciscan Junípero Serra, presents a challenging problem to the historian. It is the first canonization process that the Roman Catholic church subjected to its revised requirements. By the time it began, Father Serra had been dead so long that no living person knew him. Thus his public, as well as personal, history had to be carefully reconstructed before the case could be advanced. Fifteen years of research undergirded compilation of the historical record, which was sent to Rome in 1949.<sup>1</sup> In 1985, the Sacred Congregation of Rites, after careful review of the documents in this record, recommended to the pope that Serra's cause be accepted officially for canonization by urging him to declare Serra Venerable, the first of three steps to sainthood. Pope John Paul II did so. The other two steps—beatification, which just occurred, and canonization—involve proof of miracles, which, in this case, are matters beyond the historian's province.<sup>2</sup>

Because of a longstanding controversy over Serra's treatment of Indians, the central question for the historian is: what constituted the historical record? In December 1948, in Fresno, California, the Historical Commission for the Serra Cause, a triumvirate of scholars, testified before an ecclesiastical court and presented that record. Chief among the witnesses stood Herbert Eugene Bolton, former president of the American Historical Association. Bolton was a distinguished historian who had created the school of borderlands studies by publishing voluminously on Spanish activity in the Southwest and by training over one hundred Ph.D.s.<sup>3</sup> A "Mayflower descendant and grandson of a Methodist minister,"<sup>4</sup> Bolton symbolized impartiality on a commission that included two priests. Moreover, he testified at a time when the Serra controversy had reached a pitch unmatched until the late 1980s. What he said and why he said it should help clarify what use of history was made in that religious inquiry and provide a context for the contemporary controversy over what historians, as expert witnesses, said about Serra in 1986.

<sup>1</sup> Maynard F. Geiger, "Beatification of Fray Junípero Serra," in *Some California Catholic Reminiscences for the United States Bicentennial*, Francis J. Weber, ed. (New Haven, Conn., 1976), 127–37. This is the best available historical summary of the Serra case to 1976.

<sup>2</sup> Mark I. Pinsky, "Serra: On a Fast Track to Sainthood," *Los Angeles Times*, March 27, 1986. The miracles to be considered happened since 1960.

<sup>3</sup> John Francis Bannon, *Herbert Eugene Bolton: The Historian and the Man* (Tucson, Ariz., 1978).

<sup>4</sup> Herbert Eugene Bolton, "The Confessions of a Wayward Professor," *The Americas*, 6 (January 1950): 359–62, quoted at 359.

FATHER JUNÍPERO SERRA, BORN OF HUMBLE PARENTS ON THE ISLAND OF MALLORCA in 1713, turned to a religious life early, took his vows in 1731, and continued his studies, securing a doctorate in theology. He earned a reputation for oratorical excellence and won a professorial appointment at the Lullian University in 1744. Five years later, at the age of thirty-five, he left his native island to work as a missionary in the New World. In New Spain, he served in the Sierra Gorda region of Querétaro as a missionary and as an administrator of the Franciscan College of San Fernando in Mexico City. After twenty years of these labors, at age fifty-five, he led the Franciscans into Alta California in 1769 both as missionary and as first Father President of the missions, positions he held until his death in 1784.

Serra brought with him to California the prevailing religious attitude toward Indians, their conversion, and their treatment. In Spanish law, the Franciscans' relationship to their Indian converts was that of parent to child or custodian to ward. Once an Indian accepted Roman Catholicism as symbolized by baptism, the neophyte had to live according to the church's precepts, and disobedience or backsliding was corrected physically. Ordinary corporal punishment included whipping, imposing shackles, or imprisonment in stocks. Fugitive converts were pursued and, when found, returned to the mission.<sup>5</sup>

Writing to the governor of California in 1780, Father Serra observed:

That spiritual fathers should punish their sons, the Indians, with blows appears to be as old as the conquest of these kingdoms [the Americas]: so general in fact that the saints do not seem to be any exception to the rule . . . In the life of Saint Francis Solano . . . we read that, while he had a special gift from God to soften the ferocity of the most barbarous by the sweetness of his presence and his words, nevertheless, in the running of his mission in the Province of Tucumán in Peru . . . when they failed to carry out his orders, he gave directions for his Indians to be whipped.

Serra saw no reason why the same practices should not be applied in California.<sup>6</sup>

Serra probably did not personally apply the whip, using instead an Indian supervisor as had St. Francis Solano. Still, he believed that a guard of soldiers would be necessary to prevent Indian reprisals for flogging.<sup>7</sup> Some missionaries punished Indians excessively, and Father Serra tried to control their zeal. He wrote to his superior: "As to the question: do some ministers punish the Indian neophytes too severely? I copied out that part of Your Reverence's letter, and sent it to all the missions; and I added to it a few directions of my own. I feel confident that where there may have been too much severity, things will be put right."<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, disciplinary problems persisted and, in the 1780 letter to the governor, Serra candidly wrote, "I am willing to admit that in the infliction of the punishment we are now discussing, there may have been inequalities and excesses

<sup>5</sup> A convenient summary sensitive to the Franciscan perspective is Francis F. Guest, "Junípero Serra and His Approach to the Indians," *Southern California Quarterly*, 67 (Fall 1985): 223–61.

<sup>6</sup> Father Junípero Serra to Governor Felipe de Neve, January 7, 1780, in *Writings of Junípero Serra*, Antonine Tibesar, ed., 4 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1955–56), 3: 407–18.

<sup>7</sup> Serra to Father Fermín Francisco Lasuén, July 10, 1778, *Writings of Junípero Serra*, 3: 202–09.

<sup>8</sup> Serra to Father Francisco Panagua, October 7, 1776, *Writings of Junípero Serra*, 3: 41–55.



on the part of some Fathers and that we are all exposed to err in that regard.”<sup>9</sup> Three years later and a year before Serra's death, Governor Pedro Fages, an old antagonist of Father Serra, complained that all missionaries were guilty of excessive severity toward their neophytes. At Mission San Carlos, Serra's headquarters, the governor charged that Indian labor was forced, and the unwilling were put in irons.<sup>10</sup>

The California missions persisted another fifty years after Serra's death, and charges of missionary mistreatment of Indians continued to surface. Following secularization, decreed by Mexico in 1834, the missions fell into decay and ruin, only to be revived under American and Protestant impetus beginning late in the nineteenth century.

Official permission from Rome to initiate Serra's case for canonization came in 1934, 150 years after his death in 1784. To begin the inquiry, the bishop of the Monterey-Fresno diocese, in which Serra's remains lay buried, appointed the Historical Commission. Besides Bolton, professor of Hispanic history at the University of California, Berkeley, it consisted of Monsignor James E. Culleton, chancellor of the diocese, and the archivist and historian of Mission Santa Barbara, Father Maynard Geiger.

As a practical matter, only Father Geiger had the time to do the field research in archives and collections in California, Mexico, and Spain. Original documents had to be collected then filmed or copied by some other photostatic process, collated, and certified. The copies had to be brought back to California, where the other members of the commission certified them also. Father Geiger, or his assistant, had to make four copies of each document, one for the Sacred Congregation for the Causes of Saints, which would study the material to make a recommendation to the pope whether to continue the canonization process, and the remaining copies for the records of the Santa Barbara Mission Archive, the Monterey-Fresno diocesan archive, and the records of the Franciscan curia in Rome.<sup>11</sup>

BOLTON'S IMPORTANCE TO THE COMMISSION LAY IN HIS EXTENSIVE KNOWLEDGE of the history of Spain in the New World, especially California, and of the archival sources for materials on Father Serra. Bolton's reputation as the premier scholar of the Spanish borderlands had been built on an impressive array of publications rooted in original archival research and on his wide-ranging approach to the recovery of the past. He accompanied his characteristic writings—translated and edited diaries and travel accounts of early Spanish explorers—with lengthy interpretive essays designed to relate the detail of local history to larger themes. He had early established his understanding of the role of the Indian in the panorama of the American West. As an enthusiast of anthropology, Bolton had

<sup>9</sup> Serra to Governor de Neve, January 7, 1780, *Writings of Junípero Serra*, 3: 413, 415.

<sup>10</sup> Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, 7 vols. (San Francisco, 1884–90), 1: 400–01 and n.19.

<sup>11</sup> Geiger, “Beatification of Fray Junípero Serra,” 127–37.

written, by 1910, over one hundred articles on aboriginal tribes in Texas and Louisiana for the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*.<sup>12</sup>

In 1930, anthropologist John P. Harrington, who had already gleaned valuable ethnographic data from Bolton's translations,<sup>13</sup> sent Bolton a copy of his essay "The Reaction of the American Indian to His European Conquerors," in which he criticized the impact of the mission on Native American culture, noted the deficiencies in history written from the victor's perspective, and, in a section headed "Civilization" Not Wanted, observed that "any amount of study of the American Indian only confirms the opinion that he was from start to finish a reluctant recipient of the European civilization brought to him by his discoverers and conquerors. The initial fear and awe produced by contact with the European passed rapidly through the cycle of loving and returned to a long twilight of dread, mistrust and suffering."<sup>14</sup> Bolton had already read the article "with a great deal of interest and high approval." He replied, speaking to the deficiency in the historical record, "One of the great short comings in the early history of the western hemisphere is our lack of a record of what the Indians thought about things. If we only knew what he said and thought about our ancestors we probably would hang our heads in shame. This work of yours is in the right direction."<sup>15</sup>

Two years later, Bolton, along with Berkeley colleagues Alfred L. Kroeber from anthropology and Carl O. Sauer from geography, founded *Ibero Americana*, a journal devoted to bringing an interdisciplinary approach to the historical study of the Americas. In 1943, *Ibero Americana* published the most comprehensive critique of the California missions yet written. By then, largely because of his success in finding Spanish-era documents in recondite archives, Bolton had become involved in the Serra cause.

Bolton's archival work since 1900 meant that he had collected (and later deposited in the Bancroft Library), literally thousands of Spanish documents, many of them pertinent to the Franciscans in California. Bolton had written positively of Serra. In 1921, while comparing the complaints made against the missions to their overall success, Bolton concluded that, "all in all, indeed, Serra was the outstanding Spanish pioneer of California."<sup>16</sup> Five years later, Bolton translated, edited, and published the first history of California, which had been written by Serra's student and long-time companion, Father Francisco Palóu.<sup>17</sup> Bolton's praise of Father Palóu proved significant because the Franciscan had also written the first biography of Serra, the basis for all subsequent study of Serra's life.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Bannon, *Herbert Eugene Bolton*, 277.

<sup>13</sup> John P. Harrington, Santa Barbara, to Herbert Bolton, September 16, 1928, Incoming, H miscellany, Papers of Herbert Eugene Bolton, Bancroft Library. Hereafter, Bolton Papers.

<sup>14</sup> *Pan American Magazine*, 43 (October 1930): 221–34, quoted at 234.

<sup>15</sup> Bolton to Dr. J. P. Harrington [sic], October 13, 1930, Outgoing, Bolton Papers.

<sup>16</sup> Herbert Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (New Haven, Conn., 1921), 379.

<sup>17</sup> Herbert Bolton, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, by Fray Francisco Palóu, O.F.M., 4 vols. (Berkeley, Calif., 1926).

<sup>18</sup> Francis J. Weber, "Reflections on Serrana Literature," *Some Reminiscences about Fray Junípero Serra*, Francis J. Weber, ed. (Santa Barbara, Calif., 1985), 101–29.

When approached to testify, Bolton described himself as “deeply flattered . . . to serve on the committee for examining the Serra documents” and promised to “do my best to justify my appointment.”<sup>19</sup> But Bolton, always busy with other projects, proved irregular in answering requests. Geiger had to remind him repeatedly to send copies of promised materials.<sup>20</sup> And, while scholars compiled the documentary base from which to reconstruct Serra’s personal and public life, the California mission controversy took a new turn, informed by methodologies developed in a discipline not anticipated by Bolton.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR HAD PROMPTED MEDICAL STUDY of human response to various forms of physical deprivation. Physiologist Sherburne F. Cook of the University of California, Berkeley, applied those studies to the California mission Indian population in a series of investigations published in *Ibero Americana* during World War II.<sup>21</sup> Cook’s work, followed by Germany’s defeat and the subsequent revelation of the Nazi annihilation of six million Jews, combined to make the California Indian, Junípero Serra, and the missions the focus of intensified debate. All of these developments coincided with the advancement of Serra’s canonization.

In his most important study, “The Indian versus the Spanish Mission,”<sup>22</sup> Cook proposed to examine the mission from the standpoint of the physical effect it had on the Indian, to treat the subject as a “study in human ecology.” Data seemed sufficient, especially from the voluminous documents originally transcribed by American historian Hubert Howe Bancroft and his assistants, to permit application of statistical methods. Taking the decline of the neophyte population as his departure point, Cook sought to quantify and explain it within the context of Indian adjustment to Spanish settlement: “From the available data we find that from 1779 to 1833 there were 29,100 births and 62,600 deaths. The excess of deaths over births was then 33,500, indicating an extremely rapid population decline.”<sup>23</sup> That decline occurred primarily because of the introduction of European diseases into a defenseless population. It was an unintended consequence of colonization. Epidemics such as measles or flu spread more quickly because of the living arrangements at the missions that aggregated the aboriginal population. Spanish soldiers introduced syphilis, debilitating a population further weakened by an altered diet.<sup>24</sup> One of the ways Indians responded was by running away. Throughout the mission system, a fugitive rate of 10 percent prevailed, with the highest rate, 15.6 percent, recorded at San Carlos, the mission most closely

<sup>19</sup> Bolton to Eric F. O’Brien, Vice Postulator of the Serra Cause, May 23, 1942, Outgoing, Bolton Papers.

<sup>20</sup> For example, Maynard Geiger to Bolton, May 27, October 15, November 22, 1942, Incoming, Bolton Papers.

<sup>21</sup> Gathered together collectively after his death and reprinted in Sherburne F. Cook, *The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization* (Berkeley, Calif., 1976).

<sup>22</sup> See Cook, “The Indian versus the Spanish Mission,” in *Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization*, 1–194.

<sup>23</sup> Cook, “Indian versus Spanish Mission,” 16.

<sup>24</sup> Cook, “Indian versus Spanish Mission,” 17–55.

associated with Serra and the site of his remains.<sup>25</sup> Punishment for recaptured fugitives included flogging.

Cook discerned the use of compulsory conversion emerging after 1790, after Serra's death, in a pattern that persisted and grew. Invitations and moral suasion gave way to forays to the interior to bring back runaways and to recruit by force the unconverted.<sup>26</sup> While Cook described labor at the missions as mild, he also found it forced. It was not slavery, but it was certainly labor mandatory for the survival of the mission.<sup>27</sup> The chief means of enforcing discipline was corporal punishment—flogging—a practice employed “in the eighteenth century among all white civilizations, particularly when used upon so-called inferior races.”<sup>28</sup> Cook acknowledged that the critical issue in the question of punishment was whether it was severe by the standards of the day. Citing Father Fermín Lasuén's reply to charges initiated by another priest, Cook noted that the second Father President considered twenty-five lashes to be the upper limit for an offense. But other observers recorded instances of greater numbers of lashes administered at the missions. In these accounts, and in the tendency of mission superiors like Lasuén to censure priests for excessive flogging, Cook found a cumulative weakness in California's mission history:

Had the clergy really been lenient, had punishment really been mild, fair, and just, the issue could never have been raised. The fact that the prefect gave ground, that he undertook to mitigate or even abolish corporal punishment, indicates an attempt to correct a situation which, in his writings at least, he admits was abhorrent to him, and this action establishes as basically justified (even after being trimmed of exaggeration) the charge of severe and unwarranted punitive discipline.<sup>29</sup>

Cook ended his comprehensive scholarly inquiry into Indian adjustment to the mission with a gratuitous comment about Roman Catholicism appealing to “primitive emotions,”<sup>30</sup> a remark that later engendered resentment against his entire work. While Cook had not singled out Serra for criticism, the implications were plain: as founder of the mission system, Serra bore responsibility for what had occurred. In Cook's words, the Indian had been subjected to “severe and unwarranted punitive discipline.”

Unlike most scholarship read by only a few specialists, Cook's work found its way into popular history within three years of publication. Carey McWilliams, in *Southern California Country*, decided “to tell the story of the Missions not in the conventional manner, that is, from the point of view of the Franciscans, but from the point of view of the real parties in interest, namely the Indians.”<sup>31</sup> To do that, McWilliams used Cook's material and the emerging information about German

<sup>25</sup> Cook, “Indian versus Spanish Mission,” 61.

<sup>26</sup> Cook, “Indian versus Spanish Mission,” 73–90.

<sup>27</sup> Cook, “Indian versus Spanish Mission,” 95–96.

<sup>28</sup> Cook, “Indian versus Spanish Mission,” 122. Punishment is treated extensively from 113 to 134, and I will cite only direct quotations.

<sup>29</sup> Cook, “Indian versus Spanish Mission,” 130. The prefect referred to was Father Francisco García Diego y Moreno, writing in 1833.

<sup>30</sup> Cook, “Indian versus Spanish Mission,” 146.

<sup>31</sup> Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land* (New York, 1946), vii.

domestic policy during World War II to attack the missions in terms that have remained prominent in some quarters ever since. "With the best theological intentions in the world, the Franciscan padres eliminated the Indians with the effectiveness of Nazis operating concentration camps."<sup>32</sup> In a single sentence, McWilliams internationalized the California mission experience in an invidious way: Mission San Carlos and Dachau were the same.

Since McWilliams saw the missions as concentration camps, it followed that "from the moment of conversion the neophyte became a slave."<sup>33</sup> He accepted the idea of forced conversion of Indians but moved the date forward to 1800. He cited statistics given by Cook on deaths, the role of disease in reducing population, and some of the information on punishment. But, exemplified by his description of the labor system as slavery, McWilliams departed from Cook in many ways. McWilliams thought that "the neophytes were kept in a state of chronic undernourishment in order to retard the tendency to fugitivism," a point far removed from Cook's scientific assessment of the mission diet as "suboptimal."<sup>34</sup> And, while Cook may have agreed with the result, he would not have referred to the missions as "a series of picturesque charnel houses."<sup>35</sup>

McWilliams earned generally favorable reviews for *Southern California Country*, and such magazines as *Survey Graphic*, *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, and *Current History* all remarked on his discussion of the mission Indians.<sup>36</sup> But not all publications reviewed it favorably. *The Catholic World*, offended by McWilliams's treatment of the Franciscans, called his viewpoint "bigoted" and criticized him for failing "to evaluate the monumental research initiated by Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton."<sup>37</sup> As Bolton prepared to give his testimony in the Serra case in late 1948, at age seventy-nine, the question of Franciscan treatment of Indians had been covered recently in both the popular press and the scholarly community.

THE DIOCESAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION GAVE EVIDENCE to the ecclesiastical court in Fresno from December 13th to the 16th, 1948, on two major areas of Serra's life—his writings and his reputation for holiness and miracles.<sup>38</sup> Supporting evidence included lists of all foreign and domestic archives and collections consulted, enumeration of individual documents culled from them, and lists of monuments to Serra, accompanied by a photograph and geographic location.<sup>39</sup>

To guide the commissioners through the case, a list of ten "suggested questions" had been prepared in advance. Several of them were sound historical queries. The fourth asked, in part, "Can you give Palóu's background as an historian showing

<sup>32</sup> McWilliams, *Southern California Country*, 29.

<sup>33</sup> McWilliams, *Southern California Country*, 30.

<sup>34</sup> McWilliams, *Southern California Country*, 33; Cook, "Indian versus Spanish Mission," 55.

<sup>35</sup> McWilliams, *Southern California Country*, 29.

<sup>36</sup> *Survey Graphic*, 35 (September 1946): 333–34; *The Nation*, 162 (June 1, 1946): 697; *The New Republic*, 14 (May 20, 1946): 739–40; *Current History*, 11 (September 1946): 230.

<sup>37</sup> *The Catholic World*, 163 (September 1946): 570–71, quoted at 570.

<sup>38</sup> "Officials of the Tribunals Diocese of Monterey-Fresno," n.d.[1948], Serra Cause: Miscellaneous Serrana, Santa Barbara Mission Archive, hereafter, SBMA.

<sup>39</sup> See the group of document summaries surrounding Geiger to Bolton, September 11, 1947, Incoming, Bolton Papers. File boxes containing the copies retained at Santa Barbara are in the SBMA.

that he was both able to know the truth and willing to tell it?" The eighth sought the "historical setting of Serra's labors in California," including "the history of California, the character and habits of her aboriginal population." Question 9 asked, "What methods did Serra and the missionaries employ in converting and civilizing the Indians?"<sup>40</sup>

The answers provided to these questions lie in the *transumptum*, the collected record of the Serra case. Complete copies ought to be in both the Chancery Office of the Monterey Diocese and in the archive of the Santa Barbara Mission.<sup>41</sup> In fact, the consolidated holdings are at the Santa Barbara Mission but not in the archive. All the original copies are stored in a locked, four-drawer file cabinet closeted beneath a staircase located above the archive. This file is closed and claimed by Serra's third Vice Postulator, the primary promoter of the cause, Noel F. Moholy.<sup>42</sup> Repeated requests to Father Moholy to read this testimony have been answered with silence.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, sufficient material extant in the Bolton Papers permits an assessment of the outline of the testimony.

The first two questions sought to establish Bolton's "researches on and contribution to the documents collected on this cause of Junípero Serra" (Question 1), along with "a detailed list of the archives and libraries consulted" (Question 2). Bolton wrote that his contribution had been general, part of his lifework. He explained that he had "spent years writing and teaching the story of the Catholic missionaries in founding missions, converting the natives, and training them in the ways of civilized peoples." He then described some of his work and his publications as "a partial indication of my competence to testify to the merits of Fray Junípero Serra, the greatest of all this galaxy of Apostles to the heathen in North America."<sup>44</sup>

Bolton's responses reveal both a European cultural bias in favor of the Franciscan missionary effort and unqualified praise for Serra as missionary. The first view contradicted the sensitivity he had expressed to Harrington in 1930. Bolton now used "civilization" in precisely the pejorative way Harrington had disparaged. The second reaffirmed his initial praise of Serra in 1921. Together, the responses proved consistent in testimony, but they stood at odds with his earlier record and with Cook's criticism. One wonders what happened to Cook's analysis, a critical perspective that ought to have been introduced to answer Question 9, "What methods did Serra and the missionaries employ in converting and civilizing the Indians?" and probably also applied to Question 8 on "character and habits of her aboriginal population."

<sup>40</sup> "Suggested Questions to be asked the Commissioners of the Diocesan Historical Commission," [1949?], misfiled, Outgoing, Bolton Papers. I brought this to the attention of the staff at the Bancroft Library, and this material should now be correctly filed with 1948.

<sup>41</sup> Geiger, "Beatification of Fray Junípero Serra," 131, 133. In 1967, Fresno became a separate diocese, and the materials relating to Monterey were transferred to Monterey.

<sup>42</sup> Personal visit to Mission Santa Barbara, July 29, 1987.

<sup>43</sup> Francis Guest placed two long-distance telephone calls from Santa Barbara to Moholy in San Francisco on my behalf on July 29, 1987. Each time, Guest stated to the secretary who took the calls my credentials, the nature of my request, insisting that it was important to secure Moholy's response. Neither call was returned. A written request of August 17, 1987 has not been answered.

<sup>44</sup> "Questions 1 and 2," [1949?], misfiled, Outgoing, Bolton Papers. In his handwriting is the notation, above his initials, "Part of my testimony with the Serra Cause."



It seems impossible that Bolton did not know of Cook's analysis, even if he may not have encountered it directly. Although Cook published in the interdisciplinary journal Bolton had co-founded, Bolton had left the editorial board by the time "The Indian versus the Spanish Mission" appeared.<sup>45</sup> Bolton apparently had no correspondence with Cook, yet he did with other Berkeley colleagues. Bolton did not refer to Cook or Cook's arguments in his letters. Bolton liked to collect and compose *dichos*, or aphorisms. Perhaps one of these pertains to his relationship to Cook's scholarship:

No professor ever reads a book written by a colleague. In fact nobody ever reads a professor's book except a student who has to pass the course.<sup>46</sup>

But Bolton must have known of Cook's arguments through conversation with his colleagues, through McWilliams, or through discussion with other members of the historical commission. As early as 1943, the year Cook's study appeared, Father Geiger wrote to Bolton that he had "read the modern literature on the subject [Serra] of which our files, collected from various sources, are full. There are a few items I would like to discuss relative to certain character traits of Serra and viewpoints of Palóu, which I feel can be discussed only at leisure and in an informal way."<sup>47</sup> Father Geiger had received and read both Cook's study of the missions and *Southern California Country*, noting that McWilliams's treatment of the Franciscan missions was based on Cook's work.<sup>48</sup> Despite his busy schedule, Bolton went to Santa Barbara at least twice to meet with Geiger and Culleton to certify documents and discuss the case before traveling to Fresno in late 1948.<sup>49</sup>

In November 1948, Bolton received an outline of Geiger's planned testimony. Bolton's failure to respond drew a plea from Geiger: "I expected to hear from you whether you agree on all points as to my statements or if you object to some. Kindly let me know very soon if there are any reasons for disagreement. This is VERY IMPORTANT for the time is now short and the evidence we give must agree. Any difficulties must be ironed out ahead of time."<sup>50</sup> When the time came, each commissioner gave his evidence orally without the others present. The court secretary took it down verbatim and read it back so that corrections could be made before the commissioner left the court.<sup>51</sup> Bolton later recalled the sarcasm of the devil's advocate and the intensity of the questioning. He also noted that "as soon as the inquiry was finished the charge of secrecy was completely removed."<sup>52</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Cook's work appeared as nos. 21–24 of *Ibero Americana*. The editors for no. 21 and no. 24 were Carl O. Sauer, Lawrence Kinnaid, and Alfred L. Kroeber. For no. 22 and no. 23, Lesley B. Simpson replaced Kinnaid. Critical Entry Card, *Ibero Americana*, central catalog, main library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>46</sup> "Dicho," [1947?], Outgoing, Bolton Papers.

<sup>47</sup> Geiger to Bolton, February 17, 1943. Incoming, Bolton Papers.

<sup>48</sup> Entries for February 14, 1944 and May 9, 1946, Diary of Maynard F. Geiger, vol. 3, SBMA.

<sup>49</sup> "Record of the Minutes of the Diocesan Historical Commission of the Diocese of Monterey-Fresno, California for the Cause of Fray Junípero [sic] Serra, O.F.M. (1943–1947)," near Geiger to Bolton, September 11, 1947, Incoming, Bolton Papers.

<sup>50</sup> Geiger to Bolton, December 2, 1948. Incoming, Bolton Papers.

<sup>51</sup> Geiger to Bolton, December 2, 1948. Incoming, Bolton Papers.

<sup>52</sup> Bolton. "Confessions of a Wayward Professor," 360.

Bolton clearly kept any disturbing discussion to a minimum, downplaying Cook's study, if it came up at all. Bolton's enthusiasm for Serra, reinforced by the enthusiasm of Geiger and Culleton, probably overbore the objections posed by historical scholarship. A year later, on December 12, 1949, Bolton "became the fifth scholar to receive the Serra Award, conferred by the Academy of American Franciscan History" in Washington, D.C., for his contributions to the Serra cause.<sup>53</sup>

DIOCESAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION TESTIMONY, added to the other documents already gathered and certified in Santa Barbara, was assembled in Fresno for final review. The products of 125 libraries, archives, and personal holdings, gathered from travel encompassing 100,000 miles in North America and Europe came to some 8,000 total pages. All was sealed in a four-drawer legal-size file and shipped to Rome in 1949. The Vice Postulator took the file personally to present to the Franciscan General Postulator, who in turn presented it to the Congregation of Sacred Rites. Then began the congregation's lengthy process of carefully considering the case to determine Father Serra's worthiness to be recommended for canonization.<sup>54</sup>

In California, the gap in ascertaining Indian perspectives on mission life, noted by Bolton in his letter to Harrington, was being addressed. Cook's study represented not only the first systematic attempt to examine the mission from the Indian perspective but also the first published account of complaint from a mission Indian. Cook presented the testimony of Lorenzo Asesara, former neophyte at Mission Santa Cruz, whose reminiscences had been recorded by one of Bancroft's assistants. Asesara observed, "The Spanish padres were very cruel to the Indians; they treated them very badly; they kept them well fed . . . and they made them work like slaves."<sup>55</sup> Cook cautioned that one Indian did not represent all; still, Asesara's testimony represented another viewpoint on the work of Serra.

Harrington continued working with mission Indian informants as he had been doing for the previous thirty years. A desire to preserve Indian languages and an appreciation of their material culture dominated Harrington's field work. To study their linguistics, he needed informants who would simply talk. Gradually, they came to reveal their thoughts about the missions. Harrington was secretive about his work, and his materials first became available after his death in 1961. Published accounts of some of his informants only began to appear late in the 1970s. The first came from the recollections of his former wife, Carobeth Laird. She had interviewed Maria Solares, an Inezeño Indian, who described her grandmother as "an *esclava de la misión* [slave of the mission]. She had run away many, many times and had been recaptured and whipped til her buttocks crawled

<sup>53</sup> Bannon, *Herbert Eugene Bolton*, 235.

<sup>54</sup> Paul Molinari, "Canonization of Saints (History and Procedures)," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1967), 3: 55–59.

<sup>55</sup> Cook, "Indian versus Spanish Mission," 131.

with maggots. Yet she had survived to hand down her memories of the golden age before the white men came. Now her descendants were all very good Catholics.”<sup>56</sup>

Recollections of Fernando Librado, who falsely claimed to be a former mission Indian<sup>57</sup> and who became Harrington's chief source in the Ventureño language, appeared in 1979. Describing one aspect of life at Mission San Buenaventura, Librado remarked, “I remember how the Indians were treated unjustly by the order of the priests.”<sup>58</sup> At about the same time as Librado's remembrances appeared, Indian activists Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo of the American Indian Historical Society in San Francisco began gathering testimony from more recent Indian descendants.<sup>59</sup>

When the Congregation of Sacred Rites, after nearly forty years of contemplation, recommended to the pope that the cause for beatification officially be accepted, thus deeming Junípero Serra worthy of sainthood, Indian activists responded angrily. On May 9, 1985, the pope acted on the congregation's recommendation and declared Junípero Serra Venerable, the first step in canonization. The historical record of Serra's life and work for sainthood was formally closed and the question of miracles opened.

Many Indians, activists or not, felt a sense of pain and anger, of frustration that the Indian side of California mission history had been omitted. Public complaint was voiced by California Indian activists such as the Costos and CheeQweesh Auh-Ho-Oh, an Aptos teacher and self-identified Chumash Indian. Indians were joined by people who identified with an Indo-Hispanic heritage, expressed a common sense of outrage at Serra's canonization, and criticized the mission in terms reminiscent of McWilliams.<sup>60</sup> Father Gilbert Hemauer, head of Tekakwitha Conference, a major organization representing 10,000 Native American Roman Catholics, expressed feeling “uncomfortable” with the pace of Serra's canonization and said that Indians had not been consulted about it.<sup>61</sup>

The outpouring of complaint against Father Serra and the Franciscans by Indian and non-Indian alike—charges of Serra enslaving and brutalizing Indians, of genocide, and of Serra's being a fanatic and a sadist<sup>62</sup>—prompted a response as combative as the attacks. On the anniversary of Serra's birth in 1986, the bishop of Monterey, Thaddeus Shubsda, issued *The Serra Report*, a reply to Serra's critics.

<sup>56</sup> Carobeth Laird, *Encounter with an Angry God: Recollections of My Life with John Peabody Harrington* (Banning, Calif., 1975), 18.

<sup>57</sup> He did not accurately recall his birthdate, which appears to have been around 1838 instead of around 1804. See John R. Johnson, “The Trail to Fernando,” *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology*, 4 (Summer 1982): 132–38.

<sup>58</sup> Travis Hudson, ed., *Breath of the Sun: Life in Early California as Told by a Chumash Indian, Fernando Librado to John P. Harrington* (Morongo, Calif., 1979), 17.

<sup>59</sup> Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo, eds., *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide* (San Francisco, 1987), 137–38, 141–42, 145–46, 151–53.

<sup>60</sup> See Mark I. Pinsky, “To Many Indians, Serra Was No Saint,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 28, 1986; and José Antonio Burciaga, “Junípero Serra No Saint in View of Indo-Hispanics,” *Pacific News Service*, April 17, 1986.

<sup>61</sup> Pinsky, “To Many Indians, Serra Was No Saint.”

<sup>62</sup> See Pinsky, “Serra: On a Fast Track to Sainthood”; Pinsky, “To Many Indians, Serra Was No Saint”; Burciaga, “Junípero Serra No Saint in View of Indo-Hispanics”; Greg Critser, “The Million Dollar Canonization,” *California Magazine*, 10 (August 1985): 86, 89, 115, 119.

Drawing on interviews with eight scholars (six academics and two museum curators), seven of whom had earned the doctorate, the bishop wrote that no documentation had yet been produced “that Father Serra mistreated anyone.” He attacked the opponents of sainthood: “His [Serra’s] detractors are coming from an emotional point of view rather than using a scholarly approach; they are making historically unsound, unfounded allegations that reflect a lack of research and that neglect the facts . . . To the detractors we say: If there is proof, let us see it.”<sup>63</sup> Bishop Shubsda specifically referred to statements from historians as vindicating Serra. These interviews were done by Valerie Steiner, “a media and public relations specialist . . . [who] said that no academics critical of Serra were consulted.”<sup>64</sup> The five historians involved in the interviews all had earned doctorates and consisted of two women, Iris Engstrand and Gloria Miranda, and three men, Harry Kelsey, Michael Mathes, and Doyce Nunis, Jr. The same questions were not posed to each historian; the questions were frequently leading and often open-ended.

A sample of questions posed to the respondents revealed the tenor of the interviews. To Miranda, “Was Serra a fanatic?” To Nunis, “Was Father Serra a brutal man who enslaved the Indians and completely destroyed their culture?” and “If the mission system had not come to California, who would have?” To Engstrand, “In terms of the Indians and how they were being treated, how accurate are the comments from people today who appear to be hostile to the mission?” To Mathes, “Was Father Serra a cruel man?” To Kelsey, “You mentioned that he [Serra] had weaknesses. What were they?”<sup>65</sup>

In the matter of punishment, the interpretation of cruelty or excessiveness depended on at least two standards: that of the dominant and that of the subordinate culture. None of these scholars mentioned Father Serra’s own attitudes on flogging and punishment, although Engstrand supposed punishments existed, and Nunis insisted that they were part of the era. None mentioned Governor Fages’s charges in 1783 against Serra and the Franciscans for abusive treatment according to the Spanish standard, and none mentioned Cook’s analysis and criticism, again from the Spanish perspective of the time. None mentioned published Indian accounts of complaint. This silence seemed surprising, since Father Francis F. Guest, three years before *The Serra Report*, had written about the missions of California: “It is certain that the whipping of delinquent Indians was an error in judgment on the part of the missionaries. It is not at all certain that it was an exercise in brutality.” Father Guest nevertheless went on to say that

<sup>63</sup> Thaddeus Shubsda, “The Serra Report: Executive Summary,” *The Serra Report* (Monterey, Calif., 1986), a packet of typescript documents released to the press November 24, 1986, on the 273rd anniversary of Serra’s birth. Only Burciaga, cited above in note 60, was named directly, in the interview with Norman Neuerberg, an art historian.

<sup>64</sup> Steiner quoted in Mark I. Pinsky, “Father Serra—Diocese Answers Critics of Potential Saint,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 24, 1986.

<sup>65</sup> Valerie Steiner, ed., “Interview(s) with Dr(s). Gloria Miranda, Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., Iris Engstrand, Michael Mathes, Harry Kelsey,” *The Serra Report*.

Indians did not use corporal punishment on each other.<sup>66</sup> The Spanish historical record established that corporal punishment was routinely used against the Indians; Serra used it, if not himself then through proxy; and complaint of excess on both sides of the frontier of Franciscan-Indian contact had been documented. The historians participating in *The Serra Report* did not present this material.

The sweeping agenda of *The Serra Report* in its response to criticism may have hurried the respondents into some incautious comments. When queried as to why the criticism of Father Serra was emerging now, Miranda and Kelsey attributed it to anti-Catholic, anti-mission bias. Engstrand had a different idea:

I don't think that the Indians themselves would have ever come up with any of this if it hadn't been for a few people that encouraged them.

*Outside people?*

You know, some amateur anthropologists and archaeologists, people from the '60s who want a cause . . . Since the Serra cause is receiving a lot of publicity, they think it is a good one to beat the drums about.<sup>67</sup>

In defending Father Serra, these historians, excepting Mathes, who ignored the subject, resorted to historical stereotypes of pre-contact aboriginal culture to exalt Serra's accomplishment. Among the litany, but not encompassing all, and in no particular order:

*Indian possessions.* "They never did fully understand the concept of private property." [Engstrand]

*Indians' ability to survive in the wild.* "Life was very hard . . . They simply had to grub for a living." [Nunis]

"Until they came to the missions, they didn't know from one month to the next or one day to the next what they were going to eat, or how they were going to cure themselves from an illness, or what they were going to do in the event of some dire tragedy." [Kelsey]

*The impact of Roman Catholicism on the Indians.* "Father Serra has a very important role in at least initiating the whole family tradition in California." [Miranda]

"For the first time it [Roman Catholicism] dignified the individual. Up until that time the Indians had no sense of fidelity to each other, there was no spirit of loyalty. There was no spirit of commitment . . . they had no idea of a social compact, in the strongest sense of the word. They had no sense of morality." [Nunis]<sup>68</sup>

All of these denigrating caricatures had long ago been set aside and these scholars would have avoided them by even a casual familiarity with the readily available works of, say, historian James Rawls or anthropologist Robert Heizer.<sup>69</sup> Had the subject been Afro-Americans instead of California Native Americans, one wonders what the response to such scholarly insensitivity would have been.

<sup>66</sup> Francis F. Guest, "Cultural Perspectives on California Mission Life," *Southern California Quarterly*, 65 (Spring 1983): 1-65, quoted at 22.

<sup>67</sup> Steiner, "Engstrand Interview," *The Serra Report*.

<sup>68</sup> Steiner, "Engstrand, Kelsey, Miranda, Nunis Interviews," *The Serra Report*.

<sup>69</sup> James J. Rawls, *Indians of California: The Changing Image* (Norman, Okla., 1984); Robert F. Heizer and Alan J. Almquist, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley, Calif., 1971); Robert F. Heizer, ed., *California*, vol. 8, *Handbook of North American Indians*, William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed. (Washington, D.C., 1978); Robert F. Heizer and Albert B. Elsasser, *The Natural World of the California Indians* (Berkeley, Calif., 1980).

Mathes concluded his remarks for *The Serra Report* with the challenge that Bishop Shubsda later assumed. "If you can't support it with documents, if you don't come up with absolute material," Mathes said, "don't sit there and mouth off. And so, that's a challenge if you will, to the opponents of Serra."<sup>70</sup> The Costos took up the challenge. Drawing from their earlier field notes and working with Indian and non-Indian scholars, they prepared a comprehensive response to *The Serra Report*. In addition to replies to each interview and historical essays on Indian life and Indian-white relations, the Costos compiled testimony and resolutions from individual Indians, tribal units, and larger assemblies. The Tekakwitha Conference adopted a resolution charging that Shubsda's report was "grossly inaccurate and totally misrepresents the native understanding of its own history and culture."<sup>71</sup>

The Costos published the book a month before the pope's September 1987 visit to California and sent it to every bishop in the United States and to the Congregation of Sacred Rites in Rome. An emotionally charged volume, it carried the subtitle *Legacy of Genocide*, deliberately linking the Nazi death camps to the California missions while ignoring the differences in action and motivation between Nazis and Franciscans. And a promotional flyer erroneously proclaimed that "for the first time, the Indian voice is heard about the mission system in California." But dismissing the study as a polemic because of its *ad hominem* arguments and exaggerated statements would overlook the real pain and anger that supported and informed it. Many Indians believed that they had become invisible in California mission history and that only dramatic appeals would win attention. The Costos believed that their efforts had stymied if not stopped Serra's beatification.<sup>72</sup> Actually, the pope had decided not to announce beatification during his visit because proper procedures had not been completed. Beatification, a papal response to a formal recommendation by the Congregation of Sacred Rites, based on its acceptance of proof of a candidate's miracle, ostensibly had been stalled bureaucratically. At the time the pope left for the United States, the congregation had not yet met in plenary session to hear its medical commission recommend acceptance of the evidence of Serra's first miracle.<sup>73</sup>

During his visit to the United States, the pope met with representatives of Tekakwitha Conference. At the meeting in Phoenix, Arizona, he acknowledged that the church historically had committed "mistakes and wrongs" against Native Americans, but he praised Serra for his missionary efforts.<sup>74</sup> In California, the pope visited Serra's headquarters at Mission San Carlos and again praised the Franciscan missionary. Describing the roles people like Serra played in God's plan, the pontiff observed that "although their story unfolds within the ordinary circumstances of daily life, they become larger than life within the perspective of

<sup>70</sup> Steiner, "Mathes Interview," *The Serra Report*.

<sup>71</sup> Costo and Costo, *Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide*, 164–65.

<sup>72</sup> Mark I. Pinsky, "Debate Continues on Serra Beatification," *Los Angeles Times*, August 15, 1987.

<sup>73</sup> Don A. Schanche and Mark I. Pinsky, "Pope Won't Beatify Serra during Visit, Vatican Says," *Los Angeles Times*, August 8, 1987.

<sup>74</sup> Russell Chandler and Luis Sahagun, "Church Wronged Indians, Pope Says," *Los Angeles Times*, September 15, 1987.



history . . . So it is with Junípero Serra.”<sup>75</sup> Some Costanoan Indians demonstrated a mile away, as close as they were allowed to come during the papal visit, to protest what had happened historically at Carmel, the mission that Auh-Ho-Oh had called “Auschwitz with roses.”<sup>76</sup>

On December 11, 1987, the pope accepted the Congregation of Sacred Rites’ recommendation for the beatification of Serra, and a two-hour mass of celebration was held in Rome on September 25, 1988.<sup>77</sup> Sainthood requires proof of one further miracle, evidence of which, according to the Roman Catholic church, will bring “the final and definitive sentence by which veneration of the new saint is extended to the universal Church. The sentence, which infallibly declares the exemplariness of the saint’s life and exalts his sublime function of heavenly intercessor, is contained in the bull of canonization.”<sup>78</sup>

COMPILATION OF THE HISTORICAL RECORD IN SERRA’S CASE presents disturbing issues to the historian. If we are to avoid withering criticisms such as Voltaire’s that history is a trick played on the dead or Napoleon’s that it is a fable agreed upon, we must ensure that all sides of an issue are presented. Historians have been taught for well over a century that contradictory evidence ought to be evaluated, not dismissed; and, if it cannot be explained, then readers should be allowed to judge it themselves. In Serra’s case, precisely such an instance occurred when Hubert Howe Bancroft wrote the first modern history of California. In his study of Serra, Bancroft discovered documents indicating that Serra had behaved pettily in his dealings with the governor over the issue of his right to administer the sacrament of confirmation to Indians. Shocked by the discovery, Bancroft told his readers: “No ardent churchman entertains a more exalted opinion of the virtues of Junípero Serra . . . than myself. Nor would I willingly detract from the reputation of a man who has been justly regarded as an ideal missionary, the father of the church in California, but I am writing history, and I must record the facts as I find them and leave my readers to form their own conclusions.”<sup>79</sup> A century after Serra’s death and sixty-four years before Bolton’s testimony, Bancroft did what a historian should have done, then and now.

Certainly, the Roman Catholic church, through the devil’s advocate and through the Postulator General of the Franciscan Order, sought to determine, not suppress, the existence of controversy. In reply to an inquiry about establishing the historical record, copies of which Bolton had, the Postulator General wrote that biographies of Serra other than Palóu’s “if they include original or unpublished facts . . . are necessary.” Later, in the same letter, he continued: “Concerning the reputation of the Servant of God [Serra] during life and after his death, the report

<sup>75</sup> Don A. Schanche and Maura Dolan, “Pope Stresses Varied Themes as He Moves up the Coast,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 18, 1987.

<sup>76</sup> Christopher Reynolds, “Patience of a Saint,” *San Diego Union*, August 17, 1987.

<sup>77</sup> William D. Montalbano and Mark I. Pinsky, “Pope Approves Beatification of Father Serra,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 12, 1987; Robert Suro, “An Assailed Missionary to America Is Beatified,” *New York Times*, September 26, 1988.

<sup>78</sup> Molinari, “Canonization of Saints (History and Procedures),” 59.

<sup>79</sup> Bancroft, *History of California*, 1: 327–28.

should cover the entire period to our own day, without any distinction.”<sup>80</sup> But Bolton apparently presented only a partial record in omitting Cook’s comprehensive assessment.

When Bishop Shubsda turned to professional historians in 1986, their performance proved discouraging. Not only was Cook’s analysis disregarded but so also were Serra’s own words, the growing body of evidence from Indians, and the insights available from anthropology, all of which would have contributed to a balanced view of the past. Why were professional standards again suspended? One might understand a seventy-nine-year-old man succumbing to romantic rhetoric, much of it his own, but how are we to explain the failure of a group of five younger scholars, male and female, to present two sides of a story?

Tensions in the controversy presented here suggest two major difficulties in trying to use history in the service of religion: advocacy and presentism. Advocacy represents the suspension of the quest for objectivity in favor of a search for supporting material. In the case of sainthood, the operational hypothesis is not “What did the candidate do?” but rather “What did the candidate do that demonstrates proof of a holy (by Euro-American Christian standards) life?” The questions are fundamentally different: the first is speculative and historical, the second, which presupposes the conclusion, is utilitarian and pragmatic. The purpose of assembling a historical record for a potential saint is to generate, among other products, a life of the individual that stresses the candidate’s heroic virtues. This written product is hagiography. When serving a religious institution, the historian risks sacrificing a dispassionate reconstruction of the past in favor of justifying a foreordained conclusion.

Disregarding Cook’s assessment that mission punishment of Indians constituted “severe and unwarranted punitive discipline” for the time suggests that a more difficult challenge than mere advocacy faces the historian. Here, the historical record is being manipulated, probably in an unconscious way, by a variation of the fallacy of presentism. Since historical writing is the act of reflecting on the past in the present, there is danger that the present can distort the historian’s perspective. Because we now know how events turned out, it becomes imperative to maintain a sense of historical time lest the present moment be portrayed as inevitable and all sense of historical contingency be lost. In the quest for sainthood, an idealized past is sought in the present to be used as the basis for guiding the future.

When religious advocates of the Serra cause ask us to judge Junípero Serra by eighteenth-century standards, not twentieth, they strike a resonant note with historians.<sup>81</sup> But their request is simultaneously disingenuous, given their purpose, which is canonization. Sainthood requires that Serra’s experiences, especially those with the California Indian, transcend time and place. Sainthood means that his is

<sup>80</sup> Fortunato Scipioni, Postulator General, Franciscan Order, Rome, to O’Brien, February 25, 1947, in reply to O’Brien’s letter of February 8, 1947, translated from Latin, Incoming, Bolton Papers.

<sup>81</sup> Guest, “Junípero Serra and His Approach to the Indian,” 223–61. See also interviews with scholars in *The Serra Report*, reprinted in Costo and Costo, *California Missions: A Legacy of Genocide*, 192–222, and a special article by Guest, 223–33.

a universal example for all Catholics to follow.<sup>82</sup> Phrased another way, if Serra is canonized, the eighteenth century would judge the twentieth and all the centuries to come.

And Serra's example would at best be ambiguous. Father Guest has demonstrated that Serra's undeniable love of the Indians found missionary expression in activities that would not be pursued today. The process of immediate physical immersion in a mission has been abandoned in favor of the slow process of getting to know the subject for conversion and developing a basis for cultural rapport.<sup>83</sup> But, if Serra's hagiography ignores the controversy over Indian punishment, and if his missiology is today set aside,<sup>84</sup> what then would Serra exemplify? Concern for the unfortunate? If so, it was concern administered with corporal punishment judged excessive at the time by both the Spanish and the Indians. Are we to believe that Serra's concern, though expressed in a manner physically damaging to Native Americans, is nevertheless to be universally exemplary because his intention was to save immortal souls? Cannot the Indian interpretation also be applied, namely, that sainthood for Serra is yet another example of white over red, of European dominance over aboriginal culture, but this time not only justified but glorified in the name of religion?

Judging Father Serra by the standards of his time is what the historical record ought to permit. The failure of Bolton in 1948 and of the historians interviewed for Bishop Shubsda in 1986 to present both sides of Serra's story profoundly challenges the ethics of the historical profession. Personal bias, either in advocacy or apology, seems to be preventing objectivity by historians in public service. These episodes demand that historians reexamine the role their colleagues play in the service of religion. At the very least, the lesson for us all is *caveat scriptor*.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Marion A. Habig, "Introduction," in *Portraits in American Sanctity*, Joseph N. Tylenda, ed. (Chicago, 1983), xvi. See also Molinari, "Canonization of Saints (History and Procedures)," 59.

<sup>83</sup> Guest, "Cultural Perspectives on California Mission Life," 1–65.

<sup>84</sup> Louis J. Luzbetak, "If Junípero Serra Were Alive: Missiological-Anthropological Theory Today," *The Americas*, 42 (April 1985): 512–19, curiously argues that Serra's fervor in converting the Indians would still qualify him as an outstanding missionary by contemporary standards, despite the repudiation both of his practices and of his Spanish paternalism.

<sup>85</sup> Let the scribe [historian] beware.

---

## Philip and Alexander as Kings: Macedonian Monarchy and Merovingian Parallels

---

ALAN E. SAMUEL

NO ASPECT OF THE ACTIVITY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT has attracted more effort than the attempt to understand his motivations and intentions, his impulse for conquest and his turbulent relations with his officers. Some of the same issues have been investigated for his father, Philip II, and in both cases, answers have been sought in the personality of the king and in external circumstances seen to impel or constrain his actions. Historians have also focused on delineating the abstract nature of the Macedonian monarchy, and here there are wide variances in views, from Macedonian kingship as almost a constitutional monarchy to the opposite extreme of representing it as an unrestrained autocracy. So far as Alexander is concerned, views of his monarchical style have ranged from portrayals of an idealistic pursuit of world brotherhood to one of autocratic brutality, and the fullest recent account of Alexander has him patterning his life and expedition on the hero Achilles, in "Greece's last Homeric emulation."<sup>1</sup>

Beginning in 1931, and for nearly fifty years, the discussion of the Macedonian monarchy has been dominated by the arguments of Friedrich Granier, who contends in his book *Die Makedonische Heeresversammlung* that the army and army assemblies were part of a constitutional structure wielding control over the power of the king.<sup>2</sup> For the next several decades after that book appeared, discussion of the subject was largely a matter of adjustments and minor modifications to the Granier thesis, with its basic conclusions accepted, at least for the monarchy in the time of Philip II and Alexander. It was only ten years ago that R. M. Errington's long and sage assessment of the evidence appeared and challenged Granier's arguments in toto.<sup>3</sup> Errington, who offered a clear summary of the discussion up

I am grateful to the anonymous assessors for the *AHR* for many useful suggestions, which I have used to improve the argument in this article.

<sup>1</sup> Robin Lane Fox, *Alexander the Great* (1973; rpt. edn., London, 1978), 67, taking the Homeric references and allusions that the sources report from the tradition. Sir William Tarn's idealistic view of Alexander, *Alexander the Great* (Cambridge, 1948), no longer receives wide acceptance, and the brutal side of the conqueror's personality often receives more emphasis now, as in Ernst Badian's "Alexander the Great and the Loneliness of Power," *Studies in Greek and Roman History* (Oxford, 1964; rpt. from *Journal of Australian Universities Language and Literature Association* 17, 1962).

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich Granier, *Die Makedonische Heeresversammlung: Ein Beitrag zum antiken Staatsrecht* (Munich, 1931).

<sup>3</sup> R. M. Errington, "The Nature of the Macedonian State under the Monarchy," *Chiron*, 8 (1978): 77–133. Errington's conclusions have recently been challenged by Leon Mooren's attempt to mediate

to his own time, analyzed what little evidence there is and decided, item by item, against the proposition that the Macedonian kings were answerable in any way to formal army or popular assemblies, either for ratification of an accession or as a limit to their power once on the throne. He saw the relationship between ruler and ruled as a fluid matter of power and prestige, the king's power entwined with the prestige he had, decision-making a royal prerogative limited in reality only by push and shove with the powerful Macedonian nobles.

Within a year of the publication of Errington's article, and too soon after it to take cognizance of the arguments, appeared Hammond and Griffith's massive second volume on the Macedonian state, covering the reign of Philip.<sup>4</sup> That volume, paradoxically, presents two quite different views of Macedonian kingship, Hammond's, that it was a constitutional monarchy with the king's power formally limited and Griffith's, that, although the king ruled "by consent," he suffered "no constitutional safeguards or aids to government, except in the single sphere of jurisdiction."<sup>5</sup> Both of these interpretations differ from Errington's, although to different degrees, but they share with other discussions a dependence on two kinds of evidence of dubious value: snippets of information from much later sources, data subject to divergent evaluations according to the interpretations of the sources, and, second, the application of information about later monarchs to the reigns of Philip and Alexander. Almost all this information comes from writers imbued with political ideas of Roman government and history, which reflected the experience of formal constitutional practice and law. Construed in terms of constitutional structure, these sources are not necessarily informative about how the monarchy fitted into the ideology of Macedonian society.

But no clear ancient evidence is available on this matter. Because the extant sources for the reigns of Philip and Alexander were all written after the monarchy had enjoyed some hundreds of years of change in the successor kingdoms, and because most sources see monarchy from the point of view of the apogee of the Roman imperial structure, they have no knowledge of the manner in which a Macedonian king of Philip's day interacted with his society. Even the evidence of the activities of the kings after Alexander is of little value in the discussion, for Alexander so changed the nature of the monarchy that the monarchies of his successors are very insecure foundations on which to build an interpretation of his own reign or that of his father. Yet, despite what I see as a lack of fundamental theory about the nature of Macedonian society and kingship, historians interpret the reigns of Philip and Alexander, with their military and political actions, their plans and their relations with family and subordinates, in terms of assumptions about a monarchy of delineated power. On the nature of this concept and the

---

the dispute, in "The Nature of the Hellenistic Monarchy," E. Van't Dack, P. Van Dessel, W. Van Gucht, eds., *Egypt and the Hellenistic World* (Louvain, 1984), 205–40, drawing a distinction between the kings of Macedon and the successor kings in the East, differing from Errington in crucial interpretations and viewing the earlier Macedonian kingship as "a position outlined by certain regulations that were rooted in tradition." (231).

<sup>4</sup> N. G. L. Hammond and G. T. Griffith, *A History of Macedonia*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1979).

<sup>5</sup> Hammond and Griffith, *History of Macedonia*, 2: 386, 385.

extent of independent power presumed depend the different interpretations of the actions of the kings. Thus widely varying views about the practices and goals of these two monarchs are commonplace, as scholars attempt to impose some consistency on what the sources tell us and on the manner in which we apply the sources to the problem.<sup>6</sup> And, after a generation or more, conclusions often depend on different assessments of the accuracy or precision of a sentence or two in a few sources written several hundred years after the period in question. The problem might seem intractable.

However, there are analogous structures that shed light on the question. We can learn a great deal about Philip and Alexander from the experiences of kings whose position was similar, kings such as the rulers of the Germanic nations that emerged in the Western Roman empire: Lombards, Visigoths, and the early Merovingians. There are enough demonstrable points of similarity to justify the analogy, and available evidence about the interaction between the king and the Macedonians confirms the validity of the comparison. What we can learn from comparison removes the temptation to force the evidence to make it conform to ideas of long-term policies or complete coherence in action, and shows that the modern variations in description of the Macedonian monarchy arise from an overly formalistic approach and an attempt to imagine Macedonian government as answerable to refined conceptions of political structure. The comparison to Germanic kings combined with this new interpretation of the sources result in a picture that represents Philip and Alexander as tribal leaders, successful heads of war bands, almost paradigms of the kings of medieval legend, rather than exemplars of settled kings of organized monarchies.

FEW ARE LIKELY TO HAVE KNOWN THE KINGSHIP OF MACEDON at the time of Philip better than Aristotle. This contemporary of Philip and teacher of Alexander gives us a clear, if brief, statement of the basis for the Macedonian monarchy. In his analysis of monarchy in *Politics*, Aristotle classifies that constitutional order with aristocracy, as arising from merit, and claims that kingship exists and men gain position on the basis of a benefit they had given or might give their people. In the case of Macedon, he states the benefit to have been "settling or gaining control of territory," an achievement that Philip, Aristotle's patron, would have had no trouble in claiming.<sup>7</sup> The kingship Aristotle attributed to the Macedonians was only one of the possibilities of the type, from elected kingship to absolute power, that the philosopher examined more fully elsewhere.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> As recent books on Philip tend to do; see R. M. Errington, "Review-Discussion: Four Interpretations of Philip II," *American Journal of Ancient History*, 6 (1981): 69–88.

<sup>7</sup> Aristotle *Politics* 5.8.5 (1310b 38).

<sup>8</sup> As in *Politics* 3.9 and 10 (1284b–1285b). Aristotle was aware of a number of kinds of kingship: (a) the "heroic," gained by a man for his line on the basis of accomplishment, limited in various ways and superimposed on willing subjects; (b) the "barbaric," a legal, hereditary despotism; (c) the *aisymneteia*, which is an elective tyranny; and (d) the Spartan type, a lifelong generalship passed on through a family. All these but the last, the Spartan, are in fact intermediaries between the Spartan and a fifth kind of



While Aristotle wrote, the Macedonian monarchy was on the verge of a fundamental transformation at the hands of Alexander the Great. From a kingship some modern historians see as conditional to a significant extent on the performance of its holder and dependent on the support of at least a group of leaders if not a broader group of soldiers,<sup>9</sup> the monarchy evolved into a royalism as close to Aristotle's absolutism as anything the Greeks ever knew. Philip's reestablishment of the security of the borders of the Macedonian kingdom and his successful aggrandizement eastward across the north of the Aegean and southward into Greece itself gave Macedonian kingship new proportions in political terms. Alexander's conquests in the east not only broadened the physical borders of his empire enormously, they incorporated a vast agglomeration of peoples under a king whose relationship with this population had to find a basis suitable for radically changed conditions. This basis needed more than power, and it called for an ideology that would resolve some of the strains already apparent in Alexander's relations with his generals. In the development of this new ideology, kingship changed so radically as to erase any accurate recollections of just what sort of kings Philip and Alexander had been.

It is at least clear that succession was not automatic, nor did it necessarily favor the eldest son of a deceased king, in the sense that formal primogeniture slated the succession on the basis of birth alone, not competence.<sup>10</sup> The fact that Philip, in however obscure a manner, soon acted as and took the title of king despite the continued survival of the boy in whose name he initially began to govern shows that kingship could pass to new hands even while an earlier holder lived. Exactly how Philip was formally named king we do not know, although the remark of one of the lesser sources attesting an acclamation by the people has been taken at face value.<sup>11</sup> Several stories about Alexander indicate that his succession was not a certainty, at least while Philip was alive. Alexander's anger at Attalus's wish for a full-blooded Macedonian heir to Philip, which the general expressed at the celebrations of the king's new marriage, shows that clearly. An impression of the prince living in uncertainty is reinforced by anecdotes about the reason he intruded himself into Philip's negotiations to arrange a marriage between

---

kingship that Aristotle mentions, the monarchy that holds its sway in totality like the master over his household.

<sup>9</sup> The scope of the consenting group is a crux of debate and involves also the question of the existence of a formal assembly through which consent could be expressed. See Errington, "Macedonian State," 77–133; Pierre Cabanes, "Société et institutions dans les monarchies de Grèce septentrionale au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue des études grecques*, 93 (1980): 324–51; Hammond and Griffith, *History of Macedonia*, 2: 152–58; see the pages following for the council and assembly of the Macedonians, and Griffith's observations, 383–92; it is noteworthy that a great deal of the description of the Macedonian monarchy could be applied verbatim to that of the Merovingians.

<sup>10</sup> Errington, "Macedonian State," 99, suggested that an eldest son old enough to rule did so, "normally without traceable difficulty." This period, however, was not normal, with the decade after the death of Amyntas III a turbulent series of successions and Alexander leaving no heir.

<sup>11</sup> Griffith, *History of Macedonia*, 2: 390, accepted the "compulsus a populo regnum suscepit" of Justin 7, 5.10 as correct; for discussion of Philip's accession, see Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 2: 651 and n.1; as well as Griffith's differing account, 2: 208–09. Errington also accepted Justin as basically correct, seeing the reference to *populus* as denoting a pro-Philip group wider than that of the nobles who normally could influence the succession ("Macedonian State," 95–97).

Arrhidaeus and the daughter of Pixodarus, satrap of Caria. Alexander proposed himself for the match because he had been told that Philip was maneuvering to bring the succession to Arrhidaeus.<sup>12</sup> When Philip was assassinated, the army played some role in conferring the kingship on Alexander, as when Alexander of Lyncestis, the son-in-law of the great general Antipater, buckled on his armor and went with Alexander to the palace,<sup>13</sup> and Antipater himself threw his support to the prince.<sup>14</sup> Even so, Alexander's kingship was not secure. At first held in some disdain because of his youth, Alexander made public statements that he would carry on as Philip had, and he killed a number of potential rivals, including Attalus, who was specifically said to have been popular among the soldiers.<sup>15</sup> Finally, the later role of the army in determining Alexander's own successor reinforces the account of Alexander's precarious accession.<sup>16</sup>

Slender as the evidence is, it is completely consistent. In the fourth century B.C., a Macedonian king did not come to the throne "by right"; the accession had to be ratified or accepted by some group of Macedonians—perhaps the army, perhaps the nobles. Once on the throne, a king was not necessarily secure. The close detail given for Alexander's reign demonstrates that a king carefully watched the sentiments of his Macedonian followers. The story of Alexander's relations with his generals during the ten-year march east is one of heightening mutual suspicions, with Alexander exhibiting a greater and greater sensitivity to—even fear of—the disapproval of his Macedonian generals, a story one modern writer described as "an almost embarrassingly perfect illustration of the man who conquered the world, only to lose his soul."<sup>17</sup> The language may express a modern view of the nature of power, but it is based on solid evidence of Alexander's distrust of his generals.

The difference between Alexander's relationship with his subordinates and that of his successors and their descendants is a notable one. However savage later kings might be, their crimes were for the most part carried out against other members of their families—children, wives, sisters, and brothers. They did not seem to feel apprehension about their generals and officers like that evinced by Alexander's assassination of the general Parmenion after Parmenion's son (and Alexander's friend) Philotas had been executed for treason. Alexander's fear of his officers came out in the open later, when in the course of a brawl with the general Clitus, the king shouted out that "the same thing [treason] had happened to him as had

<sup>12</sup> Plutarch *Alexander* 10.1. The sources of the stories were Alexander's mother and friends.

<sup>13</sup> Arrian 1, 25.2; Curtius Rufus 7, 1.6–7; and Justin 11, 2.2.

<sup>14</sup> So says the *Alexander Romance*, Pseudo-Callisthenes 1, 26, ed. Müller. This usually suspect source is followed by modern historians, since its explicit statement coheres with the support of Alexander by Antipater's associates attested elsewhere (note 13).

<sup>15</sup> Diodorus 17, 2; and Justin 11, 1.7–10.

<sup>16</sup> Disagreement in the army, with Alexander's close associates preferring to see the kingship go to Alexander's possible heir, if the pregnant Roxane should produce one, while the infantry agitated for Arrhidaeus (Diodorus 18.2; Curtius 10.6–8) produced the compromise that Arrhidaeus was to share his kingship with Alexander's son if Roxane's child turned out to be male.

<sup>17</sup> Badian, "Alexander and the Loneliness of Power," 204.

befallen Darius . . . and that he had nothing now except the name of king.”<sup>18</sup> That remark implies Alexander’s belief that the generals had concocted a plot, but the story as a whole shows the relationship between Alexander, the generals, and the army as the king saw it. Once the immediate circle around the king was plunged into confusion by Alexander’s sudden killing of Clitus, his immediate self-seclusion in his tent, and his announcement that he intended to die in remorse over the murder, events slowed enough to produce a denouement quite satisfactory to Alexander. The army—the common soldiers—would support him, and Alexander could count on the troops against the generals. He proceeded thereafter with a disregard of the generals he had not shown before, stopped only by eventual defiance on the part of the ordinary soldiers. While this decision to pay heed to his army might seem no more than the pragmatic realism of a generalissimo on the move, the events showed that Alexander’s relations with his men could be direct rather than through the intermediaries of generals who could command loyalty on their own.

The loyalty Alexander could command, however, arose initially from his personal qualities and accomplishments as well as from his position or role as king. Traditionally, Macedonian kings were not the embodiment of the state, or the people, or the law. Rather than merely ruling, the kings had a relationship with the rest of the Macedonians that called for a claimant like Alexander to be formally declared king, just as the people customarily participated in the treatment of serious crimes: “In capital cases in the ancient procedure of the Macedonians the army carried out the inquiry—in peace it was a matter for the whole population—and the power of the kings was of no importance unless their ‘auctoritas’ earlier had weight.”<sup>19</sup> This passage from Curtius Rufus relates to the execution of Philotas after public discussion. Later, in a different sequence of events, the soldiers legalized Alexander’s angry slaying of Clitus with a post-mortem decision that the general had been lawfully killed. Alexander’s precautionary murder of Parmenion, on the other hand, was another matter. Told in elaborate detail by Curtius, the story includes allegations against Parmenion, but, despite these, some soldiers dissented from the king’s action.<sup>20</sup> According to Plutarch, Alexander’s actions made him “fearful to many of his friends,” causing even Antipater to look

<sup>18</sup> Arrian 4, 8.8. For the episode, see Elizabeth Carney, “The Death of Clitus,” *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 22 (1981): 149–60, who, while acknowledging the potential for violence in Macedonian drinking parties and accepting the unpremeditated nature of the murder, still made it “part of the pattern of aristocratic opposition and royal suppression that characterized Alexander’s reign.”

<sup>19</sup> Curtius 6, 8.25; I translate without the emendation of Hedicke, bracketed here: “De capitalibus rebus vetusto Macedonum modo inquirebat [rex, iudicabat] exercitus—in pace erat vulgi—et nihil potestas regum valebat, nisi prius valuisset auctoritas.” On accepting the evidence of the often unreliable Curtius, see Hammond and Griffith, *History of Macedonia* 2: 383 n. 1. Errington, “Macedonian State,” 89, interpreted the passage to mean that the army (or people) “informed itself” in the matter of serious capital offences and that, whatever assembly was involved (not a formal one), its purpose was merely the testing or ratifying of the “auctoritas” of the king so that he could then act as he chose. There was no requirement that such meetings be held, Errington argued, and they were called at the behest of the king when he wanted to check on his position before action.

<sup>20</sup> Curtius 7, 2.11–35.

after his own interests.<sup>21</sup> Now the senior Macedonian general, Antipater could distinguish between the willingness of the army to support Alexander and the king's own willingness to go beyond customary practices with apparent impunity.

The interaction among king, senior officers, and army illustrates the character of Macedonian rule as a kingship whose power fluctuated with the abilities and accomplishments of those who held it. Because it was not an autocracy of the sort familiar from the later monarchies and the Roman empire, it was closer to Hellenic patterns than is immediately obvious. With the king subject to some limit and approval by others in the society—however vague the terms in which we must leave this group—the Macedonians exhibited a variation on the characteristic Hellenic attitude toward political structure that in most states by the fifth century B.C. vested sovereignty in the collective of adult males designated as citizens. As the fortunes of leaders in democratic Athens might wax and wane with the success of their policies in promoting the power of the state as a whole and the well-being of the voting citizens, so the strength of Macedonian kings depended on their success, and that success was for the most part measured in military terms. Before Philip, with the ups and downs of Macedonian fortunes in the fifth and fourth centuries, kings had been unable to accumulate prestige and power in quantities sufficient to overawe or overwhelm the body of soldiers. It took the sustained success of the reigns of Philip and Alexander, stretching over forty years, to make possible a significant shift of power.

We can see a little of what the Macedonians gained by those successes. Philip's relations with the army show some of the ways in which he kept the troops happy. While Diodorus Siculus's annalistic account of the Mediterranean world leaves his narrative of Philip somewhat sketchy, there are passages that show Philip rewarding his Macedonians. In 353/2 B.C., after the conquest of Methone, Philip parceled out the city's lands to his people,<sup>22</sup> an acquisition and distribution of territory that calls to mind Aristotle's remark about the Macedonian kings getting their rank from just such accomplishments. The sack of Olynthus in 348/7 provided money for distribution to deserving soldiers, and in 344/3 an invasion of Illyria yielded a great deal of loot.<sup>23</sup> And loot was a good part of the incentive Philip gave his Macedonians and other Greeks upon announcing his plan for the invasion of Persia. Alexander's troops raged through Thebes when that city was taken, and, behind one of the most famous Alexander stories, one that shows his clemency in forgiving the raped Timocleia, who threw her army assaulter down a well, lies the pattern of looting, for the dead commander demanded his victim's money as well as her body.<sup>24</sup> The destruction of Persepolis, so condemned by the sources,<sup>25</sup> was portrayed by Diodorus in two stages: before he tells of the palace burning, we learn that Alexander let his soldiers plunder all but the palaces, and

<sup>21</sup> Plutarch *Alexander* 49.8.

<sup>22</sup> Diodorus 16, 34.5.

<sup>23</sup> Diodorus 16, 53.3; 16, 69.7.

<sup>24</sup> Plutarch *Alexander* 12.

<sup>25</sup> As in Arrian 3, 18.11–12; attributed to drunken revelry and the suggestion of Thais by Diodorus 17, 72; and Curtius 5, 7.3–7.

a day was insufficient for the looting and fighting among the troops for the silver, gold, and rich clothing.<sup>26</sup> Plutarch's account moves directly from the destruction to observations about Alexander's generosity.<sup>27</sup> During the campaign eastward, there were other occasions when the troops were given the opportunity to swell the baggage train with loot, and, when Alexander was concerned about keeping the support of the army for the further penetration of India, he turned the troops loose to pillage the countryside in order to make them more amenable to his wishes.<sup>28</sup>

A Macedonian king had to make sure that his troops were rewarded; thus the riotous procedures that accomplished this were sometimes deliberate. Despite successes and rewards, however, the kings at the time of Philip and Alexander were not rulers absolute, in the sense that they could go their own way, do what they wanted in the confidence that their birth would secure their crowns, or that their conquests, however staggering, like Alexander's, would then permit them complete freedom of action. The style of the Macedonian king at least allowed for an impression that the nobles, or army, or both, were not totally subjected.<sup>29</sup> However brief or lengthy the account historians make of Alexander,<sup>30</sup> we cannot evade the cumulative effect of the sources' portrayal of a leader who behaved as though the generals and soldiers could have minds of their own. As Errington has shown, these independent minds expressed themselves about, and sometimes controlled, the choice of successor to a deceased king.

What we can say about the Macedonian monarchy is, apparently, both limited and a matter of generalities. The observations are so general, in fact, that if left alone it would be fair to say that they indicate little more than the realities of power and life in a world affected much more by pragmatic adjustments to circumstances than constitutional theory—the world of many societies in many places and times. Without some means of portraying the whole society more fully and showing the consistency with which the parts interacted, accounts of Macedonian kingship are likely either to move toward generality so broad as to preclude explanation of events and royal behavior or, in the opposite direction, to a constitutional precision unsupported by the sources.

Although the sources on Philip and Alexander do not permit me to do much better, it is possible to illuminate the picture of Macedonian monarchy and society by analogy with another historical experience, that of the Germanic monarchies that succeeded Roman authority in Europe. These monarchies are much later and

<sup>26</sup> Diodorus 17, 70.

<sup>27</sup> Plutarch *Alexander* 38–39.

<sup>28</sup> Diodorus 17, 93.4.

<sup>29</sup> Thus creating the impression enunciated by the oft-quoted and overworked phrase of Curtius 4, 7.31, that the Macedonians were accustomed to greater freedom than others in relating to their king.

<sup>30</sup> We should avoid falling into the trap of making a portrayal of Alexander depend on accepting a specific incident in his biography as "true" in the sense that the report of it is an accurate representation of events, intentions, and interpretations at the time. I think that the modern Alexander historian is in a situation a little like that of the physicist who knows that some of the electrons will hit the screen at a specific time but does not know which; the historian is confident that some of Alexander's stories will be true in the sense mentioned above but finds it difficult to prove this truth for a specific instance.

much better known, and a number of aspects of Macedonian practice bear close resemblance to Germanic institutions. Keeping in mind that analogical reasoning is not proof but is helpful for interpretation and clarification of evidence, the plentiful information about the Germanic kingdoms can cast light on the significance of what little exists for the Macedonian.<sup>31</sup> While the extant information about Germanic kingships cannot simply be extended to the Macedonian, it can help interpret the conclusions we can reach on the basis of the Macedonian evidence.

THE GERMAN PEOPLES WHO MOVED INTO THE EMPIRE in the fourth century and then swept through Gaul, Spain, and Italy in the great fifth-century invasions followed leaders whose concept of their role was very different from that of the Romans. The nature of these Germanic conceptions, and the manner in which they were worked out among Franks, Anglo-Saxons, Lombards, Burgundians, and others as these peoples came into contact with the Roman conception, has been one of the most fruitful investigations carried on by students of medieval history and law.<sup>32</sup> The evidence, in comparison to that for the early Macedonian monarchy, is plentiful, and the attention of many scholars has meant that the main features of the institutions of early Germanic kingship are fairly well delineated. This is particularly true for the Merovingian realms. There, royal legitimacy depended on a number of factors, including family "blood," the support or "election" by the powerful Franks, qualities of military leadership, as well as attitudes toward monarchy reflecting religious concepts that emerged out of Christianity.<sup>33</sup> By now, it is clear that, insofar as we can identify features of "Germanic" kingship uncontaminated by Roman practice, a German king occupied not a hierarchical position at the apex of the pyramid of power but rather fulfilled a defined role as part of an often complex social structure. Only as a leader in battle or the head

<sup>31</sup> Resemblances between Macedonian kingship and Caesar's comments about the Germans in *Gallic Wars* 6, 23.4 and those of Tacitus in *Germania* 7, and 11–12, have been noted by, among others, J. R. Ellis, *Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism* (London, 1976), 24–26. For reservations about the reliability of the *Germania* as a guide to the political arrangements of the Germans, see J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent* (Oxford, 1971), 1–5, observing that "the *Germania* is not only an unsafe guide to future Germanic society, it also affords no solid ground for generalizations about Germanic society at large of the historian's own time" (2), and supporting the claim that Caesar and Tacitus confounded German with Celtic ethnography (4 n. 121) made by Colin M. Wells in his review of Rolf Nierhaus, *Das Swebische Gräberfeld von Diersheim* (Berlin, 1966), in *Journal of Roman Studies*, 59 (1969): 303–05. The similarities between the Germanic and Macedonian kingships can be seen, however, from what is known of the Germans in the fifth and sixth centuries, which need not be supposed as stemming from original Indo-European characteristics (compare Charles F. Edson, "Early Macedonia," in *Archaea Macedonia: Ancient Macedonia* [Thessaloniki, 1970] 1: 22) but should rather be seen as characteristics common to societies at similar stages of development.

<sup>32</sup> A valuable bibliography appears with Patrick Wormald's "Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship: Some Further Thoughts," in P. E. Szarmach and V. D. Oggins, eds., *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1986), 151–84. Wormald broke with the tradition that sees Celtic kingship as represented by the Irish sources as radically different from the Germanic, and he adduced the evidence that would allow us to believe that the two societies, when at analogous stages of development, enjoyed similar institutions.

<sup>33</sup> See, for a summary and review of the present state of scholarship, Reinhard Schneider, *Das Frankenreich* (Munich, 1982), esp. 48–50, 106–08, and bibliography; also his *Königswahl und Königserhebung im Frühmittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1972).



of a war band were his duties simple and easy to explain, and the relationship between that role of the German king and his other responsibilities, restrictions, and opportunities varied with time and the Germanic tribe of which he was a member. In Gabriel Fournier's words, the Roman idea of the state contrasts with "that of the German kingship, conceived as the property of a dynasty, in which the right to the throne was defined by the rules of private inheritance, and of which the most suitable representative, chosen by election, essentially a war leader, had powers restricted to the members of his tribe of origin and limited by the assemblies of free men and of warriors."<sup>34</sup>

In the modern view of early Germanic kingship, the king is much more answerable to his people than was the sovereign under the evolved concept of the Roman empire or the church.<sup>35</sup> This is more than merely a modern prejudice of Germanists or British writers who are seeking to ground contemporary attitudes on the ethnic characteristics of the Germans who settled Britain, untouched, as Henri Pirenne saw them, by the influence of Rome and inhabiting the province that had been least Romanized.<sup>36</sup> In each of the Germanic groups that made themselves masters of one or another part of the Western Roman empire from 476 on, the kings had their eye on the style of rule exemplified by what they knew or thought they knew of the Roman emperor, and they tried to assume some of the trappings of imperial government.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, many fundamental characteristics of traditional Germanic leadership remained dominant in the patterns of rule and response to rule among the first generations of Germans settling into the empire. The impingement on royal authority of the will of the nobles and war chieftains is one of the most prominent of these.

Even among the Ostrogoths, most inculcated with Romanism of all the Germans, the customary strength of the nobility asserted itself against kings, once the towering personality of Theodoric passed from the scene.<sup>38</sup> The Visigoths behaved toward their kings in a way that Gregory of Tours, at least, regards as alien, "with a detestable practice, that, if anyone did not please them in his reign, they went after him by sword, and whoever pleased them, him they set up as king for themselves."<sup>39</sup> The selection of Visigothic kings by their followers, with their liability to replacement, is confirmed by Isidore of Seville, although Isidore's accounts are more neutral in the matter than that of Gregory, whose disapproval

<sup>34</sup> Gabriel Fournier, *Les Mérovingiens* (Paris, 1966), 63.

<sup>35</sup> The evidence for this has been reviewed recently by M. J. Swanton, *Crisis and Development in Germanic Society, 700–800: Beowulf and the Burden of Kingship* (Göppingen, 1982), 15–40.

<sup>36</sup> Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne* [trans. of *Mahomet et Charlemagne*, 1939] (1956; rpt. edn., Totowa, N.J., 1980), 141.

<sup>37</sup> As, for example, the promulgation of legislation, perhaps more for image than utility, as argued by Patrick Wormald, "Lex Scripta and Verbum Regis: Legislation and Germanic Kingship, from Euric to Cnut," in *Early Medieval Kingship*, P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood, eds. (Leeds, 1979), or the direct imitation of imperial behavior, especially in Christian matters, adduced by Karl Hauck, "Von einer spätantiken Randkultur zum karolingischen Europa," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 1 (1967): 3–93.

<sup>38</sup> Discussed recently by Thomas S. Burns, *A History of the Ostrogoths* (Bloomington, Ind., 1984), esp. 177–83, 202–15.

<sup>39</sup> Gregory of Tours *History of the Franks* 3, 30.

of the Visigothic custom was influenced by his own hostility to that people.<sup>40</sup>

Among the Germans who settled in France, the same characteristics can be seen. Gregory's history of the Merovingian kings who had reigned up to his time often bridges the gulf between Frankish practice and the Roman and church conception of kingship, and it deliberately veils the characteristics that made Frankish monarchy so different from that to which Gaul was accustomed. But sometimes Gregory reveals a familiarity with Frankish institutions that would not be obvious from the flow of his history. He was aware, for example, of the ambiguity of titles such as war leader, dux, and king among the early Franks, and he accuses one of his sources, Sulpicius Alexander, whose history is lost, of leaving these matters in doubt in a number of cases.<sup>41</sup> And, despite his attempt to treat Frankish kings as Roman-like rulers, Gregory's history leaves no doubt that the early Frankish accessions required some form of popular endorsement not required by Roman or church tradition. For example, when a sequence of murders left the Ripuarian Franks without a king, Clovis put himself forward. The soldiers indicated their open acceptance by clashing their shields and raising him on a shield, and thus Clovis became ruler of that group of Franks.<sup>42</sup> Later, in the seventh century, when Chlotar II, of Neustria, was challenging the succession of the sons of Theuderic II, he agreed that "whatever should be decided about the issue between them by the Franks, with the aid of God, by a judgment of selected Franks, this should be fulfilled."<sup>43</sup> The pattern is repeated among the Lombards, who had a say in controlling the succession: when King Authari died in 590, the Lombards allowed his wife, Theudelinda, whom they liked, to choose his successor as husband and king.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, in 636, Gundaberga arranged for Rothari to be chosen king, and the language describing the event shows the involvement of the nobles in the selection of the king: "all the first men of the Lombards raised Rothari to royal power."<sup>45</sup>

The independence of the will of the army extends beyond questions of succession. When Childebart and Lothar wanted to attack the Burgundians and asked Theuderic to join them, Theuderic's Franks told him that if he refused to join the expedition they would leave him and go themselves. He was only able to hold them by promising to lead them "to a nation where you will take gold and silver in such great amount that your greed can be satisfied, in which you will acquire cattle, slaves, clothing in abundance. So much if you do not follow them."<sup>46</sup> It was the area of Clermont-Ferrand he had in mind, which he decided was disloyal, and the march he then led laid it to waste. The story shows that, even in

<sup>40</sup> Isidore of Seville *History of the Goths* 12, Alaric is king by election; 19, 20, Athaulf then Sigeric are selected, and Sigeric is killed by his troops because of his inclination for peace with Rome.

<sup>41</sup> *History of the Franks* 2, 9.

<sup>42</sup> *History of the Franks* 2, 40.

<sup>43</sup> Fredegar *Chronicle* 4, 40. Earlier, a dispute between Theuderic II and Theudebert II was to have been submitted to *Francorum iudicio*, Fredegar *Chronicle* 4, 37, so what is at issue in the instance of Chlotar may be as much arbitration as determination of succession.

<sup>44</sup> Paul the Deacon *History of the Lombards* 3, 35.

<sup>45</sup> Fredegar *Chronicle* 4, 70.

<sup>46</sup> Gregory of Tours *History of the Franks* 3, 11.

the first generation after Clovis, the king could not simply command. Issues that were mooted could threaten leadership in war and booty. The king not only needed the consent or support of his army, the army could in fact demand action.<sup>47</sup> Like a modern politician, the king, on occasion, had to find out where his people were going and get out in front of them. Gold, silver, finery, cattle, and captives—the king was expected to provide all these by leading his men to war. If he seemed too pacific, they would follow another.

These stories, and others like them, illustrate the character of the Germanic king as more a war-band leader than an administrator, as a military chieftain expected to lead his men to loot rather than govern a settled community in peace. The early period of the new kingdoms gave ample opportunity for the insecurity of tenure of rule and for the potential for turmoil to reach its fullest extent. For all the Germanic peoples and their kings, settlement into the empire and the first century or two of their development in their new homes was a period of great change.<sup>48</sup> Along with every other aspect of life, the nature of rule and kingship had to meet the new conditions. In the matter of establishing their styles and attributes of leadership under the new conditions, however, kings faced more than the pragmatic matters of governing the peoples now their subjects and relating to other leaders, as tribes and peoples struggled for control of the new lands and the territories once subject to the emperor at Rome, or even adjusting to the great social changes brought about by the drastic alteration in available economic resources. In addition, the concept of monarchic rule under which their Roman subjects were accustomed to live, the ideology of monarchy of the late empire, was having an impact on the new arrivals themselves, as were the ideas that church leaders were trying to establish so as to make the new order under the Germanic kings accommodate itself to the welfare of church leaders, institutions, and property. Historians today are inclined to see the period as one of adaptation and preservation of established traditions in a new milieu, rather than as a precipitous drop back into barbarism accompanied by the collapse of Roman imperial culture.<sup>49</sup> A focus on the adaptation of Merovingian society to the new home of the Franks in Gaul, for example, highlights an intellectual growth and development in the ideology of kingship and reveals that the Merovingians not only laid the groundwork for the Carolingian renaissance but creatively reworked political and social institutions.<sup>50</sup>

Some of this new appreciation of Merovingian culture owes its existence to Henri Pirenne. Two generations of historians have struggled with his thesis that

<sup>47</sup> Or the reverse, when the troops of Theuderic II forced their king to come to terms with his brother and in the process held the king prisoner and killed the mayor of the palace, who was advising battle (Fredegar *Chronicle* 4, 27).

<sup>48</sup> It is of interest that the Franks, as a populace, can be described in terms similar to those used of the Macedonians: "The Franks are farmers. They are not simple cattle-raisers but owners of orchards, cornfields, beanfields, lentil-fields, vineyards"; J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Long-Haired Kings* (Toronto, 1982), 2, describing the society reflected by the Salic law. Errington described the Macedonians as "land-holders and farmers," in his review-discussion, *American Journal of Ancient History*, 6 (1981): 86.

<sup>49</sup> As, for example, Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship*, 16–20.

<sup>50</sup> See Edward James, *The Origins of France from Clovis to the Capetians, 500–1000* (London, 1982).

the Mediterranean civilization of Rome only came to an end when the Arabs surrounded the sea in the seventh century, and they have tested Pirenne's claim that the years from 450 to 650 were a prosperous continuation under Germanic kings of what had subsisted before under Roman governors. While much of the scholarly attention has been on the economic situation of Western Europe during the time of the Arabian expansion, the attempt to adduce new data has inevitably deepened our understanding of Merovingian institutions. Our concept of the activities of the kings is affected, for example, by accumulating archaeological evidence, which suggests that the economic disintegration Pirenne placed in the seventh century had begun considerably earlier.<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, the wealth of the kings at the time was still very great and a significant factor in the preservation of their power. Gregory of Tours records a dowry of Rigunth, daughter of King Chilperic, who in 584 took with her on her departure to marry the Visigothic Reccared some fifty cartloads of gold, silver, and precious objects. Some of this treasure came from other Franks, not members of the royal family, but the family contribution was great enough for the queen to claim that the royal dowry came from gifts to her from the king and others, not from the public treasury.<sup>52</sup> The remarkable wealth of these kings that Pirenne referred to, however, was to a large extent hoarded wealth, not the assets of economic enterprise. Despite Pirenne's desire to portray the Franks as evincing an absolutism analogous to Byzantium and maintaining a complex bureaucracy to increase their wealth, he ends up with a statement of their activities better suited to the depredations of the chiefs of the Norse sagas: "It was to seize one another's treasures that the kings fought and slew one another."<sup>53</sup>

Historians draw a picture of weakness and incompetence—*rois fainéants*—to portray the Merovingian monarchs who reigned after Dagobert I died in 638. Royal power was seen to have dwindled as the aristocracy gained wealth and strength, the central authority eventually so weak that the palace was administered by mayors until Charles Martel's son Pépin obtained from the pope the formal recognition that it was better that he who actually had power hold the title of king. The Carolingians then restored to the central monarchy control over the large part of Gaul that had been progressively lost during the early part of the seventh century. There is, of course, a great deal of truth to this account, which often focuses on the frequency of minority kingships after Dagobert as an important part of the explanation for the dynasty's troubles, but the earlier Merovingian period, with which I am primarily concerned here, was still characterized by dynastic turmoil, even under fully mature kings. There is, therefore, not so much truth, perhaps, to the concomitant view that the success of fragmentation over centralism came from accidents of circumstance producing the centrifugal forces that emerged in the Merovingian period. This sense of the history of these centuries arises out of assumptions about the development of monarchism as a desirable and

<sup>51</sup> The evidence is reviewed in Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe* (London, 1983).

<sup>52</sup> Gregory of Tours *History of the Franks* 6, 45.

<sup>53</sup> Hodges and Whitehouse, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, 59.

progressive reinforcement of the tribal power of Germanic chieftains by the introduction of ideas of Roman order and law, combined with the endorsement of royalty by churchmen conferring the blessing of God. The Merovingians did not maintain the impetus that Clovis gave to the beginning of the dynasty, and ultimately Charles Martel and the Pépinids had to take up the cause of monarchy that was to create the world of the future. The troubles of the dynasty are attributed to internal misfortunes as much as, if not more than, external causes, with the roots of deterioration in dynastic conflict, disorderly succession, and almost uninterrupted wars.

This negative assessment ignores the dynamics of the kind of leadership inherent in the kingly organization of the Franks, a dynamic observable among other Germanic peoples of the time and noticeable also in the Macedonian dynasty of Philip and Alexander. With the holding of power being not only a matter of inheritance or royal blood<sup>54</sup> but also personal accomplishment, wealth, and influence, kings naturally sought opportunities to demonstrate the value of their leadership. The account of just a few years in the dynasty that Clovis established illustrates this very clearly. Even though the historian of the period, Gregory of Tours, is not aiming at a discussion of kingship, the nature of kingly attitudes shines through. The rivalry of Clovis's sons is a case in point, showing how ready both kings and armies were for murder, war, and pursuit of treasure.<sup>55</sup>

After one of the brothers, Chlodomer, died fighting the Burgundians at the behest of his mother Clothild, Childebert and Lothar plotted to kill Chlodomer's sons out of concern that Clothild favored them and was arranging to put them in the line of succession. Gregory's account of the killing of the boys, ages ten and seven, has the two kings do the dirty work themselves, as Childebert, who felt some remorse after Lothar had killed the first boy, gave in to his brother's angry demand to continue the slaughter and pushed the terrified child over so that Lothar could kill him as well.<sup>56</sup> Lothar also had trouble with his half-brother Theuderic, after cooperating with him in vanquishing the Thuringians. Theuderic planned to kill Lothar while the two were in Thuringia, but Lothar perceived the plot and kept his bodyguard with him, so he survived. When Theuderic died, Childebert and Lothar joined forces to try to prevent Theuderic's son Theudebert from succeeding, but their nephew bought them off and made use of the support of his retainers.<sup>57</sup> Theudebert combined with Childebert against Lothar, but Clothild's prayers brought a storm that reconciled the brothers. Childebert then attacked Spain and obtained a great deal of booty.<sup>58</sup> On another occasion, Childebert,

<sup>54</sup> Family and royal blood has long been seen as central in importance for Merovingian successions; see the discussion of Fritz Kern, *Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandrecht*, 2d edn. (Constance, 1954), 13–45, a work first published in 1914.

<sup>55</sup> If Ian Wood's argument, "Kings, Kingdoms and Consent," in Sawyer and Wood, *Early Medieval Kingship*, 6–26, is right that the partible kingship of the Merovingians was not a longstanding tradition but arose out of the political situation that obtained at Clovis's death in 511, sibling rivalries and savage conflict would not be attributable to traditional partible kingship but to other factors inherent in the kingship structure.

<sup>56</sup> *History of the Franks* 3, 18.

<sup>57</sup> *History of the Franks* 3, 23.

<sup>58</sup> *History of the Franks* 3, 28–29.

Lothar, and Theudebert extorted 50,000 pieces of gold from the king of Tuscany, and, when Childebert and Theudebert cut Lothar out of the deal, Lothar grabbed the treasury of Chlodomer and took more away from them in that way than they had obtained by their own sharp dealings. Theudebert's next acquisition was treasure from Italy, where Gregory exaggerates his accomplishments.<sup>59</sup>

The *History of the Franks* is replete with such stories, and the same kind can be found in the Anglo-Saxon chronicles, in Paul the Deacon's Lombard history, in Fredegar's chronicle—in any narrative of the activities of the kings of the sixth to eleventh centuries. But Gregory's narrative is more extensive than most of the others, full enough to give us some idea of motivation. In the case of the Thuringians, too, trouble came as three ruling brothers fell out. Hermanfrid killed his brother Berthar, and then Hermanfrid's wife egged him on against Baderic, the third brother. On one occasion, she set only half the table, telling her husband he deserved this since he was deprived of half his kingdom, that is, the part his brother held.<sup>60</sup> Gregory represents this kind of motivation as responsible for Hermanfrid's decision to ally himself with the Frankish king, Theuderic. A king who seemed to want to spend time at home over a quiet dinner would be troubled even by a wife; he eventually felt impelled to introduce a foreign invader to help him kill his brother. Evocative of the Grimm brothers' tales, Gregory's narrative clearly shows the extent to which greed for gain outweighs what might be thought of as family solidarity.

The continual war and dynastic upheaval of the Franks, Lombards, Burgundians, and Anglo-Saxons in these centuries are hardly the result of a remarkable coincidence of chance that brought them wild men as leaders. Rather, turmoil was built into their social structure. Since the kings were not at the peak of an agreed pyramid of power but rather cooperated with a powerful army, kings could only hope to survive for long periods by successful military adventures that kept their armies happy.

The assessment of failure that most modern historiography makes of the Merovingian dynasty stems from an outlook that finds stable, centralized monarchy the proper goal of kings, an assessment made, in other words, from the point of view of the Roman empire and the church. Yet the Merovingian world is a society appropriate for the activity of a Gundovald, the so-called attempted usurper who traveled to Italy and Constantinople in search of support, tried a landing at Marseille in his quest to succeed Chilperic, had himself declared king in Aquitaine, but ultimately failed because of the manipulations of Brunhild, whose own wild life ended at sixty-five as she was dragged by arm and leg behind a wild horse and kicked to death by its hooves.<sup>61</sup> One may also think of the adventures of Demetrius, son of Antigonos, whose life was a series of reversals of fortune from his escape after the defeat at Ipsus in 301 to his siege and failure at Rhodes, his welcome to Athens and expulsion thereafter, his unexpected success

<sup>59</sup> *History of the Franks* 3, 32.

<sup>60</sup> *History of the Franks* 3, 4.

<sup>61</sup> Fredegar *Chronicle* 4, 42.



in grasping control of Macedonia, and his ultimate death in captivity after the defeat of an eastern expedition. The history books make their lives failures, but, in terms of demonstrating their personal qualities of military heroism, cunning, good luck, and adroitness, these leaders must have impressed their contemporaries. They are to be judged best, perhaps, by the standards that command respect for the reckless Burgundians, who, in the Icelandic saga *Atlakvida* even more than in the *Niebelungenlied*, seem to hurl themselves to destruction at the hands of Attila merely to show that they are willing to do so.

KINGSHIP IN EUROPE IN THE FIFTH, SIXTH, AND SEVENTH CENTURIES, while moving toward the model of administration, legalism, and divinely endorsed government presented by the late Roman empire, was a long time evolving from its Germanic ancestors. The turmoil our age derogates because it impeded the growth of orderly, stable, and delimited nation-states fulfilled, in fact, the expectations of the powers of the time. The nobles were not pursuing governmental stability; they wanted wealth and power. They welcomed any chance to get more of each, and they expected, even demanded, that their kings provide them those opportunities. In such an atmosphere, it was entirely natural that kings would seek and find reasons for war and even brothers be pushed into conflict by an almost automatic expectation of mutual hostility.

The situation and character of the Macedonian monarchy, while not identical to that of the Merovingian, bore many resemblances to it. Macedonian kings, like Merovingian, could not stand without the support of the powerful nobles, even though there was no explicit constitutional structure that served to express that support.<sup>62</sup> Macedonian kings saw to it that their followers were suitably rewarded for war, once Macedonian success made that possible. Philip and Alexander, and their armies, found themselves in control of much more territory and vastly greater wealth than Macedonians had ever had before. Neither king, however, made of this an occasion to amass great personal wealth, and both left a reputation of profligacy, or at least generosity, closer to that sought by the kings of Germanic legend than that like the treasure-builders of the East.<sup>63</sup> For Macedonian monarchy as for Frankish, the restlessness and adventurism of its holders is better explained as a product of the structure and expectations of society itself rather than of external circumstances.

Modern writers, who attempt to interpret Alexander's open-ended campaign to the east in terms of patterns of military activity and leadership evinced in the classical Greek and Roman world, are inclined to credit his continued ambitions to his extraordinary personality, which was looking for new worlds to conquer even

<sup>62</sup> Even Errington, "Macedonian State," insisting on the absence of a formal requirement of this "consent," agreed that succession to kingship was subject to "acknowledgement by a consensus of nobles" (131), and the freedom of action of a king depended on the willingness of the Macedonians to accept his orders.

<sup>63</sup> The tradition makes Alexander, for example, assert to the rebellious Macedonians at Opis that he took over Macedonia with a debt of 500 talents and scarcely 60 in the treasury (Arrian 7, 9.6; Curtius 10, 2.24; Plutarch *Alexander*, 15, reports that Aristobulus stated that Alexander had only 70 talents with which to support the army at the beginning of the expedition).

at the end, or else they credit it to some more heroic or romantic goal. But we can understand his continued campaigning as an opportunity to demonstrate further his own worth as a war leader and, in the end, to gain more treasure in the lands of silk and spices. If we see him as a leader more like a Viking king than a settled Oriental despot, his impulse to conquer further makes sense,<sup>64</sup> as do some of the events that particularly troubled his ancient biographers. The burning of Persepolis, for example, which the Alexander historians try to excuse or to explain away as an accident, is a perfectly suitable action for a war leader whose men expect such riotous occasions. And we need no longer demand of Alexander or Philip (or their biographers) lives of consistent policy, for they acted less in pursuit of long-term goals than for the fulfillment of the expectations of their followers. *Closer to Clovis than Darius, Alexander fought because he was expected to*, and he left his dominion no better organized than was the German empire of nearly a millennium later.

<sup>64</sup> Not just the intention to continue marching east, stopped by the wishes of the troops to enjoy their rewards, but the variously reported plans to undertake new campaigns, which the sources report in connection with events after his return.

---

## Reviews of Books

---

### GENERAL

PETER KOLCHIN. *Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1987. Pp. xiv, 517. \$25.00.

Beneath the simple terms of slavery and serfdom used to describe two systems of economic exploitation lies the complex social environment of the unfree laborer. Historians of the Americas have found considerable benefit in comparing the varying social structures and mentalities accompanying slavery throughout the New World. Peter Kolchin seeks to extend the horizon further with a comparison of masters and bonded servants in the antebellum South and in preemancipation imperial Russia.

The central theme of the book, important though perhaps obvious, is that Russian serf villages were larger, stronger, and more autonomous than black slave communities. Most Russian serfs lived in traditional villages and, through the peasant commune, the *mir*, managed many of their own affairs. Although at times an instrument of the serfowner, the commune fostered strong collective feelings, "most evident in the extraordinary group solidarity serfs displayed when confronting their owners or authorities" (p. 332). According to the author, Russian serfs had a sense of peasant cohesiveness, a sense of belonging, primarily to a village, but also to a nation. American slaves lacked this. Their protests lacked communality and were largely individualistic responses to servitude. For southern blacks, community was racial, "a shared sense of brotherhood with others in like circumstances . . . with all other slaves, indeed all other blacks" (p. 331).

In Russia serfowners, who held on average ten times the number of laborers as did southern slaveholders, were usually absentee lords and, in the author's view, primarily interested in deriving an income from their estates. For them serfdom was not a way of life. In contrast most southern planters were directly involved in the management of their farms and, as slaveholders, impinged much more on

the lives of the few slaves they held. As a result, paternalistic planter attitudes and genuine feelings of affection between master and slave existed alongside deep personal and racial animosities. In Russia such sentiments were largely absent.

Although this is a work of great erudition, I wish to take issue with the author on two points. I disagree with the assessment that "the volume of works focusing on some aspect of serfdom has been equally impressive" (p. ix) as the sustained attention American historians have paid to southern slavery. The scholarship on serfdom in imperial Russia has been comparatively unaffected by the methods of historical demography, social anthropology, cliometrics, and the study of unfree labor. Moreover, by the author's own admission, research on serfdom has been inhibited by the "ideological uniformity" (p. 103) of Soviet historians, the "heavy censorship" (p. 181) of tsarist times, especially in the preemancipation period, and the fact that memoirs of former serfs are "rare" (p. 215). Couple this with the difficulty Western scholars have in getting access to Soviet archives and the lack of dialogue between Soviet and Western historians of Russia, and we have before us two quite different levels of intellectual discourse on American slavery and Russian serfdom. Ultimately, it is these two bodies of historical literature that are being compared, and this is the major weakness of the book. Kolchin is often forced to rely on dated and dubious literature on Russian serfdom in drawing comparisons with well-researched aspects of American history, evident in his fine synthesis of southern slavery.

Second, the author's view of the collective nature of Russian serf society, though well grounded in nineteenth-century literature, belies much of the modern anthropological research on peasant communities. I have argued elsewhere that, unlike the paternalism evident in American black slavery, Russian serfdom was patriarchal, reflective of a deep generational cleavage in serf life, which inhibited collective action. Others have recently turned their attention to Russian customary law and found noticeable tensions in village life. Thus, the image of a

strongly cohesive serf society so different from that of the southern slave may require tempering.

The imbalance in the levels of scholarship compared and concerns about an overstated emphasis on the communal spirit of Russian serfs will limit the value of this work. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to be impressed with the breadth of the author's knowledge.

STEVEN L. HOCH  
University of Iowa

PETER GOUREVITCH. *Politics in Hard Times: Comparative Responses to International Economic Crises*. (Cornell Studies in Political Economy.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1986. Pp. 267. Cloth \$27.50, paper \$12.95.

A "political sociology of political economy"? Peter Gourevitch proposes not only to construct such a theoretical framework but also to use it to explain changes and differences in the policy responses of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Sweden to three economic crises: 1873–96, 1929–49, and 1971 to the present. The three crises have in common a business-cycle decline, a shift in the international geography of industry, and a development of new forms of production. Invoking Barrington Moore and Alexander Gerschenkron as models, Gourevitch seeks "to map out the patterns of support which have formed around the various programs of economic policy that countries have adopted in response to severe disruptions in the international economy" (p. 20).

Much more deliberately than Moore or Gerschenkron, Gourevitch sets out a scheme of major variables that one can easily imagine on a blackboard: policy alternatives (liberalism-neoclassicism, socialization of production and planning, protectionism, demand stimulus, mercantilism—the last consisting, in Gourevitch's peculiar usage, of state action in favor of particular industries or firms), societal actors (chiefly labor, agriculture, and business), production profiles (a complex scheme of determinants of societal actors' interests with respect, especially, to the international economy), intermediate associations (political representatives of economic actors), state structure (rules and institutions that aggregate and mediate interests with respect to public policy), economic ideology (an ad hoc enumeration), and international system (a similar catchall). The changing international system preoccupies Gourevitch. In the simplest version of his argument, an international economic crisis challenges the state policy that has prevailed during the preceding prosperity, coalitions of societal actors (motivated by current production profiles and acting through intermediate associations) form around

alternative policies within the limits set by dominant economic ideologies, struggle and experiments ensue, and, finally, both a new policy and a new coalition lock into place until the next major crisis unseats them. In the 1870s states that had been moving toward free trade turned vigorously (with the notable exception of the United Kingdom) to protection, in the 1930s states that had fixed their hopes on deflation and governmental contraction resorted to varying degrees of intervention, and since 1971 the mutual accommodations of business, agriculture, and labor in the five countries have disintegrated but no new synthesis has emerged.

Beyond this general scheme, Gourevitch supplies descriptions and proposes explanations of differences between the five countries during the three critical periods. In this part of his search, as the outline of variables foretells, he discovers no general principles except that organizations representing the major actors—labor, business, and agriculture—responded increasingly to the interests imposed on them by their changing positions in the international economy. The bulk of the book consists, as we might expect, of fifteen case studies, each in a narrative incorporating information about economic interests, intermediate organizations, and so on. As if the explanatory scheme were not yet sufficiently complicated, new factors appear in the course of the individual accounts. In the case of Germany's choice of protectionism in the 1870s, for example, according to the model, the sheer distribution of actors suggests an overall preference for low agricultural tariffs, so to explain the high tariff policy Gourevitch cites the power of the Junkers and Otto von Bismarck's interest in solid parliamentary support—perfectly plausible, but extraneous to the already elaborate analytic scheme. Again, in allowing that antifascism and republicanism galvanized support for the French Popular Front's economic policies, Gourevitch makes good sense but raises questions about the adequacy of his general framework. Caught between a schematizer's simplifications and a historian's sensibilities, he finds himself unable to identify negative cases forthrightly or to attempt straightforward explication of national experiences in their own terms. Eventually, Gourevitch's multiple variables become little more than a set of prisms through which an observer can look at each of the cases in turn, thus identifying their similarities and differences.

Since Gourevitch is perceptive, knowledgeable, and repeatedly skeptical of his own initial formulations, he produces a valuable inventory of parallels and divergences, including a lucid summary of the ways that all five states, after World War II, created compromises between labor, agriculture, and business that contained market fluctuations and their deleterious consequences. The political sociology of

political economy, in Gourevitch's rendering, looks remarkably like good old-fashioned comparative history of economic policy.

CHARLES TILLY

*New School for Social Research*

DONALD MEYER. *Sex and Power: The Rise of Women in America, Russia, Sweden, and Italy*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1987. Pp. xxvi, 721. \$35.00.

For a long time the field of American women's history has regularly generated long and complex books devoted to explicating the whole history of women in the United States. In all probability this trend has resulted from traditional history's failure to take into account the importance of gender as a fundamental category of human experience and from the perceived necessity to provide an immediate, universalizing corrective. Often, men have written such books; over a decade ago, for example, appeared Page Smith's *Daughters of the Promised Land* (1970). Then there was Carl Degler's *At Odds: Women and the Family in American History from the Revolution to the Present* (1980). Donald Meyer's book stands in such a tradition.

Infused with admirable qualities, the book offers useful lessons. Not since, for example, Ross Evans Paulsen's *Women's Suffrage and Prohibition* (1973) have historians attempted any comparative approach in a field that cries out for the elucidation that national histories of gender could bring. And, indeed, from Meyer's comparative study of the United States, Italy, Sweden, and Russia comes his most interesting insight: that under the impact of nineteenth-century democratic capitalism only in the United States did a separate sphere of behavior and activity for women come into existence. And this separate sphere, as women's historians have long recognized, was crucial in this country in providing an incentive for both individual self-realization and the growth of a feminist movement. Even in Sweden, considered to be in the world vanguard in achieving equality for women, Meyer views feminism historically as a fragile entity and the attainment of women's rights there as the result of the actions of men attempting to make the nation more like the home.

In addition to the originality of his comparative national focus, Meyer also breaks new ground in attempting to include a comparative history of men alongside that of women. The analysis of gender rather than the exclusive analysis of women is in vogue in many disciplines, and rightly so. How can we understand the history of women without understanding the history of the male-dominant patriarchy that bounded women's experience? Meyer of-

fers the interesting observation that Simone de Beauvoir's germinal *The Second Sex* (1952) was in actuality such a history of patriarchy, although he fails to realize that many subsequent feminist works, from Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* (1970) to Nancy Hartsock's *Money, Sex, and Power* (1983), continued in this tradition without precisely identifying this thrust of their analysis.

Many feminist historians will be offended by the conclusions that Meyer draws. Under the guise of gender analysis, many male scholars are now arguing that, on the one hand, patriarchy has victimized men as much as women and, on the other, that male sensitivity has been in evidence over time as substantially as male domination. Subjected to such analysis, patriarchy melts away. Or, as Meyer contends, accusing feminists of a tendency to the false "universalizing" of history, "the label has not yet offered much light to historians" (p. xvii). In other words, he does not especially like that feminist interpretation of the past in which women are viewed as oppressed and men as their oppressors.

Based largely on secondary works, Meyer's narrative of the history of women in the United States (his primary focus) is highly derivative. Further, his notion that women have been historical actors rather than passing participants in the historical process is not as new as he would make it. Rather, it has been the major analytic tool of many feminist scholars in the field for over a decade. Yet the strands that make up the multifaceted tapestry of history are never unidimensional. Thus, to argue that because women have had historical agency they have not been victimized or because women in the United States have been more privileged than women in other countries the story of their oppression should not be a central part of their historical narrative is to do injustice to Clio's complex intent as well as to the women for whom the past is not just history but also autobiography.

Meyer's book also suffers from weak editing and from a prolixity of words that often makes his argument murky. Reduced several hundred pages in length, the book would have become a well-honed, provocative essay, inviting creative and critical response. Moreover, the comparative sections would have been greatly enriched had Meyer added Britain and France, the two countries whose histories under industrialism most closely resemble that of the United States. Then, indeed, we would know if the "separate sphere" that enriched women's lives in this nation was unique in the Western world.

LOIS W. BANNER

*University of Southern California*

MARGARET RANDOLPH HIGONNET *et al.*, editors. *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1987. Pp. viii, 310.



Traditional androcentric histories have often reiterated the ancient belief that it is man's natural role to go to war and woman's to suffer its effects. Both feminism and the awareness of the destructiveness of modern war are increasingly leading historians to reexamine and to "denaturalize" these traditional conceptions. Thus, it is quite natural to link the reexamination of war with the study of gender. This book, the product of a 1984 conference at Harvard, offers a good example of this effort.

In these essays women do often appear as victims of war. Accounts of German war widows struggling to keep their families alive in World War I or female factory workers trying to survive the bombing of World War II remind us that their dependent position frequently leaves women in a particularly vulnerable position in wartime. But the contributors to this volume explain this relative passivity in terms of the historical development of gender relations, not the biological nature of our species. In their insightful introductory essays, Joan Scott, Margaret Randolph Higonnet, and Patrice Higonnet suggest that the social significance of war can only be understood in the context of a sweeping reexamination of the structure and the rhetoric of gender. The Higonnets, for example, suggest that there is a structure of gender relations in modern society that assures that at any point in time male roles will always be valued more highly than those of women. In wartime the activities of women may change radically, but society will always value those activities less highly than those of their male contemporaries.

The essays that follow provide much evidence to support the notion that the power of sociological gender roles overcame apparent gains in the position of women during wartime. British women were denied ready access to military service in World War I and were reduced to the status of "baby-machines" by post-World War II pronatalism. In France the growing pre-World War I sentiment for women's suffrage was swept away by a set of new concerns engendered by the war, and neither Vichy nor the Resistance showed much interest in recognizing nontraditional contributions by women a generation later. In the United States the success of women in fulfilling leadership roles in unions during World War II was brushed away by returning GI's, and experiments in public childcare were submerged in a tide of sentiment for the "democratic family." Everywhere, pronatalism and a desire for a return to normalcy wiped out wartime gains and sometimes left women in a worse position than at the outbreak of hostilities.

Two of the most interesting essays, those by Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, focus on the manner in which a preexisting "war" between the sexes helped shape both male and female experiences of the two world wars. In an essay that is both

fascinating and, at least to this reader, disturbing, Gilbert suggests that in World War I the departure of men for the front was an exciting and liberating experience for many women. She suggests that they had no great desire for the return of the troops and enjoyed fantasies of a female society, in which men would play no role. Male soldiers of the period, she argues, experienced this liberation of women at the same time that discipline and living conditions in the trenches stripped them of many of the attributes of their own masculine roles. The result was an outburst of misogyny, which remained visible in the literature of the interwar years. Gubar views World War II from a similar perspective, arguing that wartime propaganda convinced many soldiers that their lives were being sacrificed for the sake of women. This association of women and death led to outbursts of hostility and violence toward women, which were manifested in everything from poetry to rape. Much of the support for these essays comes from literary sources, and historians will need broader confirmation before their interpretations can be applied to larger segments of the population. Nonetheless, the hypotheses they advance clearly merit systematic testing within a larger population.

Like most such collections based on conferences, this book is uneven and, perhaps, overly heterogeneous. Some of the essays read like graduate seminar papers, and others are obviously chapters of forthcoming books, which might be read more profitably in the context of the larger work. The movement back and forth between the disciplinary matrices of history and literary criticism is simulating but also, at times, produces a kind of methodological vertigo.

Despite these shortcomings, these essays make a significant contribution to our understanding of one of the most important theoretical questions facing historians today. And, yet, it is important to recognize that the challenge presented in the introductory essays is only half-realized. Despite the calls of Scott and the Higonnets for an all-encompassing reinterpretation of war in terms of sex roles, the focus of these essays is overwhelmingly on the experience of women or the manner in which certain male attitudes impinge on women. A systematic analysis of the soldier's experience as a quintessentially male experience is the central focus of only one of these essays—Elaine Showalter's fascinating study of Siegfried Sassoon's attempt to grapple with the growing gap between Edwardian male roles and his own experiences of the futility of modern war. Ironically, now that the process of rediscovering the historical experience of women is well underway, it is only by focusing once again on men and placing their actions within the context of gender conscious-



ness that the androcentric bias of our historiography can at last be righted.

DAVID PACE  
Indiana University

J. E. GOLDTHORPE. *Family Life in Western Societies: A Historical Sociology of Family Relationships in Britain and North America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. ix, 285. Cloth \$34.50, paper \$8.95.

J. E. Goldthorpe's trim volume provides us with a useful summary of recent sociological and historical work on family life, concentrating mainly on Britain and the United States but also with reference to Continental Europe. It covers a considerable amount of ground, engaging questions ranging from incest to divorce and making an interesting detour into the area of mental illness, primarily schizophrenia. The author, a sociologist, focuses on family life rather than family structure because he wishes to remind the reader of the dynamic historical aspect of his subject.

The book's greatest contribution is concentrated in its opening chapters, in which Goldthorpe explores the relationship between family life and sociological theory during the 1950s, noting "that the golden age of family life—or of a certain kind of family life—coincided with the golden age of a certain kind of sociology, namely functionalist sociology" (p. 42). In explicating the work of Talcott Parsons, John Bowlby, and William Goode, the author suggests that theory reflected the marital stability and pronatalism that characterized the immediate postwar era. He then moves on to the later critics of the golden age, ranging from Edmund Leach to R. D. Laing, whose work is still being assimilated by both historians and social scientists. He implies a connection between their criticism and what some might regard as the new dark ages of family life, but the exact nature of the relationship of theory to practice is not developed.

Critical as he is of sociological functionalism and psychological reductionism, Goldthorpe offers no substantial alternatives. He summarizes (admirably but selectively) the recent contributions of historians and demographers but provides no new historical interpretations of his own. Most of the book is simply a survey of current literature, without any attempt to synthesize or construct alternative sociological theories. Furthermore, there are some notable gaps. Family life among Asians in Britain is given prominence, but there is nothing on the West Indian population; the new history of sexuality is barely mentioned; and, while there is considerable attention to heterosexuality, homosexuality is largely ignored. Equally uneven is Goldthorpe's treatment of age relations. His discussion of peer

groups is sociologically but not historically informed, and he ignores the growing literature on youth cultures. Psychohistory also is slighted, and the contributions of women's history are invisible. Gender appears only once in the index, and there is no discussion of either masculinity or femininity as culturally constructed social categories.

Despite the claim to have transcended functionalism, the author ignores developing areas in his own field (such as symbolic interactionism) and in social anthropology that offer new ways of understanding family life in both the past and present. Culture, a variable that has only recently been introduced into both family history and family sociology, remains elusive here. It is visible in Goldthorpe's book only as theories created by sociologists, psychologists, and historians. The feelings and values of family members, the language they use to define themselves, and the symbols and rituals they create and respond to are areas now being explored by historians as well as historically informed anthropologists such as Martine Segalen, Jonas Frykman, and Orvar Löfgren. Until we have a much clearer understanding of how people conceive of family and how culturally constructed categories such as masculine and feminine, old and young, heterosexual and homosexual help shape behavior, neither the history nor the sociology of family life can advance very far.

JOHN R. GILLIS  
Rutgers University

REINHARD BENDIX. *Force, Fate, and Freedom: On Historical Sociology*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1984. Pp. xviii, 143. \$11.95.

In volume 2 of *Civilization and Capitalism* Fernand Braudel made the surprising statement that historical sociology does not yet exist. This was apparently in spite of his own and others' work, including that of Max Weber, about whom Braudel had an imperfect understanding in any case. In fact Weber's and Braudel's approaches to historical sociology were quite similar. Although Weber may not have employed this term, it seems clear that he was in fact a historical sociologist more than anything else. He even met Braudel's essential requirement: a theory of society that satisfied the historical complexities of the concrete social world with its multiple realities. Reinhard Bendix has probably done more than anyone to articulate, defend, and extend Weber's project of a subjective and interpretive historical sociology. It was therefore fitting that he was the inaugural Max Weber guest professor at Heidelberg University's Institute of Sociology in 1981. This book is the published version of his Max Weber Lectures of that year. In it he takes the opportunity

to give an overview and a systemization of the themes and theories of his earlier books of substantive historical sociology: *Work and Authority in Industry* (1956), *Nation Building and Citizenship* (1964), and *Kings and People* (1978). If it contained nothing more than a synthesized summary of these books it would be valuable, but he goes well beyond that and Weber's ideas to try to present a framework for historical sociology. His articulation of its central problems has the careful clarity that all his work displays.

Historical sociology is the oldest but one of the least institutionalized branches of social science. The term is only just beginning to receive some currency, and there is a good deal of debate about its meaning. Bendix's approach is to try to build up a picture of what it should be concerned with and what its methodology should be by counterposing his Weberian ideas to those of certain other leading contributors, including Karl Marx, Alexis de Tocqueville, Immanuel Wallerstein, Braudel, Daniel Lerner, Alex Inkeles, and Neil Smelser. His book is fundamentally about the age-old problem of reconciling and synthesizing the poles of structure and agency in explaining historical social change. The thrust of his argument is that historical sociology has, as its name implies, to transcend three related dichotomies: subjectivism-objectivism, agency-determinism (or what he also calls freedom-fate), and history-theory. His solution to the distortions caused by these polarities goes by the shorthand label of "historicism." This stresses the historicity of societies both in terms of their changing nature and their individuality and peculiarities. The empirical nature of this approach is contrasted with "rationalism," by which he means an a priori analytic construction of supposed social universals.

Historical sociology obviously does have to be centrally concerned with the actual history of particular societies, unlike some social theory that has attempted rationally to construct universal categories without examining their empirical content. This means searching for the causes of particular social changes in the ideas and actions of particular people, groups, and classes. But, of course, as Bendix fully realizes, particulars have always to be thought of and partly explained by generalities. The dialectic between freedom and fate, agency and structure, must, as Anthony Giddens and Philip Abrams among others have cogently argued, be made into the duality rather than the dichotomy of social explanation.

As a substantive historical sociologist, Bendix has been concerned in the corpus of his work with explaining the origins, development, and structures of the various forms of modern industrial societies. This is clearly the central problem for all historical sociology. The strength of Bendix's contribution to

establishing a Weberian historicist framework has to be judged partly in terms of the power of his individualizing comparisons as opposed to universal comparisons. It is not the case that the latter are necessarily flawed by their rationalism because some set of universal categories seems to be indispensable to historical inquiry. The dichotomy between historicism and rationalism has to be transcended by historical sociologists just as much as the others that Bendix has rightly argued against in this important book.

CHRISTOPHER LLOYD  
University of New England  
Armidale, Australia

MICHAEL S. ROTH. *Psycho-Analysis as History: Negation and Freedom in Freud*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1987. Pp. 196. \$22.50.

This book is not, at least in any conventional sense, a historical interpretation of psychoanalysis but rather an internal explication of Freudian texts as constituting a theory of historical interpretation, "a framework through which we can make sense of our past" (p. 9). Although Michael S. Roth is a historian by profession, he denies the relevance of any contextual or extratextual factors in the interpretation of his chosen texts. Even the language in which Freud wrote is considered irrelevant to his meaning, for Roth restricts his explications to the English translations of the *Standard Edition*. At one point Hegel is brought in to illuminate the Freudian concept of self-conscious freedom, but this juxtaposition is clearly not meant to establish any historical connection. Roth's Freud is emphatically a Freud "for us." The only context considered relevant to the explication of Freudian theory is the recent debate among certain elements of the cultural Left in France and the United States concerning the usefulness of psychoanalysis as a framework for cultural criticism and a basis for collective historical action.

Roth's explication of Freud proceeds in three stages. In the first and longest part of the book, he works through Freud's conceptions of dream interpretation, repression, and infantile sexuality in order to demonstrate that psychoanalysis should be read as a theory of the interpretation of the "signs" of past psychic life in the present and of the reconfiguration of these signs into the coherent narrative patterns of meaningful memory. After the abandonment of the seduction theory in the late 1890s, Roth argues, psychoanalysis emerged as a hermeneutical method whose aim was to overcome pathological determination by an ignored and buried past and produce self-conscious acknowledgment of the continuing dynamics of this past in the present. Interpreting psychoanalysis as a form of

hermeneutics focused on the psychic reality of meaningful signs is not particularly original, but Roth's book is a useful addition to the existing literature because of the clarity and simplicity of his prose, which remains relatively jargon-free. Unfortunately, clarity is often gained at the cost of a one-sidedness in which some of the complexity of Freudian theory is lost. Roth assimilates Freud to Hegel, rather than to Marx or Nietzsche, and thus downplays Freud's concern to move beyond the interpretation and reproduction of meanings to an analysis and explanation of the processes by which meaning emerges from experience and nature is transformed into culture. This one-sidedness is also evident in Roth's selection of Freudian texts and problems. Both the major case studies and the theory of the Oedipus complex are relegated to the periphery of the Freudian corpus.

The second stage of Roth's argument addresses the problem of the "completion" of the psychoanalytic reconstruction of meaningful memory in "the choosing situation of the present" (p. 99). At issue here is the relation between a defensive redirection of the aim and object of desire in cultural sublimation and the full acknowledgement of the ambivalence of desire and the impossibility of full gratification or reconciliation in the working through of the transference relationship. At this point Roth's argument appears particularly abstract. The historical context and implications of his claim that Freud's theory of transference provides a path beyond the illusory cures of cultural sublimation to a disabused knowledge of the contradictions that cause human suffering, however, become more obvious if read in conjunction with Philip Rieff's analysis of cultural conversion and deconversion in the aftermath of the psychoanalytic revolution. Freudian hermeneutics entails a liberation from pathological determination by inherited cultural faiths and ideologies, opening a "clearing" (p. 189) for what Freud saw as the rational management of desire but Roth conceives as "constructive radical action" (p. 133).

The possibility of such radical action, however, involves a further step in Roth's argument: the extension of the reconstruction of meaningful memory from the individual to the group. In the final, and most original, part of his book, Roth provides a reading of Freud's works on group psychology that opens up the possibility of a collective acknowledgement of the historical roots of contemporary conflicts and consequently of a collective freedom to engage in constructive social action to mitigate human suffering. The model that Roth appears to have in mind for such group analysis without a therapist is drawn from contemporary feminism, but he insists on its broader social relevance. Although Roth rejects, with Freud, all uto-

pian projects for the historical transcendence or redemption of human suffering, even sympathetic readers may find his vision of spontaneously instigated group self-consciousness and disillusioned collective radical action little more than a wishful fancy. A more careful analysis of the relationship between experience and meaning in Freud's theory and in Freud's historical world might have provided Roth with a more critical perspective on his own historical hopes. Perhaps the historical reconstruction of what Freud was for himself and for his own time is a precondition of a truly disabused knowledge of what he might be for us.

JOHN E. TOEWS  
University of Washington

J. SAMUEL PREUS. *Explaining Religion: Criticism and Theory from Bodin to Freud*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1987. Pp. xxi, 231. \$25.00.

In this work J. Samuel Preus has accepted the rather challenging if not imposing task of "explaining religion." In this regard his thesis is within the parameters of an eighteenth-century perspective: "My title reflects one of the most striking features of the early modern period, including the Enlightenment: its aspiration to explain everything" (p. xv). But it also has a subsidiary theme, namely, the propaedeutical task of demonstrating how religion may be taught in a university without presupposing that the professor of religion must be a "believer" in a narrow theological outlook. With regard to both themes, Preus assumes that they can be achieved by adopting a naturalistic perspective that searches for the sources and causes of religion in order to provide an account of the origins of religion.

To demonstrate this twofold thesis, Preus adopts a historical approach that, he claims, "produces a new paradigm for studying religion." He discusses, at length, the attempts by Jean Bodin to discover a "true religion," by Herbert of Cherbury to explain the "inner urge" of a universal religion, by Bernard Fontenelle to delineate the psychohistorical causes of religion, by Giambattista Vico to describe a "new science" of providence, by David Hume to ground religion in a "science of man," by Auguste Comte to demonstrate that religion was an archaic but nevertheless useful social fiction, and by Edward B. Tylor to found an anthropology of religious origins. The discoveries and approaches of these men lead, finally, to the views of Emile Durkheim and Sigmund Freud: "My purpose will be to show how the work of Durkheim and Freud brought to a plateau the explanatory tradition studied here, by extending that tradition into two specialized theories of religion that are different, not wholly compatible as they stand, yet both indispensable and posing still,

for those working within the paradigm of the human sciences, the challenge of producing a unified theory of religion" (p. 158). Presumably, a "unified theory of religion" would amalgamate the Freudian emphasis on the "religious" individual with the Durkheimian emphasis on the social context of religion.

Although Preus has in general offered an excellent account of the nine people with whom he deals on the origins of religion, there is one minor problem and one major problem with the work. First, in the section on Vico's three ages of a cycle of history, Preus fails to note that, for Vico, "philosophy" becomes the substitute for religion in the third age. In other words, religion is the basis of all social consciousness with varying manifestations in different ages, so that the manifestation of religion in one age might indeed be that of "naturalism." Second, and this is connected with the first problem, how does one explain the "religious commitment" to naturalism by such people as Durkheim, Freud, and Preus? To say that they are "nonreligious" is certainly to limit the definition of *religio* to only certain institutions, to formalized theology, indeed to a restricted linguistic orbit. This view may be, and has been, the limitation of naturalism, but it is certainly a dubious if not spurious view.

Nevertheless, Preus's book ought to be read, for it has much needed information. But it should be read only within the context of a proper understanding of the historical phenomenon of secularization.

HARRY J. AUSMUS

*Southern Connecticut State University*

CLARKE GARRETT. *Spirit Possession and Popular Religion: From the Camisards to the Shakers*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1987. Pp. viii, 294. \$29.50.

Clarke Garrett has written two books within the covers of this volume. One is an informative general account of the ways that the religious awakening centering on the belief in spirit possession spread throughout eighteenth-century Western Europe and the English colonies in America. The other is a detailed examination of the sources bearing on the earliest years of the Shaker society in England and America. Although the two parts are strikingly different in content and tone, they form a highly instructive pair, tied together by an insight derived from anthropological studies of possession, namely, that such ecstatic outbursts constitute a form of sacred theater, that is, "a repertory of culturally validated words and gestures" (p. 101).

The first of these "books" contains the fewest surprises for students of religious history. Garrett demonstrates the interconnected character of the

awakenings of the eighteenth century, arguing that the ecstatic outbursts among the Camisard prophets in France in the late seventeenth century were exported to other parts of Europe and America. He finds explicit links among the Camisards, the French Prophets in England, the Community of True Inspiration and other Pietists in Germany, the Methodists in England and Scotland, and the evangelicals in colonial America. All of these groups shared a common concern with spirit direction. They also emphasized the centrality of personal salvation, a sense of apocalyptic urgency, and the necessity of restructuring the social and moral order. Garrett's point that these awakenings inspired popular religious movements among ordinary people is more convincing than perhaps every detail in the attempted linkage to the Camisards.

In the second half of this volume, Garrett assumes a more daring interpretive position as he examines materials dealing with early Shaker history, particularly oral testimonies written many years later concerning the founder Ann Lee and the earliest apostate descriptions of the society. On the basis of these he traces the English origins of the group, the expansion of the society throughout eastern New York and New England, and the critical transition of the community following the deaths of the English leaders. Parts of the reconstructed narrative are conventional and consistent with the now standard accounts of the Shakers. Other parts are highly revisionist and invite close scrutiny from historians and Shaker aficionados alike. Garrett argues rather persuasively, for example, that the charges frequently leveled against Lee and the earliest Shakers, namely, that they used alcohol to induce visions and that they danced naked on certain occasions, were probably true during limited periods of time. He finds evidence of harsh ascetic practices and expressions of spiritual mortification in 1782-84. But even the most unusual forms of religious behavior ascribed to the Shakers do not look bizarre when viewed within the taxonomy of ecstasy provided in the first part of the volume. Shaker buffs will not find this study very comforting, but serious students of Shakerism and historians interested in other communal societies stand in Garrett's debt for his excellent contribution to the field, for his determination to address a range of important but difficult interpretive issues, and for his willingness to employ a critical approach to texts too long handled uncritically.

STEPHEN J. STEIN  
*Indiana University*

NIKLAS LUHMANN. *Love as Passion: The Codification of Intimacy*. Translated by JEREMY GAINES and DORIS L.



JONES. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1986. Pp. 247. \$27.50.

Niklas Luhmann is a social theorist in the tradition of Max Weber and Talcott Parsons. His writing style unfortunately conforms to the inelegance of that intellectual pedigree, which may be characterized as a relentless string of bloodless abstractions stitched together in the most pedantic German academic manner. Luhmann's title, *Love as Passion*, along with the beauty of Harvard Press's presentation (a lovely eighteenth-century painting graces the jacket), should not deceive the prospective reader. The author has succeeded as few before him in rendering his subject opaque, remote, and boring. For this "systems theorist" love, like money and power, is nothing more than one of the "symbolically generalized media of interchange." Luhmann has two goals: first, to revise the systems theorist's causal sequence of the relation of "media" to "functionally differentiated social structures" from one in which the latter precedes the former to one in which the former precedes the latter; second, to show that media are really "codes" that require linguistic analysis. Love then is a form of discourse that contains codes that induce action of a given type.

As a systems theorist, Luhmann is concerned to show that in modern society codes governing love are differentiated from other codes, constituting a quasi-autonomous semantic structure. He has chosen to demonstrate his thesis with a case study of Western love codes from the second half of the seventeenth century to the present. His analysis focuses on the period 1650 to 1800 and the few examples he gives come from French literature. The period after 1800 is dealt with briefly and very inadequately.

If the reader is willing to accept the systems theorists' thesis that modern society is a structure of institutions based on differentiated functions, Luhmann's study contains much of interest. His particular variation of systems theory—the concept of linguistically coded media—is a most promising theoretical innovation, a conceptual turn that brings systems theory closer to poststructuralist trends.

At the empirical level Luhmann shows that a complex pattern pivoting on the term "passion" regulated the medium of love at the start of his period. This figure of love developed outside the institution of marriage and concerned affairs of single men with married women. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, a new encoding of love as intimacy emerged, shifting its locus to marriage itself. Luhmann is careful properly to delimit the social location of each of these discourses, the first to the aristocracy, the second to the upper classes more generally. The narrative concludes with some generally unconvincing remarks about yet another code

of love in the late twentieth century. Social historians will lament the complete absence of the lower classes in his account as well as the restriction of his documentation to imaginative literature. Medical treatises, institutional reports, criminal cases, private letters, and other such archival materials are simply not consulted.

Historians not troubled by theoretical matters would do best to stay away from this book. In the context of the United States, the book is of interest to sociologically inclined historians and to historians concerned with theoretical issues. Luhmann's topic is of central importance to systems theory because that position bears the heavy burden of arguing that the nuclear family is uniquely suited to the structural conditions of modern society. Luhmann is attempting to alleviate the embarrassment of Parsons's concept of the structural necessity of the nuclear family in modern society at a time when its "structure" appears to result mainly in "dysfunctions."

MARK POSTER  
*University of California,  
Irvine*

HANS BELTING. *The End of the History of Art?* Translated by CHRISTOPHER S. WOOD. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1987. Pp. xiii, 120. \$16.95.

In two provocative essays, "The End of the History of Art?" and "Vasari and His Legacy: The History of Art as a Process?" Hans Belting, one of the foremost art historians of our day, assesses various individual approaches to art history. Although he is not alone among scholars who express reservations about the methods and results of the contemporary practice of the discipline, he is one of its most sagacious and challenging critics.

The title of this slim but significant volume is not intended to suggest that the discipline of the history of art is finished or even that its principal conceptual models, past or present, lack any utility whatsoever. Rather, he points out lucidly how many of today's major methodologies fail to account adequately for the continuity of the history of works of Western art. Quite rightly, he observes that practicing art historians have been unable to devise one or more viable methodological constructs that enable them to account for both past and current works of art.

Belting persuasively contends that a single paradigm rather than separate models should be devised to treat historical and modern art, so that a unified and universal history of art can be written. The existing division between art history and art criticism should be jettisoned. Belting surveys writings by Giorgio Vasari, Alois Riegl, Heinrich Wölfflin, Erwin Panofsky, Ernst Gombrich, and other leading

scholars in the field and concludes that none of them has been capable of illuminating both older and contemporary art. Even specialists in contemporary art who continue to postulate the familiar antithesis of the avant garde and tradition fail to convince. Writings and statements by creators of twentieth-century art themselves undercut the foundation of this antithesis.

Belting does not proffer a new methodological program that art historians should employ but provides several clues for its formulation, some of which are suggested by interdisciplinary approaches. He is right to insist that the form of the art work is the primary datum of art history and that all art historical inquiry must proceed from it rather than toward it. Scholars should strive to define the role of art in time. Functional analysis, reception aesthetics as put forth for literary history by Hans Robert Jauss, knowledge of technical information and its manipulation through the mass media, and, especially, a grasp of the contemporary art scene count among the critical factors that must be taken into account to explain past art. In Belting's view art historians should endeavor to reconstruct the original historical matrix in which the art work was generated: art demands to be put in context. Existing social and cultural histories of art do not succeed in this regard. Hegel's notion of the idea of a history of art as a history of the function of art remains very pertinent, Belting observes, as long as it is disengaged from Hegel's total system of thought. Belting also posits that art works should be studied concomitantly with language for illuminating the historical systems of symbolic communication inherent in the artistic forms of the art works themselves. The mass media and other works of our times have sharpened our visual sensitivities and intellectual sensibilities and can inform us about new modes of perception that might be relevant to encoding historical art.

What Belting does not tell us is how to integrate these disparate factors into a coherent approach that will illuminate not only the genesis of old and new art but also its initial reception by patron and public. This task is truly formidable, because, as he recognizes, each society and culture create a different repertoire of forms and functions of art. But hints of such a synthesis may be found in Belting's own publications on medieval, Renaissance, and modern art and in a few scholarly works that he cites in his footnotes.

These essays ought to be read by every art historian and any person interested in art and its history. They represent a most significant contribution to the historiography of art.

W. EUGENE KLEINBAUER  
*Indiana University*

WOLFGANG SCHIVELBUSCH. *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century*. Foreword by ALAN TRACHTENBERG. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1987. Pp. xvi, 203. Cloth \$30.00, paper \$12.95.

Prepublication praises on the dust jacket of this book range from "striking insight and stimulating remarks" (James J. Sheehan) to "it's a gas" (*The Village Voice*). Wolfgang Schivelbusch published the book first in German in 1977, then in English translation through Urizen Books, and finally in the present University of California Press edition. The small volume—less than 200 pages of text—is supplemented by endnotes, a brief bibliographical note, and two dozen pictures of nineteenth-century trains, rights-of-way, stations, carriages, and passengers.

The book is neither tightly organized nor unified by a single overriding thesis. Chapters deal with various aspects of railway travel in the 1800s, from mechanics, scheduling, and speed through the design of coaches and depots to travel weariness, fear of accidents, and the "panoramic" vision of the world through the window. "Excurses" pause to examine such ancillary issues as metal fatigue and psychological trauma resulting from a railway crash. A recurring theme is the jarring contrast between natural travel by horse-drawn vehicle, following the contours of the land at a slow and varying "human" pace, and mechanical travel over ruler-straight rails traversing cuttings, tunnels, and railroad bridges with "ever greater speed, regularity, and uniformity" (pp. 19–20). In general, however, Schivelbusch moves freely from one aspect of railway travel to another, adding incrementally rather than developmentally to our knowledge.

Such a book depends for its effectiveness on the author's individual insights. Some of these striking comments result from taking seriously the reports of nineteenth-century commentators, whose experiences as early riders we can never share. Schivelbusch thus records their laments for the "loss of landscape" as the train roared through tunnels and deep cuttings; their fears for "the end of conversation" in the face-to-face compartments of first-class coaches, where genteel passengers apparently sat staring in embarrassed silence at one another; and their discussions of "the pathology of the railroad journey" because of vibration, which caused "a constant strain on the muscles" (pp. 55, 73, 113, 117). Equally valuable are the author's ingenious comparisons—illuminating parallels, for instance, between the psychic aftereffects of railway accidents and military shell shock or between the stages of a railway journey and the organization of the newly invented department store.



A major appeal of the book, finally, is its concreteness. Nineteenth-century illustrations and substantial dollops of nineteenth-century prose on virtually every page intensify the sense of coming to grips with the realities of life in an earlier time. So does Schivelbusch's eye for telling anecdotes, such as the pair of celebrated murders that took place in closed compartments that had no linking corridors, hence could not be escaped until the train stopped. Most of this feeling of concreteness, however, derives quite simply from the author's determination to stay close to the facts of life on early railroads, rejecting the temptation to raise a screen of theory between the reader and the chuff-a-chuff old steam trains of a century ago.

The result is a modest book in which generalizations carry conviction because of their closeness to the realities they purport to explain. Anecdotal, unashamedly impressionistic, thick with the sights and voices of the past, *The Railway Journey* is also that rarity among history books produced this side of Paris, a real page turner.

ANTHONY ESLER

*College of William and Mary*

HANS BIEDERMANN. *Das verlorene Meisterwort: Bausteine zu einer Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte des Freimaurertums*. Cologne: Böhlau. 1986. Pp. 218. DM 39,80.

This is an appreciative essay on the beliefs of freemasonry rather than a monographic study of its development. The first major grand lodge, formed in 1717 in a London pub, began a movement that was to include a great number of major thinkers, explorers, statesmen, writers, and ordinary mortals. Although the existence of a relationship between the Masons and the original medieval masonic brotherhoods and guilds may seem dubious to many historians, Hans Biedermann does explain some of the mystery surrounding the Masons. There is a good description of the practices of the master masons of the medieval era. The masonic brotherhoods had an "inner room," in which secret rituals were practiced. A system of secret signs also existed, including an identifying gesture made with the right hand. The participant simply made the gesture of cutting his throat and wound up by placing his right thumb behind his right ear.

The builders' lodges of the Middle Ages were the forerunners of modern Masonic lodges, it is argued (pp. 25-26). But how many late medieval alchemists actually knew anything about, or had any interest in, ancient Egyptian secrets? Surely, this image emerged in relation to the Renaissance interest in cabala. Above all else, the Masons seem to have emphasized the "unity" of Masonry in regard to the

"secrets" of plane geometry, which were handed down from the medieval brotherhoods. If the 1717 lodge can be linked to the fourteenth-century French free stone masons, this may mean only a certain freedom from secular authority. It might be pointed out that the higher mathematics of the Newtonian era had not yet penetrated even the layers of the best educated classes. This may explain the continued "faith" in the mystique of Euclidean geometry and in the near magic of Pythagorean ideas even during the eighteenth century.

Since freemasonry was so much involved with the lives of many important historical figures, some knowledge of its beliefs and symbols may prove useful to the historian. The book is replete with just such symbolic lore. The author offers us a host of characteristic quotations from the works of major writers, Jungian sorts of statements, much emphasis on cabala and medieval guild mysticism, as well as a short treatment of the rise and expansion of the Knights Templar. The Knights Templar, surveyed from their first appearance in 1099 in Jerusalem to the masterly construction of over nine thousand houses of the order and the imposing kraks in Palestine, were outlawed in the fourteenth century. Their decline and their persecution are not discussed here, nor is whether they had any real relation to the later Freemasons, who claimed at least a spiritual descent from this outlawed order.

Interesting too, is the survey of almost all other mysterious ruins and ideas that continue to fascinate the public mind: Stonehenge, prehistorical megaliths, Yin and Yang, even the Tetragrammaton. The illustrations for these items are excellent. There is even a reproduction of Robert Fludd's early Rosicrucian explanation of the secret name of God (Tetragrammaton), published in 1617. The world of late medieval alchemy was, however, abandoned by the world of science, which continued on in the mysteries offered by Freemasonic praxis. Here we find a genuine contribution to the growing literature on the history of popular culture. The Freemasons seem to have satisfied a yearning for light, enlightenment, status, and religious experience.

HELEN LIEBEL-WECKOWICZ  
*University of Alberta*

DANIEL J. PEACOCK. *Lee Boo of Belau: Prince in London*. (South Sea Books.) Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1987. Pp. xvii, 259. \$18.50.

Lee Boo, styled the "Black Prince" by the British society that welcomed him, was one of the earliest Pacific Islanders to visit the West. Like Omai, the Tahitian who preceded him to London by ten years, and Obadiah, the young Hawaiian who later toured New England, the twenty-year old Lee Boo from a

small island in western Micronesia became the darling of the dinner circuit. The son of a Palauan high chief who had befriended the captain of an East India Company ship run aground in a storm, Lee Boo was carried away on a boat that the survivors had fashioned during their four-month stay in Palau. The tale of the shipwreck and the young Palauan's brief visit in England prior to his death of small pox was presented with all its romantic embellishments to European literati of the day in a book that was republished several times and translated into a half-dozen languages. The impact of England's encounter with the "Black Prince" far outlived Lee Boo himself. Ships were christened for him, streets bore Palauan names, elegies were composed by luminaries such as Coleridge, and his biography was used to instruct and edify British schoolchildren for almost a century. The incident had a no less enduring effect on Palau, for it initiated a long period of British intervention in Palauan intransigent warfare, generally on behalf of the faction represented by Lee Boo.

Daniel J. Peacock, who spent twenty-five years in Micronesia as an educator and librarian, has produced a well-documented and imaginative little volume that garnishes the tale of Lee Boo with bits of colorful material on late eighteenth-century England. Ignoring the political consequences of this early encounter between British and Palauans, Peacock is instead concerned with showing how the wonders of the West might have appeared to the eyes of a teenage islander who had never before journeyed beyond the reef of his small archipelago. He studiously follows the young Palauan from dockside at Portsmouth to London by "a house ran away with by horses" and his adventures at the home of his hosts in Rotherhithe. We tour London of the day at the side of Lee Boo, visiting homes and offices of English gentility who were clearly as fascinated by their tawny young visitor as he was with them and their elegant surroundings. Peacock follows the story beyond Lee Boo's death to the visits of the indiamen that brought his possessions and news of his demise back to Palau.

Peacock's book makes no claim to offer a deeper understanding of colonial (or postcolonial) history. It merely retells a little-known but fascinating episode in early European-island contact, but it does so very well, even if with some of that same romanticism that characterized the early narrative of the events. The author's attempts to describe the travels of Lee Boo in England are detailed and accurate, but his treatment of Palau leaves something to be desired. For some reason he does not furnish the background on social and political structures that might have made the incessant conflict—and even the Palauan proper names, which are in fact titles—more intelligible to the reader. Nonetheless, the

book is a fitting commemoration of an event that just two hundred years ago ushered in a century of British-Palauan dealings, followed by another of outright colonial rule.

FRANCIS X. HEZEL  
*Micronesian Seminar*

RICHARD A. COSGROVE. *Our Lady the Common Law: An Anglo-American Legal Community, 1870–1930*. New York: New York University Press. 1987. Pp. x, 330. \$40.00.

Anglo-American rapprochement provides a valuable interpretive framework for understanding foreign relations at the turn of the nineteenth century. Victorian studies focusing on cultural transfer explore further this emerging transatlantic community of interests. Richard A. Cosgrove's new book examines the contribution of academic lawyers—including C. C. Langdell, James Bryce, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., Sir Frederick Pollock, Frederic William Maitland, Roscoe Pound, Felix Frankfurter, and Harold Laski—to the creation of the "special relationship" between the United States and Great Britain.

Cosgrove argues that between the 1870s and World War I an Anglo-American legal community emerged on both sides of the Atlantic, principally among elite lawyers and law teachers. The basis of this community was a shared conviction that as a process and system of rules the common law was the foundation of individual liberty, free government, and private property that made Great Britain and the United States the leading nations of the world. Also central was the belief in Anglo-Saxon racial superiority. Following the war, this conviction eroded until by the 1930s the dominant perception became that the two nations' legal systems were culturally and institutionally distinct.

Cosgrove's claim for "a" rather than "the" legal community is appropriate. He makes clear that the transatlantic bonds were highly personal, illustrated by Holmes's famous correspondence with Pollock and Laski. The ties generally were also academic, involving faculty exchanges between and publication by a small group of scholars located primarily at Harvard Law School and Oxford. Finally, the connections involved the preeminent lawyers of each nation's bar using an imagined Anglo-American legal heritage to defend property rights and social order against the onslaught of radicalism and the cry for racial justice. It was essentially, in other words, an elite, specialized, intellectual community of a few luminaries talking to, writing for, and enjoying one another.

Yet, despite such limitations, I think Cosgrove is right to claim that this subject is worthy of attention.

As Michael Kammen has shown, in the United States the Anglo-American cultural transfer was central to the rise of and attack on laissez-faire constitutionalism. Cosgrove follows Cecil H. S. Fifoot and others in showing that the impact on English legal culture of American legal Victorians was much less significant. In a few substantive fields of law, however, such as conflicts, antitrust, and administrative procedure, the Americans did have some influence across the Atlantic. Thus, this book is a useful starting point for an important subject deserving further study.

TONY FREYER  
University of Alabama

HENRY BLUMENTHAL. *Illusion and Reality in Franco-American Diplomacy, 1914–1945*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1986. Pp. 358. \$32.50.

The history of Franco-American relations has never been simple. Between 1914 and 1945, France was losing its status as a world power and in 1945 found itself exhausted, shattered by the defeat of 1940 and its subsequent divisions, in quest of that "rank" that Charles de Gaulle had given it reason to hope for. As for the United States, it has abandoned its isolationism and come straight into international affairs. It is now one of the two superpowers, which is as good as saying that everything conspires to set the French and the Americans at odds with each other, to create frustrations and misunderstandings of every kind.

This is the period that Henry Blumenthal portrays so lucidly in a chapter on the diplomacy of the Great War, a second on the difficult years between 1921 and 1932, a third on the crises of the 1930s, and the last one on relations between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Vichy and between Roosevelt and de Gaulle. None of the great issues escapes Blumenthal's scrutiny: the disputes that took place at the Paris Peace Conference and the Washington Conference, the differences of opinion over war debts, similar differences over disarmament and the struggle to check the economic crisis, the Ethiopia affair and the Sudetenland crisis, the official recognition of the Vichy regime, and the wrangling with the French in London and in Algiers.

The documents used by Blumenthal are varied and always enlightening. Expert as he is in the subject he writes about, he dips when required into the archives or into the best works. But he does tend to privilege American sources to the detriment of French sources, which is a pity because the French archives are now open to access up to the beginning of the 1950s. He slightly ignores the works of French historians and at times confines himself to interpretations that have been long since aban-

doned, for example when he discerns a complementary relationship between Philippe Pétain and de Gaulle. Nonetheless, he successfully shows that illusion and reality go together in the relationship between the two nations. Both nurture many fallacious ideas, stereotypes, hopes all the more disillusioning because of their extravagance, suspicions all the more exacerbated because they are uncorroborated by the facts. Too often the French and the Americans are made to look like friends who do not really like one another and are only pretending to defend "a common cause" so as better to protect their national interest.

Nevertheless, the reader is left with the feeling that there is more to be said. Blumenthal devotes himself to the diplomatic side of history. He is apparently unaware of the history of international relations, which, in addition to political problems, broaches conflicts of ideas, cultural exchanges, and reciprocal influences. He is not really interested in the fabric of relations between the two countries—at least, not in this work. There is no point in looking for an analysis of anti-Americanism or of France's image. We hear nothing about transatlantic travels, about American cinema in France or the impact of French literature in the United States.

In short, this is a good work, if somewhat conventional, which allows us to discover but one of the multiple facets of Franco-American relations.

ANDRÉ KASPI  
The Sorbonne

JAMES L. GORMLY. *The Collapse of the Grand Alliance, 1945–1948*. (Political Traditions in Foreign Policy Series.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1987. Pp. xii, 202. \$25.00.

The importance of a historical work cannot always be determined by its original and unique contribution to historical knowledge. Such is the case with James L. Gormly's book. Although Gormly has done extensive research in archival sources in the United States and Great Britain, much of his interpretation can be found in other historical works. However, the value of his monograph lies in its synthetic nature. He analyzes the breakdown of the Big Three alliance at the end of World War II from the viewpoint of each of the participants, avoiding the myopic tendency to concentrate on the United States' position to the exclusion of Great Britain's and the Soviet Union's. Furthermore, he presents a neat capsule summary of the numerous issues dividing the powers during the London and Moscow meetings. Finally, he reinforces his analysis of the times by examining the shifting mood of the public and press in the three nations.

Essentially, Gormly argues that between the summer of 1945 and the fall of 1946 the Grand Alliance deteriorated from cooperation to confrontation. He divides this transition into three overlapping phases. The first, from August 1945 to March 1946, focuses on the London and Moscow Conferences, when the allies first tackled the postwar peace treaties. Then, from January to September 1946, he portrays the United States and Great Britain moving closer to collaboration, discarding patience, and adopting a firm stance toward the Soviet Union. Concurrently, the Soviet Union responded by consolidating its power in Eastern Europe. His final phase, beginning at the end of 1946, receives the least attention. Here, each of the former allies to differing degrees moved toward the cold war and a new international system characterized by hostile blocs in the East and West.

Gormly believes that initially there existed potential for postwar collaboration based on the wartime alliance. All concerned moved toward confrontation with hesitancy and in confusion. Each often reacted to initiatives by the others, formulating explanations and policies only when events overtook them. For example, he describes each power at the London Conference as having "set out its positions and applied its double standard, discussing other powers' spheres of influence but not its own" (p. 60). The London Conference proved a setback for the Grand Alliance. The Moscow agreements, which seemed more satisfying to James Byrnes and Viacheslav Molotov than to Ernest Bevin, appeared to "affirm" Big Three unity and "rekindle" the Grand Alliance. But, as the author shows, the Moscow accords were flawed and fragile, sparking suspicion and distrust.

By March 1946, Gormly asserts, the Grand Alliance had collapsed. Still, the cold war was not yet "fully defined." That was to come later. The Paris Peace Conference during the spring and summer of 1946 exposed the firm, possibly even hostile, stance of the United States. And the other allies followed suit.

As mentioned at the outset, Gormly has added little new material to our understanding of this pivotal period. He is to be commended, however, for the conscious effort both to look at the diplomatic evolution from a multinational perspective and to summarize the critical issues. This book is a brief, understandable synthesis of a volatile period.

T. MICHAEL RUDDY  
St. Louis University

EDWIN W. MARTIN. *Divided Counsel: The Anglo-American Response to Communist Victory in China*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1986. Pp. 265. \$27.00.

The United States and Great Britain both sought accommodation with the People's Republic of China as it came to power, Edwin W. Martin contends, only to be frustrated by the intransigence of the new regime. Since neither Washington's essentially hard-line approach nor London's more compromising posture induced the revolutionary government to come to terms with the West, the Chinese must be held responsible for the tensions with the Western powers. This is a tightly and lucidly argued book, based on thorough research in the British and American documents as well as in the relevant secondary literature. It offers a thorough analysis of the reasons for and the tactics of the divergent American and British responses to the monumental events in China from 1948 to 1951.

The Americans and British suffered from the mistaken assumption that the importance of Western trade and diplomatic contacts gave them leverage in dealing with the Chinese. Much of the foreign community in China, especially the large British constituency, believed that the People's Republic was just another Chinese government, which, like its predecessors, would need commercial contacts with the West. Communism was seen as incompatible with the Chinese character, meaning that (as a Foreign Office memo described it) "John Chinaman will always trade." Yet neither the British offer of trade nor American commercial restrictions achieved their common objective of forcing concessions. Similarly, the Western powers pursued differing diplomatic strategies, but neither the British offer of recognition nor the American withholding of recognition gained the goal of lessening dependence on the Soviet Union.

Although the British typically offered carrots and the Americans preferred sticks, the United States was in some ways more imaginative in approaching China's new leaders. Ambassador J. Leighton Stuart sought to build on his Yenching University experience, establishing contact with alumnus Huang Hua, who became the chief of the Alien Affairs Office in Nanking as the Communists took control of the former Kuomintang capital. Also, Chou En-lai's demarche to the British and American governments in May 1949 found the British skeptical of its authenticity but U.S. diplomatic personnel responsive.

American flexibility ended with Chinese intervention in the Korean War, which marked the beginning of two decades of Sino-American hostility. The Chinese by then had squandered opportunities to establish a working relationship with the United States; the leadership of the People's Republic could have paid heed to American consular officers' efforts to retain contacts, need not have detained U.S. consul Angus Ward and his staff in Mukden, and could have avoided harassment of American diplo-



matic personnel elsewhere. The publicity attendant to the Ward incident and other examples of anti-Western actions made it more difficult for Harry S. Truman's administration to accommodate the revolutionary government. The results were ironic: "If it is argued that Peking was genuinely afraid of a hostile U.S. imperialism, it can also be argued that PRC policies directly contributed to the growth of such hostility and failed to take advantage of opportunities to diminish it" (p. 237).

This book thus offers an important and compelling argument. Martin might well, however, have broadened his perspectives to consider how the British and American responses to the Chinese revolution fit within the general framework of their divergent approaches to the changes that swept across Asia after World War II. British and American differences over issues in Japan and South and Southeast Asia as well as in China were interrelated and reflected distinctive definitions of national priorities. Also, Martin might have examined more fully the Chinese perspective and the related historiographical question of the new leadership's responsiveness to overtures from the West. His argument also suggests the need to explore the extent to which American and British officials understood the interests and outlook of the People's Republic of China.

In sum this is an important, if somewhat narrowly focused, book, which presents a cogent, if controversial, argument.

GARY HESS

Bowling Green State University

## ANCIENT

MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN. *Die athenische Volksversammlung im Zeitalter des Demosthenes*. (Xenia, Konstanzer Althistorische Vorträge und Forschungen, number 13.) Constance: Universitätsverlag Konstanz. 1984. Pp. 211. DM 48.

Although Athenian democracy certainly is not one of the underresearched subjects in ancient history, the last monograph on the assembly was published in 1819. Mogens Herman Hansen's book therefore fills a gap that was sorely felt by scholars, teachers, students, and interested lay persons alike. Over many years the author systematically explored the field: one question after the other was discussed thoroughly and with ample documentation in a long series of articles (many of which were assembled in 1983 in *The Athenian Ecclesia: A Collection of Articles*) and in a little monograph, *Demography and Democracy: The Number of Athenian Citizens in the Fourth Century* (1983). Moreover, the present book is a

revised and much enlarged version of an earlier one, published in Danish in 1977. Thus, relatively few ideas and conclusions are presented here for the first time; the real value of the book lies in the fact that it offers, on the basis of painstaking research, total control of the sources, and familiarity with analogous institutions (particularly the direct democracy exercised in the *Landsgemeinde* of a few Swiss cantons), a comprehensive, highly informative, and readable discussion of the working and political role of the assembly.

Hansen emphasizes correctly that the democracy that was restored in 403 and developed further in the fourth century was substantially different from that of the fifth century. Furthermore, because it is only the large corpus of fourth-century orations, Aristotle's *Constitution of the Athenians*, and recent excavations on the Pnyx (the meeting place of the assembly) that permit us to reconstruct the working of the assembly reliably and in any detail, the book focuses on a limited period, the time of Demosthenes (355–322). This is a sensible decision, although at least the nonprofessional reader might have appreciated an introductory chapter describing the historical development of democracy and assembly before Demosthenes' time.

The book is divided into three roughly equal chapters. The first, "The Organization of the Ekklesia," deals with practical aspects such as place, frequency, types, time, and length of the assemblies; size, geographical and social composition, and organization of the audience; presiding officials; and voting procedures. Hansen's conclusions generally are sound and convincing; in several cases firmly established views are challenged, sometimes disproved, and replaced with better ones. For example, he argues for a much higher attendance rate than has usually been assumed (pp. 24–27) and considers the assembly pay (*ekklesiastikon*) quite adequate since the assembly often lasted only part of the day, which in turn weakens the traditional assumption that most poor citizens were prohibited from attending because they had to earn their living (pp. 38–40, 52–53).

The second chapter, "Decision Making in the Assembly," includes several sections on the problems connected with political leadership (the terminology used for "politicians," their geographic and social background, their function as speakers and proposers of decrees, their relationship to the assembly), the organization of power and influence (the analysis of existence and function of groups, factions, and "parties" belongs to the best parts of the book), and the actual proceedings during an assembly. The third chapter is concerned with the powers of the assembly: the changes from the fifth to the fourth centuries, the limitations imposed on the assembly, the theory of the alleged "sovereignty

of the assembly" (another exceptionally valuable section), and the range of its actual powers. Endnotes, bibliography, glossary, and indexes occupy more than one-third of the book and add enormously to its value.

As is obvious from these remarks, Hansen's book focuses on the realities and practicalities of political life. It aims at establishing what can be known about these aspects and does that successfully. With few exceptions, the ideological and historical dimensions are left out, so are larger questions such as the relationship between ideal and reality (for example, in democracy's claim that all citizens participate and, at least occasionally, speak in the assembly) or that between the nature of the body that makes decisions and the resulting decisions (sentences and policies). This will be regretted by some readers, but such conscious limitation clearly contributes to the strength and coherence of the book. As it is, it answers a great number of questions and will serve as an indispensable (for many aspects, I suspect, even definitive) handbook on its subject.

KURT A. RAAFLAUB  
Brown University

RICHARD M. BERTHOLD. *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1984. Pp. 252. \$27.50.

H. D. F. Kitto ended his widely read book, *The Greeks* (1954), with the death of Alexander and a remark that the world of the classical city-state was over. That was true only in the narrow sense of the word "classical," because the *poleis* were still to play important roles. Athens was to fight two major wars to regain its liberty, and Sparta was to attempt to revive its ancient morality and power. But Rhodes was to be the premier state of the post-Alexandrine era. It was not only to keep its independence but also to become the valued ally of the Hellenistic kings and the Roman Republic.

Richard M. Berthold's book is merely a survey of Rhodes's foreign relations from its unification in 408 to the disastrous settlement dictated by Rome in 165. He treats its social history cursorily, says little of its economic life, and ignores its intellectual contribution altogether.

This is unfortunate. One major question to be asked is how Rhodes, in view of its small size of only 584 square miles, kept its freedom. Berthold's answer is through a rational foreign policy, although he does not discuss that in depth. I should say that Rhodian policy was not only rational but cynical. Its statesmen served themselves first and last, even if that meant making friends with the Roman barbarians. But there was more to their calculations than that. The Rhodians found allies through the judi-

cious disbursement of cash, which is mentioned here but not discussed, and that implied a conscious economic policy to raise the money. The Rhodians also counted on making up for their lack of numbers by consciously exploiting quality, that is, by using the intellectual resources available to them. The value of such a strategy was evidently proved by the famous siege in which they, with no more than six thousand citizen hoplites and some help from Ptolemy, stood off Demetrius's huge armament of two hundred warships and forty thousand men. They commemorated their success with the Colossus, a statue one hundred feet tall, whose construction was a feat then and would be an achievement today. We should see it as the symbol of the excellence of Rhodian technology, which made itself felt in war through Rhodes's reliance on large numbers of mechanical appliances. One was the repeating catapult, here relegated to a footnote. It may or may not have been effective, but its existence implies experimentation with engines. Another was the fleet's fire basket (Polybius 21.7.1-4), which released a charge of glowing coals onto the decks of enemy warships.

The Rhodians would appear also to have used education to protect the state. They clearly were outstanding seamen; Berthold points out that we do not hear of a Rhodian fleet being lost in a gale until 48 B.C., long after independence was over. Such a record implies professionalism. Polybius says (31.31.1) that the Rhodians maintained teachers at public expense. We ought not to imagine the usual Greek pedagogue expounding Homer to sleepy rows of children but rather instruction in a naval ephebate. As early as the fifth century the Athenians had developed some form of naval training ([Xenophon] *Athenaion Politeia* 1.20; Thucydides 1.142.7-9; Plutarch *Perikles*, 11.4), and the Athenian ephebate of the next century was simply the same principle applied to land warfare. The Seleukids kept it up in their military school at Apamea (Strabo 16.752). In Berthold's book these matters are not discussed.

SAMUEL K. EDDY  
Syracuse University

NAPHTALI LEWIS. *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt: Case Studies in the Social History of the Hellenistic World*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1986. Pp. xii, 182. \$29.95.

From countrysides and cities devastated by generations of war, thousands of men, women, and children huddled in boats for a long and often dangerous voyage to a new world, in hope of a new beginning. This is the story not of immigration into North America in the early twentieth century but of



that into the Levant in the late fourth century B.C. The story of Greek colonists who entered the ancient Near East, and more specifically Egypt, after Alexander the Great's conquests forms the background of this new book by Naphtali Lewis.

The author disputes the usual belief that the Greek colonists mingled with the local population to form a new, if somewhat decadent, culture. Instead, they kept to themselves and formed a ruling class that excluded the local population and made the Egyptians second-class citizens in their own country. The Greeks shunned the Egyptian language, as Lewis writes, "with the classic attitude of an imperial ruling class, they left the attainment of bilingual ability almost entirely to those members of the Egyptian underclass who were ambitious to get ahead" (p. 153).

The book is divided into well-defined chapters, each following the same pattern. Chapters open with a "dateline" and a description of the documents used. The actual narrative follows, and the author wisely lets the primary sources tell the bulk of his story. The chapters are arranged in chronological order, starting with the mid-third century B.C. and ending with the early first century B.C. The wealth of sources permits the author to discuss a great number of topics, all from the point of view of the people involved. Thus, we are treated to vivid tales of irrigation works and banking; legal matters and priestly duties; the social fabric of Greek, Egyptian, and "mixed" marriages; and, finally, civil and military service. By the end of the book, the author has made his point convincingly.

The book is not only packed with information but also extremely readable. It is a book I certainly recommend to all students of the ancient Near East, be they classicists (from whose point of view the work was, in fact, written) or traditional Egyptologists. For the benefit of the classicists, however, let me be permitted two small quibbles. On page 69 the designation of the cult of the Apis bull as "the earliest worship at Memphis" should probably be changed to "one of the earliest"; the Apis bull is indeed met early on in Egypt's history, but such absolutes are hard to defend. On page 91 the mention of the sun-god as the main divinity of Thebes is slightly misleading; the principal god of Thebes was Amun, who only became a solar divinity when he coalesced with the Heliopolitan sun-god Re in the early second millennium B.C.

RONALD J. LEPROHON  
University of Toronto

Hermann Bengtson begins the foreword of this book by stating that "a monograph on the Diadochan period is a desideratum of scholarship," implying, perhaps unconsciously, that until the appearance of this volume no such thing existed. This is odd, because Paul Cloché dealt with precisely this topic in *La dislocation d'un empire* (1959) and did so in even greater detail than Bengtson does now. Even odder, one searches in vain for any reference to Cloché's work in Bengtson's notes or select bibliography. I have long believed that classical scholars tend to get carried away in their references to secondary works, but, surely, at least passing mention should be given to the one other monograph on the age of the Diadochs.

The work is essentially a straightforward description of the events and personalities of the period from 323–281 B.C. and avoids any quagmires of scholarly argument. The narrative is perhaps in places too bare, leaving the reader hungry for a bit more in the way of explanation of events, but Bengtson generally offers a clear account of a very confused period. The sections on economic and cultural developments are sufficient to provide a basic familiarity with the social environment of the era, but Bengtson neglects any real discussion of military affairs, which is strange in a book that deals with a period of endless warfare. He does, however, provide a burst of passion in his account of Pyrrhus, castigating the Epirote king at length for his lack of direction and positive achievement. I applaud this injection of a little emotional spice into the increasingly bland fare of classical scholarship.

The book suffers from two perhaps trivial flaws. Although there are six illustrations, no map is provided, which I found an inconvenience when trying to follow the political ebb and flow of the period. Further, when dealing with the Rhodians, Bengtson cites H. Schmitt's *Rom und Rhodos* (1957), which has now been superseded by R. Berthold's *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* (1984). But, on the positive side, Bengtson writes in a clear and uncomplicated style, which is a distinct boon for those of us whose mother tongue is not German.

This work is hardly in the same league as Bengtson's *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit* (1937, 1944, 1952), but it is a good introduction to the age of the Diadochs, at least for students who read German. It is unfortunate there is as yet no equivalent volume in English.

RICHARD M. BERTHOLD  
Albuquerque, New Mexico

HERMANN BENGTON. *Die Diadochen: Die Nachfolger Alexanders (323–281 v. Chr.)*. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1987. Pp. 218. DM 38.

DIETER NÖRR. *Causa mortis: Auf den Spuren einer Redewendung*. (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte,

number 80.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1986. Pp. vi, 228. DM 78.

This book begins with the first chapter of the much discussed *Lex Aquilia de damno* (third century B.C.), which dealt with property damage of the most serious kind: "If anyone wrongfully kills another person's man or one of his cattle, he should pay the owner the highest value attained by the property in that year" (Gaius, *Institutes* 3.210). The original law mentioned only persons who did the killing themselves, but lawyers later addressed the issue of liability for death caused indirectly. According to Ofilius, a jurist of the mid-first century B.C., "If my slave is riding by and you frighten his horse and make him fall into a stream, and if for that reason he dies . . . there can be an action by analogy [*actio in factum*], just as when my slave is drawn into an ambush by one person and killed by another" (*Digest* 9.2.9.3).

This development is not the dramatic intellectual breakthrough it might appear. The authors of the *Lex Aquilia* were well aware that deaths could be caused indirectly as well as directly, but they chose to address the more immediate and obvious problem. It was left to jurists to clarify the distinction between simple killing (*occidere*) and indirect responsibility (*causa mortis praebere*) (*Digest* 9.2.7.6). But this simply reflects the difference between the act of interpreting a law and that of framing it in the first place.

For all that, the lawyers' formulations raise some interesting questions. The issue of indirect responsibility for death was a kind of set piece, forming part of the intellectual repertoire of Romans as different as Cicero and Ovid. The problem was addressed in the declamations that formed such an important part of Roman education. Quintilian describes one topic he assigned his students: during a beach party some young men as a joke erect a mock tomb for an absent friend; the father of their friend finds the grave, thinks his son is dead, and kills himself; the law says that anyone causing death should be executed; were the young men guilty? (*Institutio oratoria* 7.3.31).

It is difficult to read this sort of thing without thinking of the traditional Greek preoccupation with causality: Pericles and Protagoras spent an entire day arguing whether a fatal athletic accident should be blamed on the javelin, the man who threw it, or the judges of the games (Plutarch, *Pericles* 36). Dieter Nörr, however, is rightly wary of explaining the Roman legal formulations as simple borrowings; he ascribes great importance to the expression *causa mortis praebere* (not an obvious way of describing indirect responsibility) and suggests, tentatively, a Roman origin for it.

Nörr's conclusion is not, to me, the most important thing about his book. What I find intriguing is his careful investigation of the complex relation-

ships between philosophy, rhetoric, and law, both Greek and Roman. His investigations show that very different kinds of evidence, not all of them the obvious ones, can be used to explore the intellectual history of Rome.

WILLIAM TURPIN  
Swarthmore College

ARTHUR M. ECKSTEIN. *Senate and General: Individual Decision Making and Roman Foreign Relations, 264–194 B.C.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1987. Pp. xxii, 381.

This book is an expanded and revised version of a doctoral dissertation, but, unlike many such works by beginning scholars, it is a major contribution to the study of Roman history. Arthur M. Eckstein has carefully surveyed an array of important topics in the diplomatic and military history of the mid-Roman Republic and has offered a significant and convincing revision of one of Theodor Mommsen's main conclusions: that the Roman Senate controlled foreign policy, directly and on a day-by-day basis. Furthermore, Eckstein has prepared the way for the publication of his views with several important articles in classical journals over the last few years.

Eckstein argues that Roman generals in the field actually had considerable freedom in the shaping of Roman foreign policy, even to the extent of declaring war on their own initiative, or at least of causing war in a way recognized by Romans as legitimate. In addition generals in the field actually shaped the structure of Roman provincial administration by the treaties they negotiated on their own with newly conquered territories. To illustrate his point, Eckstein uses several extremely important examples: Publius Cornelius Scipio in Spain and Africa during the Hannibalic War, M. Claudius Marcellus in Sicily, and T. Quinctius Flamininus in Greece and Macedon. He concedes that in northern Italy, the so-called Cisalpine Gaul, the Senate often took a more direct interest.

Basically, the book is organized geographically and chronologically. Eckstein first considers northern Italy from 309 to 197 B.C. Then he moves on to Sicily in the First and Second Punic Wars. In addition to dealing generally with the power of Roman generals to shape policy in the field, he also treats cogently and persuasively a number of thorny problems in the period under consideration. There has been a long controversy over whether the Romans actually ever declared war on Carthage in 264 B.C. or whether the First Punic War simply emerged out of a series of contingent circumstances. Eckstein favors the latter view although one of his strengths is that he presents problems in Roman historiography fairly and dispassionately, giving the reader all the

information necessary to come to an independent conclusion.

There is a significant section devoted to the activities of Scipio in Spain and Africa, but, quite possibly, readers will find the final portion of the book on Flamininus in Greece to be the most interesting. There Eckstein shows how a Roman general was able to shape policy even when it was clearly wrong and unworkable and even when it was opposed in the Senate by a powerful and influential leader (in this case, Scipio Africanus).

Several detailed appendixes at the end support some of the positions taken earlier in the book. In addition there are an excellent bibliography and index. Throughout, the book is highly documented in footnotes. It is a handsome book on Roman imperialism, foreign policy, and generalship. All scholars in the field of Roman studies will find it indispensable.

ARTHER FERRILL  
University of Washington

PERE VILLALBA I VARNEDA. *The Historical Method of Flavius Josephus*. (Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums, number 19.) Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1986. Pp. xxiv, 296. f. 96.

This is a reworking of a doctoral thesis of 1981. The translation is full of idioms from the Catalan and obscurities from the author. He begins by proposing to determine Josephus's notion of causation by listing the causal expressions in his work and the things he specifies as causes. (Listing is one of the author's favorite literary forms; he gives many lists of examples of the familiar. Few studies will afford the reader so much that can so pleasantly be skipped.) These first lists lead, by a few of the non sequiturs with which the book abounds, to the conclusions that Josephus "undertakes mental activity before making resolutions" (p. 28), and accordingly, "organises his historiographical system around people" (p. 69).

Whether or not Josephus ever organized a "historiographical system," Pere Villalba i Varneda goes on to describe how Josephus describes people. Next comes an account of the historical narrative and the devices by which it is elaborated, interrupted, or modified. ("Dinosis," which heads a section [p. 163], is a Latinization of *deinosis* used with a meaning it does not have in any of my Greek dictionaries.)

The conclusions on the methodology of Josephus are: that he writes of "subjects . . . basically political and social, and . . . has as his aim the clarification of events and . . . enlightenment of the history" (p. 253); that he claims accuracy, follows Holy Scripture, puts in many explanations, and includes autobiographical elements; that he supports his narra-

tive and explanations by arguments, appealing to (supposedly) historical documents and events; that he uses several sources for his histories, but especially the Holy Scriptures, and these in various ways; and that he often expresses his own opinions and rightly admits to personal bias. It would be hard to find a more pretentious collection of statements of the obvious. These admirably present both the results and the quality of the entire work.

MORTON SMITH  
Columbia University

## MEDIEVAL

MANFRED GERWING. *Malogranatum oder der dreifache Weg zur Vollkommenheit: Ein Beitrag zur Spiritualität des Spätmittelalters*. (Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum, number 57.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1986. Pp. 312.

The *Malogranatum* was one of the most widely distributed, read, and beloved writings of Christian edification and renewal in late medieval and Renaissance times. The 150 handwritten manuscripts still extant in Latin, as well as the German and Dutch translations, place it in the category of such medieval spiritual writings as Seuse's *Horologium Sapientiae* (233 extant manuscripts) and the *Imitatio Christi*. Furthermore, it was an influence on the better-known *Devotio moderna* of the Netherlands. Thus, it is surprising that there is not yet a modern critical edition of the *Malogranatum* and that it has not yet received the scholarly attention its medieval significance warrants. Manfred Gerwing's purpose is to thoroughly examine the text in its historical context and thus to contribute to the investigation of late medieval spirituality. Nearly one-third of his study is devoted to an exposition of the Bohemian reform context of the book.

The *Malogranatum* (that is, pomegranate) is titled after the verse in the Song of Songs 8:2, "I would give you spiced wine to drink, the juice of my pomegranates." From the patristic period through the Middle Ages, this verse and the pomegranate were richly symbolic for Mariological, ecclesiological, and, especially in mysticism, anthropological presentations of the individual soul's union with God. The agreeably acid juice of the pomegranate symbolized refreshment and renewal, and the numerous seeds symbolized multiplying power. Thus, the numerous authoritative citations regarding faith and salvation contained in the *Malogranatum* were intended to build up individual Christians and through their activities to reform the church.

Gerwing traces the origin of this anonymous work to the Cistercian monastery of Königsaal near

Prague and suggests it may have been the abbot Peter von Zittau who, sometime before 1336, compiled the numerous authorities into the dialogue form of the book. Gerwing provides a list of seventy-five cited authorities, the top three of whom (before biblical citations) are Gregory the Great (465 times), Augustine (387 times), and Bernard of Clairvaux (323 times). Thomas ranks twelfth (40 times). Clearly, if the *Malogranatum* was as influential as Gerwing claims, the fourteenth century did not belong to Thomas. Gerwing further contributes to rethinking this period by showing that this work intended the reform of the church by the renewal of individuals who were not the few spiritual athletes among the clerical elite but the many "simple folk." The *Malogranatum* was addressed to a newly self-conscious and developing urban laity who appear to have been interested not in the "art of dying" but rather in the ethical power to reform the whole of life.

CARTER LINDBERG  
School of Theology  
Boston University

ADRIAAN H. BREDERO. *Cluny et Cîteaux au douzième siècle: L'histoire d'une controverse monastique*. Amsterdam: Holland University Press. 1987. Pp. xviii, 410. f. 100.

Adriaan H. Bredero has assembled seven of his articles (from 1971 to 1983) on Cluniac history, with emphasis on the controversy with the Cistercians. There are two appendixes (a conversation with J. Leclercq and P. Zerbi and a review article), a summary of the main argument in both English and German, and a lengthy bibliography.

The theme that connects these studies is the conflict within Cluny between the conservatives and the reformers. Bredero contends that Bernard's letter to Robert of Châtillon (1124) and his *Apologia* (1125) should be assessed within the context of the struggle between the party of Pons of Melgueil and the defenders of Peter the Venerable, who as the new abbot led the traditionalists. Bernard wrote not so much to support Cîteaux or to denigrate Cluny as to intervene on the side of the reformers, who had received a setback when Pons fell from office. This dispute was only remotely related to the factional strife within the Roman curia at the time. Peter the Venerable's reply to Bernard's challenge was aimed primarily at his own Cluniac monks. Only later, in the 1130s, did Peter come to accept Cistercian-inspired changes for his own order. Pons was expelled from abbatial authority not for opposing exemption from episcopal jurisdiction but for trying to arrest the economic decline in the order and to adopt a more austere discipline for his monks.

Afterward Bernard never again interfered in Cluniac affairs. Following his death, however, Idung of Prüfening renewed the attack on Cluny. But his *Dialogus* reflects local conditions and is not representative of Cistercian opinion about Cluny.

Bredero's provocative thesis is cogently presented. He gathers a large amount of circumstantial evidence in support of his views, which evaluate the Cluny-Cîteaux controversy in the wider context of Cluniac history. I myself do not consider Bredero's interpretation incompatible with the more common scholarly analysis. Bredero changes the emphasis by adding another perspective to Bernard's assaults on Cluny. He freely admits that the direct evidence for his argument is slight. There is simply no proof that Pons was an ardent reformer as presented here. It remains a puzzle to me, if this thesis is correct, why Bernard henceforth avoided the issue of Cluny, particularly in view of Cluny's continuing difficulties. Still, Bredero's reconstruction of events and literary debates is immanently plausible and does not contradict the sources.

It would be useful if the author would integrate these (often repetitive) studies into a monograph, which would certainly reach a wider readership than this specialized but valuable collection.

THOMAS RENNA  
Saginaw Valley State University

MONIQUE VLEESCHOUWERS-VAN MELKEBEEK. *De officialiteit van Doornik: Oorsprong en vroege ontwikkeling (1192-1300)* [The Episcopal Court of Tournai: Origin and Early Development, 1192-1300]. (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Letteren, volume 47, number 117.) Brussels: Paleis der Academiën. 1985. Pp. 210. 850 F.

MONIQUE VLEESCHOUWERS-VAN MELKEBEEK. *Documenten uit de praktijk van de gedingbeslissende rechtspraak van de officialiteit van Doornik: Oorsprong en vroege ontwikkeling (1192-1300)* [Documents from the Practice of the Settlement of Lawsuits in the Episcopal Court of Tournai: Origin and Early Development, 1192-1300]. (Iuris Scripta Historica, number 1.) Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. 1985. Pp. 91. 500 F.

This is the first scholarly study of one of the four officialities with jurisdiction in the territory comprising modern Belgium. Its evolution is traced from its foundation by the noted canonist, Bishop Stephen, through the end of the thirteenth century, when the conflicts between the Flemish counts and King Philip IV forced the creation of a second seat of the officiality in Flanders. Thereafter, the court of



Tournai became confined de facto to French cases. Since the original archives of the bishopric are lost, the author had to trace records in cartularies and random notices in thirty-six archives and libraries in Belgium, France, and England. Her second volume includes sixty-nine texts, fifty-two of which receive their first edition.

The officials were the successors of papal "delegated judges." Court practice at Tournai differed little from that found elsewhere in northwestern Europe. The court had its own seal by December 1215. Although the personal name of the official was usually given in earlier texts, this practice was dropped after 1262, by which time the officiality was completely institutionalized. The official was appointed by the bishop, usually from among the prebendal canons with legal training already attached to the cathedral chapter. He received a wage and served at the bishop's pleasure. Most were transferred to other church positions after a year or two, and none at Tournai served more than four years. The official's verdicts did not require the bishop's confirmation. Although the bishop could annul an official's verdict on his own initiative, no appeal from litigants could go from the official to the bishop after 1245, when Innocent IV's bull *Romana Ecclesia* routed appeals directly from the official to the archbishop at Reims and thence to the papal court.

Virtually all verdicts rendered by the official alleged that the litigants had agreed to the court's jurisdiction. Yet the course of many suits between clerics and lay people suggests that the lay people, who invariably appeared as defendants, simply ignored the official, whose court was undeniably biased. No single case that the author cites or edits involved a verdict by the official of Tournai in favor of a lay person against a cleric, although the count's bailiff at Bruges was sustained once on appeal to the archbishop of Reims over a procedural question. One of the edited cases had in fact been tried in a lay court, although the verdict has not survived. A second hinged on different interpretations of an ambiguous passage in a charter given by the Flemish count some years before the official heard testimony about alleged violations by a layman. Doubtless, as the author argues, the church had to guard against usurpation of its rights and properties. Still, since the official could not enforce his civil verdicts without having recourse to the secular arm, it is most unlikely that many clerics took their cases against lay people to the official if they thought they had a chance to win in a secular court.

Monique Vleeschouwers-Van Melkebeek makes a strong case that the officialities used extremely sophisticated Roman-canon legal procedures, making greater use of rational modes of proof, notably in a bias in favor of written evidence, than lay courts

generally did. The officials had little use for the unwritten custom that was so important for the secular arm. In 1216 one ruled that a Flemish noble had usurped the rights of the abbey of St.-Bertin to jurisdiction over certain serfs, although he had in fact exercised these rights for over forty years. The formal clarity of the texts permits her to make a most imaginative reconstruction of suits and countersuits, amended briefs, dilatory and peremptory exceptions, courtroom procedure, inquests, and modes of proof.

Although Vleeschouwers-Van Melkebeek does not, in my opinion, take sufficient account of the extent to which the official's court had a vested interest in the outcome of many cases before it, the fact remains that this is a most impressive piece of research, drawing a coherent and generally convincing picture from extremely fragmentary sources.

DAVID NICHOLAS  
*University of Nebraska*

PIERRE RICHÉ. *Gerbert d'Aurillac, le pape de l'an mil*. Paris: Fayard. 1987. Pp. 332.

Drawing on Gerbert's correspondence, the *vita* by Richer of Reims, a few other medieval sources, and a sampling of modern scholarship, Pierre Riché has produced a detailed narrative of the life and times of this remarkable man. Actually, so little is known about Gerbert that this book is not so much a biography as an account of the various events in which its subject was involved. Because Gerbert was a major intellectual figure, a student and master at several important schools, an abbot of Bobbio, an archbishop of Reims and Ravenna, a pope (Sylvester II), and a confidant of French kings and of the German imperial family, he was well placed to participate in an array of important and interesting developments. It is useful to see so much of the history of the later tenth century through Gerbert's eyes, but it is a shame that more cannot be known about the man himself.

Riché gives us three different Gerberts. One was a churchman whose deepest instincts were monastic. He believed in the freedom and unity of the church, and he was aligned with and sympathetic to the major reform currents of his time. A second Gerbert was a philosopher whose contributions owed much to Boethius and whose reputation for secular wisdom often brought on him the suspicion of his contemporaries. The third Gerbert was a professional intellectual, a student and a teacher who was a real bibliophile and who was at home with the more difficult aspects of the liberal arts, especially logic and mathematics.

Perhaps unintentionally, Riché also presents a Gerbert who was supremely confident about his own

intellectual powers and the rightness of his causes. He may well have struck some people as arrogant and inflexible. I cannot help wondering if this side of Gerbert may have been what got him in trouble so frequently with both churchmen and secular magnates.

The book is elegantly written but thinly documented apart from the regular inclusion of translated passages from the correspondence. There are several maps and genealogical tables and a nice selection of contemporary illustrations. The bibliography is highly selective and oriented to French works. The opening section on all the Gerbert legends is fresh, but otherwise there is little of real value here for specialists. Beginning graduate students and the elusive "general reader" (who reads French) appear to have been the targeted audience. It is a shame that Riché, one of the major interpreters of early medieval intellectual life, does not take this opportunity to offer more than a summary assessment of Gerbert's place in intellectual history and that he provides so much political narrative that can easily be reconstructed from other sources. There has long been room for a full-scale, modern, critical study of Gerbert. There still is.

THOMAS F. X. NOBLE  
University of Virginia

EDWARD TRACY BRETT. *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society*. (Studies and Texts, number 67.) Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies; distributed by E. J. Brill, Leiden. 1984. Pp. xii, 220. f. 48.

As master-general of the Dominican Order from 1254 to 1263, Humbert of Romans was personally involved in many of the major challenges facing the clergy in the thirteenth century. His voluminous writings, moreover, furnish historians with penetrating glimpses into the details of these issues. Edward Tracy Brett's present study traces Humbert's career and highlights in separate chapters the mendicant struggles with the secular masters at the University of Paris, the difficulties of defining the place of learning and women in the order, and the reform of liturgy. In a second section brief synopses are offered of Humbert's principal treatises. Brett's aims are twofold: to assess Humbert's influence on the order and to view the thirteenth century through his actions and words.

Brett succeeds in the first aim better than the second. Drawing on standard Dominican scholarship, he shows how Humbert established the Dominican liturgy for centuries. Humbert's works on the Dominican rule and organization permit close familiarity with the operations of the order. But, when Brett turns to the world of the thirteenth

century, he ignores the historians of the past two decades who could be of help to situate Humbert in a meaningful context and thereby appreciate his importance. To evaluate Humbert's part in the controversy with the seculars, for example, Brett would need to say more about the position of Guillaume de Saint-Amour as given by Michel-Marie Dufeil. To comprehend Humbert's restrictions imposed on Dominican nuns would require more background on their status in canon law (see the work of Micheline Pontenay de Fontette) as well as recognition of the contemporary tragedy facing all feminine orders as has been recently revealed by historians of women (John B. Freed and Caroline W. Bynum). To grasp the significance of Humbert's monumental treatises on sermons, additional help could be found from the many scholars who have studied preaching (Michel Zink and C. Casagrande), the *exempla* (Jacques LeGoff and Jean-Claude Schmitt), and social theory (Georges Duby). The difficulties in enforcing limitations on the size of church buildings can be better understood if infractions, such as the Jacobins at Toulouse, are also taken into account. Humbert's contributions to the Council of Lyons can be better assessed when the problems facing the church in 1274 are more fully developed. All of this would require a larger book, but the subject fully merits the effort. Brett's study is a modest and competent effort to unlock the door, but the real and significant Humbert of Romans has yet to step into the light.

JOHN W. BALDWIN  
Johns Hopkins University

HANS-WERNER GOETZ. *Leben im Mittelalter: Vom 7. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1986. Pp. 302. DM 39.50.

Readers who hope to find a description of how people thought and behaved in the Middle Ages will come away disappointed. This is, however, an excellent book on institutions, the configuration and extent of buildings, and people and the life they led in monasteries, villages, courts, and towns.

Hans-Werner Goetz gives a brief history of the Benedictine, Irish, and Anglo-Saxon monks, the works of Benedict Aniani, Cluny, and the new orders, especially the Cistercians and the mendicants. He uses in particular St. Gall's plan to present not only the buildings but also the life style of the monks, with all their deeds. The book examines who the monks were—their ranks, their number, their meals, their clothing, even their punishment.

In connection with the peasantry, the description of the agrarian regime occupies quite a long section, covering the organization, rights of owners, tenants, and supervisors. Then follows an account of the



houses of the peasants, their land, the pastorate, the village, and the marketplace. Finally, serfdom with the various distinct levels of belonging, the serfs' work, and their entertainment engage the reader's attention.

Cultural affairs took up quite a part of the noble life, particularly in the kingdoms and the territorial states. Goetz enumerates the laws and literature but does not enter at all into discussion of the development of the fine arts. Details are given on various ways castles were built, the fighting of knights in feudal and religious wars, and noble festivities and tournaments.

The genesis and development of medieval towns are the subjects of the last section. The conception of the town from its Roman root through Merovingian, Carolingian, and subsequent medieval changes is presented not only in writing but also through pictures, with emphasis naturally on German towns. The topography and construction of the towns, with their markets, streets, walls, churches, and castles, have been very well researched. The author goes into great detail describing the people living in the towns; in the upper socioeconomic layer he places the foreign traders, ministerials, and some of the artisans; in the middle echelon the tradesmen and the majority of artisans; and in the lowest subdivision the workers, day laborers, domestics, and beggars.

The beginning two chapters of the book seem to me the best. The first deals with the characteristics of the Middle Ages. The population of Europe in 500 was 27.5 million, but by 600 it had dropped to 18 million. By the year 1000 it had grown to 38.5 million and had nearly doubled to 73.5 million by 1340. Settlements had extensive forests around them; for example from Saxony's Harzburg one had to travel for three days on horse to reach another human settlement in the eleventh century. Traveling was a part of the job of the king, high ecclesiastics, and noble potentates, but the peasants' lives were extremely limited. They were afraid of robbers lurking everywhere. Only in the twelfth century came improvement in the roads. Time was measured by daylight, by the stand of the sun, or by bells in the nearby sanctuary. Monasteries and churches had primitive clocks; the mechanical clock came only in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The optimum climate was between 1150 and 1300, but even then there were many hungry people. The lack of hygiene caused much sickness; public baths came into being only in the twelfth century. People died much earlier than today: the average lifespan was forty-seven years for a man and forty-four for a woman. Children perished very young; the childhood death rate was 40 percent. With religion and technical help, there was an improvement in gov-

ernment, economics, conduct, and mentality, especially in the higher echelons.

The chapter on the family was the most enjoyable, although here I found some disagreements. The relationship to the kin is defined as including blood relations or the agnatic kin; the cognatic family is explained as association only through marriage. This meaning does not agree with the English one; agnatic signifies connection on the father's side, enate on the mother's side, and cognate through blood. Home in the Middle Ages included not only husband, wife, and children but also the parents or relatives who lived with them, their guests, and domestics. The home was dominated by the male; the female was under his protection and could not hold a political or religious office. She had to concentrate on home and family. That this lesser estimate of women, according to Goetz, was not discriminating but natural is a thesis that can be strongly debated. Isidore of Seville's definition of *vir* being connected with *virtus* and *mulier* with *mollitia*, which means not only weakness but also tenderness, is not very convincing. It relates to the patristic age, when a woman had to be put down but also mollified, as one who should be tender with a man. Marriage, divorce, children, love, and widowhood are discussed, and I advise the reader of Goetz also to read a book on the history of women in the Middle Ages (the author does give some in his list) because his exposition can lead to misunderstandings.

This, however, is a useful volume, with an updated bibliography. Although it contains little that is new, it rounds out our general knowledge of social and economic events between the seventh and thirteenth centuries.

SUZANNE FONAY WEMPLE  
Barnard College  
Columbia University

BERND SCHNEIDMÜLLER. *Nomen Patriae: Die Entstehung Frankreichs in der politisch-geographischen Terminologie (10.–13. Jahrhundert)*. (Nationes: Historische und philologische Untersuchungen zur Entstehung der europäischen Nationen im Mittelalter, number 7.) Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke. 1987. Pp. 320. DM 84.

This complex book will be of interest to everyone who studies French history or medieval historiography. Relying greatly on the work of Karl Ferdinand Werner and Andrew W. Lewis, Bernd Schneidmüller examines how such geographical designations as *Francia* and *Gallia* were linked to such political terms as *gens* or *patria* in a variety of sources—historical, hagiographical, literary, and legal—between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. He

argues that a French identity did not develop during the twelfth century in a xenophobic reaction to the German and English threat to the Capetian monarchy but was the result of the later Carolingians' and early Capetians' appropriation of the Frankish legacy. *Gallia*, which was occasionally employed as the name for the kingdom, lacked the aura of *Francia*, which was associated with Charlemagne, and could not in the long run become the name for the nation.

Schneidmüller places the origins of France in the second half of the tenth century, when such authors as Richer of Rheims, in response to Ottonian imperial policy and the Capetian accession, no longer perceived the West Frankish Kingdom as part of the larger post-Carolingian world. *Francia* itself, which was never perceived as simply the royal domain, was reduced to the Paris basin, and the relationship between the *regnum Francorum* and the other *regna*, over which the king nominally reigned, remained poorly defined. Special ethical and religious values were attached to *Francia* and its inhabitants when the Capetians' support of the papacy during the Investiture Controversy was linked to the papal-Frankish alliance of the eighth century and when *Francus* became synonymous with crusader. As twelfth-century authors rewrote the history of the Franks, real and mythical, for the benefit of the monarchy, they realized that words such as *Francia* had possessed different meanings in earlier epochs. They emphasized the continuity between Frankish and French history and the special place of the Franks and the French in the history of the West.

Schneidmüller argues that the geographical boundaries of *Francia* did not expand, as Margret Lugge maintained in 1960, with the growth of the royal domain under Philip II and Louis VIII. Instead, the royal chancellery developed in the twelfth century the concepts of the *corona Franciae* to mean royal authority separate from the person of the king and of the *regnum Francorum*, later *Franciae*, to refer to the royal vassals and then, by extension, to the area under their control. As a convenience, *regnum* was occasionally dropped from the formula after 1200, and *Francia* employed for the entire kingdom, but *Francia* usually referred simply to the Isle-de-France, a vernacular designation that developed in the fourteenth century to refer to the region around Paris.

A brief review cannot do justice to all of Schneidmüller's nuances and his comments about individual authors. I hope that he will explain someday how the East Frankish Kingdom became *Deutschland*, Germany, and *Allemagne*, a terminological confusion that is itself highly revealing.

JOHN B. FREED  
Illinois State University

R. C. FAMIGLIETTI. *Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI, 1392–1420*. (AMS Studies in the Middle Ages, number 9.) New York: AMS. 1986. Pp. xix, 363. \$39.50.

The reign of Charles VI (1380–1422) was a dismal period in the history of the medieval French monarchy. It began with a child on the throne, passed through years of civil war, and ended with half the country in enemy hands. This period has been badly in need of systematic restudy, and R. C. Famiglietti's book meets this need in outstanding fashion.

The book grew out of Famiglietti's doctoral research, which was devoted to the household and political role of Louis of Guyenne, Charles VI's son and heir until his death in 1415 at the age of eighteen. Louis has been portrayed as a weak and indecisive young prince who was easily manipulated by the older princes and their partisans. Famiglietti argues that in fact Louis maintained a good deal of political independence and navigated a middle course between the hostile factions of Burgundy and Orleans-Armagnac. He makes a very convincing case.

In many ways the most valuable part of this book is the opening chapter on the mental illness of Charles VI, which first manifested itself in 1392. In considering Charles VI's ailment, Famiglietti has scoured the narrative sources for all descriptions of his symptoms and his behavior. He has read extensively in the literature on psychiatry and has consulted a number of psychiatrists. His careful analysis of the king's disorder must rank as one of the finest examples of scholarship in the often treacherous field of "psychohistory."

For thirty years Charles VI was lucid only intermittently. The sources often mention his "absences," when he was clearly out of his mind, but, as Famiglietti demonstrates with great skill, the king was often affected by his illness at times when he was deemed well enough to be in charge of affairs. Policy took many erratic turns as the followers of rival princes jockeyed for power.

When old Duke Philip of Burgundy died in 1404, his rival Louis of Orleans enjoyed a period of predominance until he was assassinated in 1407 on orders of the new duke of Burgundy, John the Fearless. In 1415 the death of Louis of Guyenne removed an important force for compromise and moderation, and later that year the French army suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the English at Agincourt. The Orleanist party, known as the Armagnacs, enjoyed a period of power but were ousted by the Burgundians. Supported by the king's last surviving son (the future Charles VII), they gained revenge on John the Fearless with his murder in 1419, but the only result was an Anglo-

Burgundian alliance and the dismemberment of the kingdom.

Famiglietti leads us through these complex events with erudition and skill. He deserves particular credit for his evenhandedness. The bulk of the chronicles of this period have a strong bias in favor of Burgundy, and much of the secondary literature contains elements of partisanship for one faction or the other. With his focus on the duke of Guyenne, Famiglietti avoids treating either of the princely factions in an excessively favorable or partial light.

The work is supported by a mass of documentation, an outstanding bibliography, and a very useful glossary and index. Although he has done much to simplify and clarify some very complicated history, the author has clearly written this book for a scholarly audience, and readers need to consult the notes constantly. Unfortunately, AMS Press shows no understanding of scholarly audiences. Not only are the valuable notes placed in the back of the book where they are very inconvenient but there are no indications as to what pages in the text they refer to. It is indeed a pity that such an outstanding piece of scholarship should be marred by the publisher in this way.

JOHN BELL HENNEMAN, JR.  
Princeton University Library

T. N. BISSON. *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1986. Pp. viii, 239. \$45.00.

The Crown of Aragon was one of the most important European states of the later Middle Ages. Its political power and commercial interests virtually dominated the Mediterranean, and its artists and academics were in the forefront of the flowering of medieval culture. And yet the history and achievements of this realm have been relatively unappreciated by English readers, largely because of the lack of any satisfactory introduction to the subject. H. J. Chaytor's *A History of Aragon and Catalonia* has remained the standard survey in English since its appearance in 1933. The present book is a long-overdue replacement, and its appearance will be welcomed by all interested in the history of medieval Spain.

The greatest problem facing a historian of the Crown of Aragon is to decide the perspective from which to view the subject. The realm was a federation of states that, at one time or another, included Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, the Balearics, Sardinia and Corsica, Sicily and Naples, as well as portions of southern France and of Greece. Each of these regions possessed its own character and historical development, and they were united only in the person of the monarch or, at times, by their com-

mon allegiance to members of the ruling house. T. N. Bisson has chosen to regard Catalonia as the heart of the realm and to view its development from the perspective of Barcelona. This choice has allowed him to use the distinguished work of modern Catalan historians as well as his own extensive knowledge of the superb archives of the region. Nevertheless, it should be noted that this book is primarily a history of the Catalans.

After a short introductory chapter discussing the origins of Aragon, the author begins his account with the union of the kingdom of Aragon and the county of Barcelona in 1136 and continues to the union of Aragon and Castile in 1479. The organization is chronological, and the general emphasis is on political history, although sections on social, economic, and intellectual developments are provided at appropriate points in the narrative. A final chapter, considering the causes of the decline of Catalonia in the fourteenth century and its effect on the Crown of Aragon as a whole, provides a thoughtful conclusion to the work.

The book possesses some welcome amenities, particularly suited to its introductory nature. There are a series of clear and readable maps, a small section of black-and-white illustrations, a glossary, a number of excellent genealogical tables, and a thorough and accurate index. The bibliography presents short essays for each chapter, each providing citations for major primary sources and standard secondary accounts. The author has made a special effort to include works in English and has recommended particular items as basic reading on the subject. The selections are generally excellent, and the compilation as a whole constitutes a handy introduction to research in the area.

The book is successful both as an introductory survey and as an essay of synthesis. It is a worthy addition to the increasing number of outstanding works on medieval Spanish history being produced by American authors.

LYNN H. NELSON  
University of Kansas

MARIA RAQUEL GARCIA ARANCON. *Teobaldo II de Navarra (1253-1270): Gobierno de la Monarquía y recursos financieros*. (Historia, number 45.) Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, Departamento de Educación y Cultura. 1985. Pp. xviii, 379.

In recent years the kingdom of Navarre, confined in the later Middle Ages to a small territory situated across the present border between France and Spain, has been the object of important studies; one should cite especially the names of J. M<sup>a</sup>. Lacarra, A. J. Martín Duque, and the latter's students, F. J. Zabalo Zabalegui and R. Carrasco Pérez. The last

two authors have studied the administration and population of Navarre in the fourteenth century. The present work, by Maria Raquel Garcia Arancon, another student of Martín Duque, who contributes a useful prologue, is concerned with Navarrese institutions in the thirteenth century when the native dynasty was succeeded by the House of Champagne, through which the kingdom eventually passed to the French royal house.

The book is part of a Spanish doctoral thesis of 1983. The edition of some three hundred documents on which it relies has yet to appear. Another part, also to be published separately, contains a study of the Navarrese monarchy's relations with neighboring monarchies and with its own people. Given the marginal importance of late medieval Navarre in international politics and the fact that its rulers during this period were primarily vassals of the French crown, this section seems unlikely to attract much attention. Nor does Navarre appear to have been, for its kings, more than an appendage to their county of Champagne, which provided Theobald (Thibaut) II with three-quarters of his ordinary revenues and four-fifths of his military forces. It is not surprising to find that Theobald spent only one-quarter of his reign in Navarre itself. The interest of the present study is precisely that it investigates a kingdom without a king, the mechanisms—implanted on French models by Theobald's father, Theobald I—by which a territory could be governed for an absentee monarch. The process, on a small scale, is comparable to that devised a century earlier by Henry I of England and extended by Henry II to his far-flung collection of territories.

The book begins with a careful examination of the available sources and continues with a brief "panorama" of the reign. There follow discussions of the court and local officials, the chancery, the royal household and finances, the *Fueros* (or legislation of the kingdom), the administration of justice, and the military resources available to the king. The discussion of finance occupies one-third of the book. The author subjects the earliest surviving royal accounts (from 1259 and 1266) to a minute examination, which shows that in 1266, even with many "extraordinary" taxes amounting to three times the "ordinary" revenue, the treasury registered a large deficit. A comparison with the royal accounts of Aragon, fairly complete from 1302, would be interesting. This discussion of royal finance, with the copious evidence extracted on wages and prices, is likely to be the part of the book most consulted in the future.

J. N. HILLCARTH  
Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies

ANDREW FISHER. *William Wallace*. Edinburgh: John Donald; distributed by Humanities, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1986. Pp. vii, 147. £6.50.

William Wallace is the most mysterious of the leaders of Scottish resistance to Edward I. He became the subject of legend, and so the fifteenth-century account of him by the minstrel Blind Harry is a work of romance, rather than of history. How it was that this man, of knightly but not particularly notable origins, came to emerge as a popular leader capable both of hideous atrocities on his raids into England and of organizing the Scots so that they defeated the English army at Stirling Bridge in 1297 remains a mystery.

Andrew Fisher is not daunted by the lack of evidence. He makes the most of what scraps there are and works through every possible hypothesis. Wallace might, as a young man, have been intended for the church; he might have had a military career; he might have been an outlaw. This is a careful book, in which the flights of fancy are tempered by a sound awareness of the limitations of the source material. There are, for example, none of the usual denunciations of those responsible for revealing Wallace's whereabouts at the time of his capture in 1305, and a justified skepticism is brought to bear on the traditional accounts of this. The evidence does not permit the writing of a true biography of Wallace, but this book gives a valuable, and very readable, account of the early stages of the Scottish wars of independence. There is none of the blind acceptance of myth that so often mars works partly intended for a popular market. It would have been interesting had Fisher taken further the suggestion made by A. A. M. Duncan that Wallace was the leader of a genuinely popular movement inspired in part by social discontent and that he was distrusted and disliked by the Scottish magnates. Fisher is, however, too devoted a follower of G. W. S. Barrow to follow such a line, which admittedly is no more than hinted at in the contemporary sources.

There are a few moments when the author's enthusiasm for his subject goes too far, as when he argues that "Wallace taught the Scots that within each of them lay his own destiny" (p. 137), but in general his judgment is sound, and his style lively. This is not a book that propounds any major new ideas or that assembles much new evidence, but it is a highly intelligent reworking of the published material.

MICHAEL PRESTWICH  
University of Durham

ROBERT S. GOTTFRIED. *Doctors and Medicine in Medieval England, 1340–1530*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1986. Pp. xvi, 359. \$45.00.



Robert S. Gottfried is an unusually prolific historian. Since 1978 he has published books on epidemics in fifteenth-century England, on late medieval Bury Saint Edmunds, and on the Black Death. All have been concerned to throw light on the relationships between economic, social, and demographic change in a fascinating and still little understood period of history. Now, he has turned to the English medical profession of the later Middle Ages and sought to set that just as firmly into its historical context. It is not, perhaps, surprising that there are some signs of hasty writing in this book. The presentation of flat biographical detail often seems relentless, and one could wish for deeper consideration of some of the wider implications of the subject. But Gottfried has once again succeeded in clearly ordering a mass of new and old materials, and all future historians of the subject will be grateful to him.

The basis of his work, as he acknowledges, is the biographical register by C. H. Talbot and E. A. Hammond, *Medical Practitioners in Medieval England* (1965). But he has added other material to this in order to construct his data base of no less than 2,282 practitioners of various sorts. He tells us as much as can be discovered about their careers and status, their education, the books they read, and, in some detail, the works they wrote. Consequently, anyone wishing to work on the surviving medical manuscripts of the later Middle Ages will find Gottfried's summary of their contents indispensable. He uses other records to describe doctors' service in war and their employment by the royal court and the nobility, and his work is particularly valuable for bringing together all that is at present known about the early structure of the profession before the founding of the College of Physicians in 1518: the short-lived College of Medicine of 1423, for example, and the various organizations of surgeons and barbers.

Gottfried seeks to use all this information to support an argument that there was a clear dichotomy between surgeons and physicians. Dependent on book learning and inherited tradition, physicians had nothing to contribute to the advance of English medicine. Indeed, we are told again and again that they had been decisively discredited by their failure effectively to combat the Black Death. English surgeons, on the other hand, brought new insights to both theory and practice in the later Middle Ages, especially through their experiences in war. As a result, Gottfried argues, the triumph of the physicians in the early sixteenth century was nothing short of a disaster, accompanied as it was by the dilution of the surgeons through the admission of unqualified barbers to their ranks. It represented "the failure of English medicine."

This argument seems, to say the least, overschematic. It is questionable whether the distinction between physic and surgery was as great in

practice as Gottfried asserts and whether physicians were as discredited as he supposes. We need more evidence than is presented here for both contentions. Chaucer and Langland, cited at length, are scarcely representative of the typical lay person's view, and the book as a whole does not take adequate account of the demand side of the equation, of the views and requirements of patients. This is particularly surprising since one of Gottfried's major themes is the emergence of medical practitioners as secular, urban, "middle-class" professionals. What then of their patients? Was there not an increasing number of consumers able to afford specialized treatment and determined to find it, and did they not help determine the shape and content of the profession at its various social levels?

If the argument of the book seems overdrawn and leaves some important questions unanswered, however, there can be no doubt that it stimulates and that behind it there is a wealth of valuable information. Experts in the field will hunt through Gottfried's footnotes with profit. Newcomers to the history of later medieval medicine need look no further for a useful and provocative starting point.

PAUL SLACK  
Exeter College  
University of Oxford

MICHEL BALARD *et al.* *Les Italiens à Byzance: Edition et présentation de documents.* (Byzantina Sorbonensia, number 6.) Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne. 1987. Pp. 195.

Italian merchants played an important role in the economic life of Byzantium in the two centuries following the Paleologan restoration of 1261, and their records are a precious source for this otherwise poorly documented period. The three studies collected in this volume provide a great service to historians of Byzantium and Italy in publishing, mainly for the first time, documents from the notarial archives of, respectively, Genoa, Venice, and Pisa. Each set of texts is accompanied by an interpretive essay and a detailed index.

Thirteenth-century documents of the Genoese colony of Pera, across the Golden Horn from Constantinople, have long been in print and studied (as noted in the excellent bibliographical notes in the present volume). For his contribution here, Michel Balard has assembled 139 documents of the fourteenth century, scattered through various cartularies and cartons of the State Archives of Genoa. Practical considerations have led to the regrettable decision to publish all but two of the texts in French registers rather than in full Latin editions. The two documents published in full recount a complicated judicial dispute concerning a sale of grain and the



proceeds of an auction of the estate of a Genoese merchant of Pera.

Angeliki Laiou presents sixty-one documents (published in full in Latin) from the register of Antonio Bresciano, a Venetian notary active primarily in Crete, who visited Constantinople in 1350. In her excellent introduction, she discusses in special detail the texts that result from the treaty of 1349 between Venice and the Byzantine emperor and those that relate to the sale of Tatar slaves.

Pisa's importance in the eastern Mediterranean was in decline in the centuries following the Fourth Crusade, and, for her contribution to this volume, Catherine Otten-Froux has been able to find only sixteen texts, dated 1269 to 1394, that concern Pisan activities throughout the Byzantine area. Among these are a detailed lease of a ship for the transport of grain to Aigues-Mortes, a marriage contract specifying eventual hypothetical dispositions of the dowry, correspondence concerning the succession to the rectorship of the Pisan church in Constantinople, and a will specifying bequests to various religious establishments on Cyprus.

As can be seen from just this sample of its contents, this volume contains material of great value to scholars interested in the economic, social, religious, and political history of the eastern Mediterranean in the late medieval and Renaissance periods.

ALAN M. STAHL  
*American Numismatic Society*  
 New York, New York

#### MODERN EUROPE

MARILYN J. BOXER and JEAN H. QUATAERT, editors.  
*Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World, 1500 to the Present.* Foreword by JOAN W. SCOTT. New York: Oxford University Press. 1987. Pp. xvii, 281. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$10.95.

This book must be assessed on two levels: as scholarship on the history of European women and as a textbook intended for undergraduates in Western civilization or women's history courses. The title effectively indicates the editors' goal, which is to demonstrate connections between the spheres of men and women and of public and private life. Marilyn J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert also point to experiences "connecting" working-class and middle-class women, and they make comparisons, as well as contrasts, across national boundaries. Nearly one-half the book consists of three chronological "overviews" in which the editors cover many familiar themes in Western civilization textbooks but also add a special focus on women. The three overviews—religious upheaval and political centraliza-

tion, 1500–1750, industrializing and liberalizing Europe, 1750–1890, and the era of the interventionist state since 1890—are each followed by four or five short essays by other scholars. Most of the essayists are historians, but two are anthropologists and one a specialist in English literature. They offer case studies on women in France (four), Germany (three), England, Italy, Russia, and even Kenya, and they delve into the diverse topics of women's work, ideas about women, and the impact of political developments on women's working lives and private lives.

Boxer and Quataert offer an excellent introduction to the themes and insights found in recent work on European women's history. Joan W. Scott's foreword aptly describes the volume as "a complex history, a patchwork quilt of colorful themes rather than a neat linear narrative" (p. xvi). Bibliography is provided in the footnotes that follow each overview and in the short lists for further reading after each essay. Nearly all works cited are in English, but perusal of the English-language scholarship on other countries can quickly lead scholars to foreign primary sources and secondary works.

Professors evaluating the book for classroom adoption will want to consider its readability, comprehensiveness, and omissions. The editors' narratives deserve praise for including nearly all important topics in the history of Western civilization, but, in turn, it is not surprising that the 105 pages of overview seem more densely packed with information than some other textbooks and so, on occasion, too encyclopedic to be enjoyable reading. Each special essay has its merits, but students may especially like reading Sarah Hanley's discussion of the impact of changes in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French law on children and women; Maryanne Cline Horowitz's treatment of the pre-nineteenth-century debate between "spermaticists" and "ovists" over the contribution of each sex to reproduction; Richard Stites's model summary, "The Russian Revolution and Women," an article that actually spans the decades between the 1860s and the post-Stalinist era; and Maria-Barbara Watson-Franke's discussion, from an anthropological perspective, of how the post-1945 work experience has altered women's "sense of self" in East Germany. Included in the overviews but not the major focus in any of the essays is the topic of women's nineteenth- and early twentieth-century efforts to win the vote in various nations. The omission probably stems from the editors' sharing of Scott's view "that women's history is not limited to the narrow course of feminist political movements" (p. xvi). The observation is accurate, but undergraduates do often enjoy reading for the first time about dramatic episodes in the suffragists' campaign in England. Three of the five essays in the second part of the book survey aspects of women's dual roles as wage earners and as wives

and mothers: Barbara Franzoi's treatment of women in domestic industry in Britain and Germany, Sibylle Meyer's account of the domestic duties of the wives of civil servants in imperial Germany, and Donna Gabaccia's look at work options for rural Italian women before and after unification. Because some conclusions in the three articles overlap, one might have been replaced by an article about a feminist and suffragist movement.

Admittedly, the topic of organized feminism figures in Stites's essay and in Karen Offen's comprehensive treatment of links between French politics, concern about depopulation, and the fortunes of feminists and antifeminists in the early Third Republic. The placement of Offen's essay, however, prompts a critical observation about organizational problems stemming from the editorial decision to end part 2 in 1890 rather than with the familiar political, diplomatic, and military benchmark of 1914. Boxer and Quataert argue persuasively that the development of the welfare state after 1890 probably had a greater impact than traditional political landmarks on the lives of many women. Offen's essay, the last in the pre-1890 section, really belongs in the post-1890 section, yet students read it before they see the editors' overview that discusses the post-1890 politics of motherhood and feminists' dilemmas already treated by Offen. That World War I was also a critical divider in women's history is illustrated by Sandra Gilbert's discussion of how English literature mirrors a connection between the war and the exacerbation of prewar hostility to women, hostility prompted by women's efforts to move into male economic and political spheres. Other scholars have shown the importance of post-war misogyny in fascist politics, but they are not represented here. Nor does any essay deal specifically with women in a post-1890 West European welfare state, despite that topic's centrality in the editors' organizational scheme and narrative. In light of the omissions noted, the inclusion of the article on prostitution in Nairobi between 1899 and 1939 can be questioned. Although Luise White's essay is presented as an illustration of the intrusion of the West into other parts of the world, most of it discusses reasons for prostitution in Nairobi that did not stem from the global economy.

In fairness to the editors, one must note the impossibility of giving equal treatment to every worthy topic in a volume of less than three hundred pages. Their selection of themes for the overviews and essays was generally judicious, and they deserve praise for making available a somewhat different kind of textbook on women's history. Other collections of essays and of documents on women in modern Europe have been published, but this is, to my knowledge, the first book combining features of

a textbook survey with a collection of specialized essays.

LINDA L. CLARK

Millersville University of Pennsylvania

HEINZ SCHILLING and HERMAN DIEDERIKS, editors. *Bürgerliche Eliten in den Niederlanden und in Nordwestdeutschland: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte des europäischen Bürgertums im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*. Cologne: Böhlau. 1985. Pp. xix, 493.

This study of civic elites in the Netherlands and northwest Germany is the outgrowth of a conference sponsored by the Universities of Leiden, Münster, and Giessen in 1983 and organized by D. J. Roorda and Heinz Schilling. Contributions range chronologically from the late Middle Ages to the end of the nineteenth century; the most valuable of these pertain to the early modern period.

The important introductory chapter by Schilling provides a comparative theoretical survey, which raises many issues further developed in subsequent chapters. Schilling hypothesizes that fundamental differences existed between northwest Germany and the Netherlands in the development and function of civic elites. The rise of principalities, with political power that was often directed against the burghers and their autonomous cities (especially those of the Hanseatic League), was a typically German phenomenon. In the Netherlands, on the other hand, the urban elites themselves played the decisive role in provincial and later national government and administration. Differentiation within the civic elite can be observed through three connected phenomena: the interaction of the established merchant patriciate with newcomers and their new wealth, the gradual advancement of academics, especially jurists, into the political elite, the rise of a territorial body of civil servants, with notable variations over time and in geographic location. Subsequent chapters present evidence and further develop these themes.

Case studies on the Netherlands are offered by Dick de Boer, whose work on the political elite of Leiden at the end of the Middle Ages follows that of Roorda. Johannes G. Smit, writing on Amersfoort between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, demonstrates the ways in which power was effectively shared by Catholics and Reformed, and Murk van der Bijl analyzes the hegemony of the Calvinists in Middelburg's patriciate between 1650 and 1750. For the eighteenth century, Jan A. F. de Jongste discusses oligarchical formation in Haarlem, and a comparative effort (in English) by Maarten Prak, Joop de Jong, and Luuc Kooijmans deals with Hoorn, Gouda, and Leiden. Writing on "state and status in the eighteenth century," they outline the

subtleties of aristocratic form and function. The initial investigations of the Münster research team into the presbytery of Groningen from 1594 through the first quarter of the nineteenth century are documented in a lengthy report by Schilling, accompanied by extensive prosopographical charts and graphs. This study has already yielded valuable data on the relationship between the presbytery and political and economic elites.

Schilling's comparison of the Rhineland and the Netherlands is balanced by a short theoretical synthesis for the German areas by Etienne François, which surveys case studies of urban elites in Germany between 1650 and 1800 and considers a variety of theses and questions. More specific studies for the German areas during the early modern period are those of Olaf Mörke, on elites in Brunswick, Lüneberg, and Göttingen; Luise Schorn-Schutte, on Protestant court preachers in Hesse-Kassel, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, again using substantial prosopographical analysis; and Wolfgang Herborn, on academics in the city council of Cologne during the early modern period. Cologne is also scrutinized in Dietrich Ebeling's study of its commercial history during the industrialization of the Rhineland in the early eighteenth century, as well as in Clemens von Looz-Corswarem's analysis of its political elite from the beginning of the eighteenth into the nineteenth century, in which the French influence in the 1790s is seen as the catalyst for decisive change.

The book concludes with three chapters in English on Amsterdam, all incorporating a number of useful charts and graphs, with Herman Diederiks offering a survey of elites and their neighborhoods at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Boudien de Vries writing on electorate and elite around 1850, and Rob van Engelsdorp Gastelaars and Michiel Wagenaar on changing patterns of elite neighborhoods. This collection is highly recommended for its comprehensiveness, covering the fifteenth through twentieth centuries, as well as its coverage of current research efforts on its themes. It is an extremely worthwhile source for the scholarly community.

SHERRIN MARSHALL  
Plymouth State College

G. R. QUAIFE. *Godly Zeal and Furious Rage: The Witch in Early Modern Europe*. New York: St. Martin's. 1987. Pp. 235. \$25.00.

Three general surveys of witches and witch hunting in early modern Europe have been published in the last two years. Two of them, Joseph Klait's *Servants of Satan* (1985) and Brian Levack's *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe* (1987), though very different

from each other, are excellent. The third study, the volume presently under consideration, in contrast, is so flawed in scholarship, organization, and style that one wonders why a reputable publisher decided to produce it.

After an introduction that does little more than preview the chapters that are to follow, G. R. Quaife presents, with no attempt at synthesis or evaluation, a mixture of interpretations of the phenomena of witchcraft that range from the significant to the worthless. This first chapter at least enables the reader to surmise that the author takes far more seriously than most historians the notion that witches' supernatural experiences were produced by the intentional or accidental ingestion of drugs. He is also fascinated with the idea that witchcraft and its prosecution were manifestations of deviant sexuality.

In part because the book is organized topically, repetition is a continual problem. Even more serious is the fact that to a considerable extent the first seven chapters deal with the medieval period, before the professed subject of the book. Similarly, with no explanation, large chunks of the later chapters concern witchcraft in the American colonies. There is no attempt to deal systematically with the very important regional differences within Europe itself.

With the exception of a single article by Robert Muchembled, the book relies entirely on works in English. As a result, when the book is dealing with Germany, there is an excessive dependence on *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft* (1959) by Rossell Hope Robbins, a work whose rationalist bias requires that it be used with great caution. Frequently, articles from popular journals and the sort of books that crowd the shelves in the occult section of large bookstores are presented as the sole citations for rather surprising judgments and interpretations. When in his conclusion the author returns yet again to the theme of the connection between witch beliefs and psychedelic drugs, his sources, in addition to three popular articles, are an undergraduate honors thesis and a dissertation-in-progress, both from his own Australian university.

Has the book any redeeming features? Sadly, it does not.

CLARKE GARRETT  
Dickinson College

MARIE-THERESE BOYER-XAMBEU *et al.* *Monnaie privée et pouvoir des princes: L'économie des relations monétaires à la Renaissance*. Foreword by PIERRE JEANNIN. Paris: Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques; distributed by the Centre Nationale de Recherche Scientifique. 1986. Pp. xv, 423. 240 fr.

International finance in the age of the Renaissance (chiefly the sixteenth century) has long fed and challenged both historical interpretation and contemporary theories of money. In this book three economists hold center stage. The cornerstone of the edifice they raise is the bill of exchange, a promissory note in which the recipient of credit promises to repay, but at a future date, at another place, and in a different currency. The common view of historians has been that the bill or note was a disguised loan, in which the creditor craftily concealed a charge of interest through manipulating the stated rate of exchange. This opinion is false, claim Marie-Thérèse Boyer-Xambeu, Ghislain Deleplace, and Lucien Gillard. Rather, because of seigniorage (mint charges), coins always carried a higher exchange value in their countries of origin than abroad, where their value was set exclusively by their metallic content. So also did the moneys of account based on them. And the exchanges stipulated by the bills were exclusively in this latter type of currency.

The "art" of exchange exploited the fact that different moneys were exchanged at different rates in different parts of Europe. The masters of *cambio* sold (or lent) currency in the dearest market (at home) but received compensation for it abroad, where the repayment was worth more than the original sum. Frequently, through a tactic known as *ricorsa*, they or their agents sent the money home, buying the local currency abroad, where it was cheaper, for collection at home, where it was dearer. Deceit was not required for the changers to turn a profit.

This art of exchange developed as a means of financing international trade, and the schedules of payment and repayment followed the calendars of the great European fairs. From the early sixteenth century, the fairs of Lyons (first established in 1420) became the exchange capital of Europe, a position they held until the French fiscal and monetary crisis of 1577.

The three authors explore with zest both the social relations created by the exchange network and the geographic space it organized. They divide the mercantile community into the great merchant bankers (predominantly Italian) and the "ordinary businessmen," whose interests were local or national and often in conflict with those of the international financiers. The flow of exchange also defined different types of commercial space. Europe's external and colonial trade was carried on entirely through the medium of precious metals; credit instruments had no role. The net of exchanges covered only the geographic heartland of Europe, from England and the Low Countries in the north, to northern Italy in the southeast, to Spain and Portugal in the west. Finally, the authors analyze what they call the "cor-

ruption" of the entire system, brought about by Genoese bankers after 1577. The Genoese succeeded in moving the central fair to "Bisenzone," a wandering locale that finally settled in the neighborhood of Piacenza in Italy. Through an instrument known as the *asiento*, falsely resembling the bill of exchange (according to the authors), the Genoese undertook to finance the policies of the Spanish monarchy, which needed to transport vast sums to pay its armies in the Low Countries and to convert New World silver into the gold the armies were demanding.

The authors give their narrative many of the features of a textbook. Sentences are highlighted, lest the reader miss the point, and sections apparently regarded as dispensable are printed in small type. They present no original data but build their case from familiar works. Many of their fine distinctions are logically clear but historically questionable. Their bibliography is brief and old and omits important works in late medieval monetary history, such as those by Harry Miskimin and Fredric Lane and Reinholt Mueller. But their text is clear and spirited, and their analysis insightful.

DAVID HERLIHY  
Brown University

DAVID SUMMERS. *The Judgment of Sense: Renaissance Naturalism and the Rise of Aesthetics*. (Ideas in Context.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. xiii, 365. \$39.50.

This is a work of intellectual history done in the old-fashioned style with few concessions to the modish study of *mentalités* or the new social history. Instead, David Summers, author of the recently published and justly praised *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (1983), pursues philosophic and psychological ideas from ancient philosophers, rhetoricians, Church Fathers, scholastics, and medieval commentators on classical texts in order to illuminate the vocabulary of Renaissance aesthetics. Against Ernst Cassirer and Erwin Panofsky, Summers demonstrates that to understand the rise of naturalism and its complex intellectual rationale in the fine arts (particularly painting) it is essential to capture Aristotle's lexicon on mental discourse rather than that of Plato and the Neoplatonists. In fact, a discussion of Aristotle's explanation of how the senses relate to the world, to actions taken in the world and rational understanding of the world, is vital for appreciating theories supporting the rise of late medieval and Renaissance naturalism. Summers works to great advantage as he produces a useful definition of this illusive term.

The union of painting and optics in one-point perspective yielded what was reckoned to be a



universal art fully adapted to the structure of human vision and perception. Evidence presented for this revolution in sense ratios leads one to the generation of Leon Battista Alberti and Lorenzo Ghiberti, and on to Leonardo da Vinci and Federico Zuccaro. A reverse maneuver takes the reader back to Cicero and Aristotle where such cognitive procedures as common sense and the exercise of judgment in the realm of Renaissance fine arts are patiently explored. The Protagorean maxim that man is the measure of all things was not an optimistic assessment of the powers of the human mind in a human-centered universe but a skeptical disclaimer that humans can best know that to which they can put the measure of their own nature. Summers acknowledges the need for a social history of psychology and makes preliminary moves in this direction. In the end, however, he opts for a few bland statements concerning the rising status of the artist, the role of the public in evaluating the civic art of the Italian city-state, and the institutionalization of the fine arts. Remaining within the formal boundaries of intellectual history, Summers is at home with abstractions, and this advantages him when reviewing the impact of Augustine or Aquinas or a dozen other major thinkers on the psychology and aesthetic theory of the arts. The judgment of the senses, most particularly the power of common sense, was optimistically evaluated, and Summers discloses the full debt of Renaissance aesthetics to classical rhetoric. One is reminded of Alexander Pope's charming epigram on common sense—that "gift of heaven": "And though no science, fairly worth the seven." (Of course the five senses have enjoyed addition for the sake of rhyme.) Summers's forays into the history of *sensus communis* are not so successful when crossing into the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: politics and society have changed too dramatically, and his conservative tracing of the idiom of the arts breaks down.

Readers will be grateful for his meticulous survey of the vocabulary of Renaissance aesthetics but misled if they take literally the assertion of the editors that this work belongs in a series entitled "Ideas in Context." It has been ill-served in this regard, and the publisher has compounded the damage by miniaturizing the type. But small print and misleading label will not diminish the luster of this splendid intellectual venture.

MARVIN B. BECKER  
University of Michigan

ANDREW ROTHSTEIN. *Peter the Great and Marlborough: Politics and Diplomacy in Converging Wars*. New York: St. Martin's. 1986. Pp. xi, 247. \$27.50.

Andrew Rothstein's purpose is to relate the story of diplomacy between Russia and Great Britain when the Great Northern War and the War of the Spanish Succession were simultaneously waged. It was naturally advantageous to Peter the Great to have substantial allies in his struggle against Sweden, while it was equally important to the anti-French coalition to secure military support from German princes who might be distracted from that support by concern with events in the east. Great Britain's choices were complicated by party politics and by the short-lived Tory triumph that resulted in the Peace of Utrecht. Trade rivalry between Britain and the Dutch republic was another complication. Rothstein makes gratuitous references to the low standard of living of the British working classes. A tailpiece on Daniel Defoe startles by asserting that Robert Harley used the publicist successfully to help turn Peter's activities from west to east.

So special a topic will probably not appeal to the "educated general reader." For several reasons, Rothstein's work will also not attract the scholar. The author does not know the necessary literature. He refers often to old (though respected) writers such as J. G. Droysen (1879 and following years) and William Coxe (1820). He ignores F. Hausmann's volume *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder* (1950), and I do not find citations of original texts of treaties in Jean Dumont's great collection, *Corps universel du droit des gens* (1726–31), or in the recent *Consolidated Treaty Series*. He also reposes too great faith in the biased judgments of Winston Churchill in *Marlborough, His Life and Times* (1934). Moreover, there are errors and slips. Samuel Pufendorf's name is used but consistently misspelled (pp. 13–14). Philip V of Spain, a grandson of Louis XIV, becomes his son (p. 157). An "agreement" is mentioned on page 143, but I cannot make out which. To conclude, the index is so idiosyncratic and incomplete as to be useless.

GEORGE HILTON JONES  
Eastern Illinois University

MAURIZIO BAZZOLI. *Il pensiero politico dell'assolutismo illuminato*. (Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Milano, number 124; Sezione a cura dell'Istituto di storia medioevale e moderna, number 8.) Florence: Nuova Italia. 1986. Pp. xiii, 539. L. 52,300.

Armed with an astonishingly broad knowledge and wide reading of sources and secondary literature, Maurizio Bazzoli has set out on the unenviable task of discovering the political thought of enlightened absolutism. The quest is daunting because he first has to extract the elusive essence of enlightened absolutism, a category that has recently found many



detractors. Once he accepts its existence, which the author places in the period extending from the accession of Frederick II of Prussia in 1740 to the death of Emperor Joseph II in 1790, he is faced with the practical problem of the contradiction between the declared intentions of these sovereigns and their persistent subordination of the moral demands of the ideology they professed to the external law of *raison d'état*, on the one hand, and the more abstract problem that enlightened absolutism did not generate its own specific theory, on the other. Bazzoli, therefore, posits in the place of the latter the rationalistic natural law that had its roots back in the seventeenth century. But, taking his clue from the work of Leonard Krieger, he has to admit that this rationalist ideology batted on to enlightened despotism—as it could to other forms of government—rather than formed an integral part of it. In so doing, Bazzoli suggests, the end result was the Continental answer to the English Glorious Revolution of 1688, not, indeed, a constitutional monarchy but an absolute monarchy limited by the postulates of secular natural law and sanctioned by its pursuit of “public happiness.” This approach had the approval of such varied authorities as Montesquieu and Giacinto Sigismondo Gerdil, the apologist for papal power.

In his search for the roots of the natural law theory supporting enlightened absolutism, the author relies heavily on German thinkers. Rather than Thomas Hobbes, he credits Samuel Pufendorf with its origin. It was Pufendorf who most prominently imposed elements of limitation on the absolute will of the sovereign, taken partly from the contractual doctrine of Grotian origin and partly from the social and political reality of the German territories after the Peace of Westphalia. Unlike Grotius and Hobbes, Pufendorf also gave a prominent role to property as a conventional natural right antedating the creation of a political society. He, too, was the first to propound a direct relationship between religious toleration, *raison d'état*, and social utility. On Pufendorf's foundation, Christian Thomasius added the concept of “general happiness,” and Christian Wolff the image of the sovereign as the administrator of the public good, subject to the overriding authority of morality, an idea Frederick II further elaborated. The cameralists then distinguished between the personal power of the sovereign and the functions of the state as a bureaucratic organization. The only French thought Bazzoli consistently touches on is physiocracy, because it sought to put objective limits to the sovereign's power over the property, security, and liberty of his subjects. In Italy the more typical expression among the enlightened rulers was one of reforming paternalism, which only relatively absorbed the philosophy of the

secular natural law developed within the bounds of Protestant scholarship.

Bazzoli's book, thorough and exhaustive, might easily become a standard work on the topic, were it not that the fine line of his argumentation is so often broken up by the overpowering barrage of his erudition, leaving the reader confused.

HANNS GROSS  
Loyola University  
Chicago, Illinois

HARTMUT KAEUBLE. *Industrialisation and Social Inequality in 19th-Century Europe*. Translated by BRUCE LITTLE. New York: St. Martin's. 1986. Pp. 216.

The stated purpose of this book is to be a report on research that has been completed within the last few years on the relationship between industrialization and social inequality. Besides reporting on research, Hartmut Kaelble also indicates areas that should be more thoroughly investigated. Not surprisingly, some subdivisions under the subject of social inequality in the nineteenth century are difficult to do research in since there is frequently a paucity of relevant data. The research on which Kaelble is reporting is restricted mainly to England, France, and Germany. Moreover, much of the work is even more restricted, being in many cases studies of inequality in particular urban places or in specific regions.

Social inequality in Kaelble's terms mainly refers to the distribution within society of material and nonmaterial goods and services. Foremost of these is, of course, the traditional distribution of income and wealth. Did capitalistic societies have a decided tendency to greater disparities of wealth and income, as one might be led to think from the Marxian critique? There is little doubt that the standard of living rose in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Moreover, with the coming of the welfare state one should suspect that income dispersal would decrease. This seems to have been the case in the early twentieth century in Great Britain and Denmark but not so in some of the German states for which studies are available. One would have expected that inequalities would decrease in the Germany of Otto von Bismarck and his successors after the social laws were introduced. Overall, in the countries being reviewed, the distribution of incomes and wealth seems to have remained unchanged over the entire nineteenth century.

Besides income and wealth the author investigates studies that deal with other areas of inequality such as housing, working conditions, health and medical care, education, and the differences between social groups such as skilled and unskilled workers and white- and blue-collar workers. Consciously ex-

cluded from this report are questions of nationalism and regionalism, political inequality, elite and occupational groups, ethnic and cultural divisions, and religious and national minorities. These subjects come up from time to time but only on the periphery.

Kaelble raises the question whether social and economic inequality was the price that West European societies had to pay for industrialization. No good answer to this bothersome question is possible at this time and possibly ever.

There is little doubt that this report has been carried out in an excellent fashion. For any student of social inequality this book is required reading.

HERMAN FREUDENBERGER  
Tulane University

HARTMUT KAEUBLE. *Auf dem Weg zu einer europäischen Gesellschaft: Eine Sozialgeschichte Westeuropas 1880–1980.* (Arbeitsbücher: Sozialgeschichte und soziale Bewegung.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1987. Pp. 194. DM 32.

This is an extraordinary book that is not easy to classify, notwithstanding the clues given in the title. It is much less a "West European social history" of the last hundred years than a macropolitical (that is, using entire nations as units of analysis), diachronic comparative study of the changing social indicators of West European countries, the United States, and other non-European industrialized states—Canada, Australia, and sometimes Japan or the Soviet Union. And it aims at showing a convergence of West European societies only with respect to selected features: industrial production and employment structures, literacy and higher educational development, urbanization patterns, and the advanced welfare state. Although these four lines of convergence have indeed become much more parallel since 1900, Hartmut Kaelble also points to the remaining or newly emerging differences between European countries, such as gross national products, marriage rates and ages, patterns of female employment, birth and divorce rates, and the forms of labor conflicts.

The author is known mostly for his work on comparative industrialization and social inequality. He promises to develop this slender volume into a major social history of Western Europe in which he may well fill in the obvious gaps and answer many intriguing questions raised in this book. Here he traces the historical evolution of what he considers the characteristic West European social features—the small families, predominant industrial proletariat, family-run large businesses, slow social mobility and class barriers, quality of urban life, labor organization, and the welfare state—in contrast to the

overseas industrialized states, especially the United States. The differences are indeed striking, although the author generally avoids attempts to explain either the transcontinental or the inter-European disparities he notes, for example, between the European industrial core states and those on the Mediterranean or Atlantic periphery. Only occasionally do interpretative glimpses, such as about a possible link between persistent female role stereotypes and the greater intimacy of the European family, intrude on his arid, quantohistorical landscapes. The reader looks in vain for variables such as religion or Latin culture in their relation to inter-European variations although the author frequently raises intriguing comparisons with the differences found between the states and regions of the United States or of the Soviet Union. Even the profound significance of nationalisms and nation-state boundaries comes up only later, when Kaelble discusses the four lines of societal convergence in late twentieth-century Europe.

These converging features, moreover, are all in a state of crisis today as the limits to industrial growth and employment are impinging on the process of integration in Western Europe. Kaelble ends his disquisition with reflections on the trends and nature of social change and concludes, optimistically, that there is present today a "social integration of Europe" far beyond the European economic and political institutions and policies of integration. With appetites whetted by the hundreds of questions raised but not answered by this strikingly novel perspective, readers can only await the promised major work with eager anticipation.

PETER H. MERKL  
University of California,  
Santa Barbara

RISTO ROPPONEN. *Italien als Verbündeter: Die Einstellung der politischen und militärischen Führung Deutschlands und Österreich-Ungarns zu Italien von der Niederlage von Adua 1896 bis zum Ausbruch des Weltkrieges 1914.* Translated from Finnish by CHRISTIAN KRÖTZL. (Studia Historica, number 20.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1986. Pp. 244.

As a member of the Triple Alliance, Italy was the ally of Austria-Hungary and Germany from 1882 until the outbreak of World War I. But never was an alliance more plagued by doubt, ill feeling, and controversy. Much, but by no means all, of the debate centered on whether Italy could ever be a valuable and reliable ally. Relying chiefly on the reports and writings of Austro-Hungarian and German diplomats and officials, Risto Ropponen, a Finnish scholar, deals with this question by examining how the leadership of Austria-Hungary and

Germany viewed their Italian ally between 1896 and 1914.

The picture Ropponen reconstructs is not new. According to Austro-Hungarian and German officials, Italy had the rank and ambitions but neither the resources nor the capabilities of a great power. Italy's value as an ally was undermined by the nation's economic backwardness, limited natural and financial resources, inefficient manufacturing and transportation sectors, colonial involvement in Africa, and difficult-to-defend coastline, which combined to foster a strategic dependence on England. Along with the disorderly character of its people and government, these deficiencies limited the size, armament, and quality of Italy's armed forces, whose real strength, in any case, usually fell short of projected levels. Although Austro-Hungarian and German officials noted some improvements after the nadir years 1896–1900, their appraisal of Italy remained strongly negative: hence, the low regard with which Italian interests, opposition, and promises were held, even in July 1914.

Foreign appraisals of Italy have always been fraught with difficulty—in this case, the author's first Italian foray, more so than necessary. Narrow in focus, this book contains little analysis and often relies on German- and English-language secondary works. Largely for linguistic reasons—one suspects—almost no Italian sources were used, and, less excusably, some important Austrian and German archival collections were not consulted. Although the printing is of high quality, the German translation contains many careless errors and inconsistencies regarding especially the spelling of names, places, terms, and general vocabulary, the preparation of the index and footnote numerals, and, occasionally, the presentation of historical background.

Ropponen's book leaves many questions unanswered. One is left wondering why, for example, Field Marshal Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf and others were so obsessed with the Italian danger? Why was the German government surprised by Italy's neutrality in 1914, given its own recognition of Italy's dependence on English imports and friendship? Why did not German firms gain a greater share of the Italian armaments market? Did changes in the European balance have any effect on Italy's relative standing, especially after 1908? Had Italy ever been regarded as a valuable ally? Although there is some discussion of Italian leaders, disappointingly little, for example, is said about Giovanni Giolitti. Not much is said about Italy's differences with France in the Mediterranean and in the Balkans. Although a sober account, this book is less valuable than either Michael Behnen's *Rüstung, Bündnis, Sicherheit* (1985), which examines many of these questions and more, or even Ropponen's *Die Kraft Russlands* (1968) and *Die russische Gefahr* (1976),

in which Ropponen examines how Russia was viewed between 1905 and 1914.

ANTHONY DI IORIO  
Gettysburg College

ENRICA COSTA BONA. *Helsinki-Ginevra: Dicembre 1939–Marzo 1940; La guerra d'inverno e la società delle nazioni*. (Quaderni della Rivista "Il Politico", number 23.) Milan: A. Giuffrè for the Facoltà di Scienze Politiche dell'Università di Pavia. 1987. Pp. 261. L. 20,000.

In this solid study, based on extensive archival research in London, Paris, Vincennes, Rome, and Geneva and on published documents and many studies, Enrica Costa Bona throws new light on two old questions: how the League of Nations responded to Russia's aggression and Finland's relations with friends and neighbors during the Winter War of 1939–40. There is probably little more to be said until new secrets emerge from Nordic and Russian sources.

Following the Finns' rejection of Russian demands that were considered a threat to Finland's independent existence, Russia made war on November 30, 1939, and quickly created a puppet Communist government at Terijoki, which granted all Russian demands. Finland appealed to the League of Nations on December 3, not for Russian expulsion but for the end of fighting and resumption of negotiations. Russia refused to attend. France, Argentina, and other Latin American states took the lead in pressing for Russian expulsion, and Great Britain reluctantly went along. There were abstentions in both the assembly and the council to a resolution finding Russia the aggressor, urging member and nonmember nations to aid Finland through League sponsorship, and declaring that Russia was excluded.

The author adds many details about help to Finland but concludes that this aid was inadequate. It was a difficult and slow process to get help to Finland. Germany would not allow transit of help, but the author thinks that Germany secretly sent some arms to Finland (p. 117), a fact disputed by Marshal C. G. Mannerheim's *Memoirs*. Many nations wished to keep aid secret. Substantial aid came from individuals. Sweden and Norway walked a tightrope to supply help quietly but preserve their neutrality. Sweden sent more than half of the foreign volunteers, about eight thousand (p. 111), not the two hundred thousand mentioned in an apparent error (p. 57).

As sheer weight of numbers and equipment began to threaten Finland with collapse and all early attempts to secure mediation by Germany or other nations failed, Finland faced an awesome dilemma:

either to make peace on increasingly harsh terms as desired by Sweden and Norway or to request a large-scale Anglo-French military intervention by March 5, later extended to March 12, which was designed not only to help Finland and keep Russian attention away from the Balkans but also to cut off Swedish iron ore from Germany. When it became clear that Norway and Sweden would oppose transit and that it would be impossible for Finland to receive fifty thousand new fighting men and one hundred bombers in time, Finland, having started negotiations with Russia aided by Swedish mediation, concluded the harsh Peace of Moscow on March 12, 1940. Russia won nearly 10 percent of Finland, increasing the borders of Peter the Great, and a lease of the Hanko area. New homes had to be found for about 12 percent of the Finnish population. The seeds for new struggles had been sown.

WILLIAM C. ASKEW  
Colgate University

WENDY GRISWOLD. *Renaissance Revivals: City Comedy and Revenge Tragedy in the London Theatre, 1576–1980*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1986. Pp. ix, 288. \$24.95.

In this book Wendy Griswold enters the contiguous fields of literary criticism, theater history, social history, and sociology of culture. Focusing on two dramatic forms, she tries to account for their emergence during the Elizabethan-Jacobean period and then for their subsequent favor or disfavor as indicated by London stage revivals from the Restoration to 1980. The result is an interesting, if not wholly persuasive, study in theatrical taste.

The fact that "city comedy" and "revenge tragedy" are terms coined by twentieth-century critics does not deter Griswold from culling examples (thirteen and sixteen, respectively) that share characteristics she attributes to each genre. With a London setting, socially heterogeneous characters, and an emphasis on the use of trickery and money in pursuit of social mobility, city comedy exudes cynicism and moral ambiguity. Its original appeal derived from topical references to London, the archetypal trickster figure, and its affirmation of the existing social order despite attacks by impoverishment or ambition. By contrast, revenge tragedy requires a courtly setting, where private vengeance spurs an action characterized by violence, sexuality, deceit, supernatural elements, the revenger's death, and a final restoration of order. The appeal of such drama stemmed from its topical relevance to Catholic threats against England's political and religious stability, from the archetypal fascination with horror, and from aesthetic (if unrealistic) reassurances

that corruption and lawlessness would be replaced by justice and order.

Why should such plays as *The Alchemist* or *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, *Titus Andronicus* or *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* find their way back to the stage in some periods and not in others? According to *Renaissance Revivals*, the answer to that question involves the composition of the audience, size of the theater, competing forms of entertainment, preferences of managers or performers, presence or absence of outside subsidies, and extent of other Renaissance revivals. Considering such factors, Griswold alleges that city comedies achieved popularity with the middle class and aristocracy in the eighteenth-century theater because they meshed with the spectators' social concerns. Similarly, the attraction of revenge tragedy in the 1960s sprang from playgoers' contradictory fears and disillusion. The last chapter's lists of external factors influencing revivals, together with a discussion of the "elegant" solutions to dramatic and political problems offered by these genres, constitute the book's most sophisticated analysis.

Specialists in various fields will read this work with alternating interest and irritation. For literary critics the precise discrimination between Senecan tragedy and revenge tragedy is as shrewd as Griswold's explanation of charts is tedious. For theater historians statistical records of revivals will be useful, but the failure to specify the length of each revival misleadingly conflates one-time performances with box-office successes. Social historians will see many ways in which theatrical activity fitted into the milieu of different periods besides the oversimple explanations the author offers for theatrical taste. And sociologists of culture might wish to refine Griswold's "cultural diamond" as a tool for analyzing "cultural objects." Having used a similar schema for some fifteen years, I would strongly recommend placing the "object" at the diamond's center, with the aesthetic milieu as its fourth point. Actually, this milieu, including the various sources, contiguous literary forms, traditions, and so on in the "cultural archives," forms a continuing referent of interpretation for Griswold, even though such aspects are nowhere represented on her diagram (p. 8). Moreover, a central position for the object of study delineates relationships more clearly—from the artist through his creation to his audience (or vice versa), from aesthetic context through the particular work or genre to the social milieu (or vice versa).

On other matters it is distressing to see an intelligent researcher lapse into careless generalities about Puritanism, the Shoreditch area of London, and James Burbage on the very first page. Similarly, Griswold relies on Lawrence Stone without reference to his detractors. And her book is dotted with misspellings: "Legatt" for "Leggatt," "Fitzdotteral,"



"wlth," "quandry," "momento vindicti," "welcome" for "unwelcome." What else goes unchecked?

ANN JENNALIE COOK  
Vanderbilt University

DIARMAID MACCULLOCH. *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County, 1500–1600*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1986. Pp. xxi, 454. \$66.00.

In a lovingly detailed study Diarmaid MacCulloch has set out to describe the alterations wrought by Tudor government and religious reform in sixteenth-century Suffolk. Patterning his work on the earlier model of A. Hassell Smith in *County and Court: Government and Politics in Norfolk, 1558–1603* (1974), MacCulloch has pointed out the important similarities and significant differences between the two counties of East Anglia. By reading both books, students will come away with an unparalleled portrait of the ruling elite in a region deeply influenced by the Reformation.

MacCulloch has used every conceivable source at both the local and national level. Despite a paucity of private papers and the lack of quarter sessions and assizes records, he is able to convincingly demonstrate his major themes and to present an exhaustive tabular picture of the personnel and workings of the Commissions of the Peace in appendixes 1 to 3.

The author contends that the most significant political change in the Tudor century was the disappearance of the power of the great nobles from the affairs of East Anglia. First the earl of Oxford and then the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk lost their role in governing. They were replaced in Suffolk by an "oligarchy of Puritan minded gentry" (p. 338) who preferred to conduct matters themselves with little advice from central authorities on either ecclesiastical or secular issues.

After the Marian interlude, a common identity was forged among the bulk of gentlemen in Suffolk because of a shared Protestant enthusiasm. MacCulloch convincingly argues that such men had fewer and fewer contacts at court and were less and less controllable. In the past the great nobles had provided a linkage with the crown that was rapidly disappearing. An attempt to provide more supervision in the era of Bishop Edmund Freke was a well-documented fiasco. His departure was a divide leading to the definitive emergence of the influence of Protestant gentry. The politically loyal, often Catholic, conservative forces in Suffolk were in no position to halt the spread of Puritan influence.

Regardless of religious proclivities, the landed classes were universally desirous of order and thus were willing to accept the Anglican Settlement in return for the national government's acquiescence

in their control of county politics. In the later years of Elizabeth's reign, such an agreement permitted Suffolk to be an exceptionally unified and well-governed county. In contrast earlier in the century there had been a series of riots and rebellions that had successfully opposed the Amicable Grant in 1525 and placed Princess Mary on the throne in 1553. The author convincingly contends these were part of a recurring pattern of popular disturbances that were closely related and extended over the period 1525–70. The leadership for these uprisings came from the yeomen, usually in areas without resident gentry. By the late 1560s an increasingly literate and cautious yeomanry identified more with their social superiors than with those below. They were no longer willing to risk violence and shifted their public activity to zealous Puritanism, the law courts, and, increasingly, participation in parliamentary elections.

MacCulloch has provided the kind of specific examples that allow readers to understand the transformation of sixteenth-century Suffolk. He also contributes a cautionary tale to those who would risk broad generalizations without taking into account local variations. Even when compared to Hassell Smith's view of Norfolk, it becomes evident that each county community took a unique path in adapting to the new society that the Reformation initiated in Tudor England.

JOEL BERLATSKY  
Wilkes College

R. MALCOLM SMUTS. *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1987. Pp. xiv, 322. \$34.95.

The sharpest feature of this book is that it takes poetry, pictures, and architecture seriously by seeing these as major items of historical testimony. Thus, court masques were politics. Van Dyck's pictures articulated a new cosmopolitan outlook in and around the Caroline court. Ben Jonson's verse fashioned a powerful neoclassical vocabulary, which was to have enormous appeal—and a resonant ideological subtext—for the elite of the early Stuart court. Inigo Jones's Whitehall Banqueting House addressed an influential coterie of connoisseurs. Even dress, in the French and Spanish styles, belonged to a semiotics of politics.

This brazen but refreshing regard for high culture cuts against the current passion for popular culture. Historians have almost come to believe that to study privileged culture is old fashioned, when indeed "old fashioned" describes the way we have studied it. Suffice it to observe that we have yet to compile a historical ethnography of the everyday



life of the European upper classes, a task that would require the minute charting of their cultural pursuits.

R. Malcolm Smuts's book is a cultural history of the royal court from the 1590s to the 1640s. The early chapters consider certain traits of the Elizabethan court, the ineptitude of Stuart policies, London's expansion as a center of consumption, and the relative heterogeneity of taste down to about 1620. Chapter 4, "Classical Culture and Moral Reform," examines court life itself, the penchant for satire, and Jonson as a cultural model. Two chapters follow on the emerging English interest in Continental art. These pages treat the leading collectors of the period, the Covent Garden *piazza*, and Elizabethan taste as a foil for the more sophisticated palate of the Stuart cognoscenti. Chapter 7, a mixed bag, is about generational differences, the new prestige of art by the 1620s, the social functions of literature, female influence at the court of Charles I, and links between Cavalier verse and the court. The book concludes with chapters on the religion of the Caroline court, the ensuing controversy, and the royalist politics of poetry and spectacle at court.

Moving over a minefield of specialists and contrasting disciplines, the author must rely heavily on recent scholarship, so that much in his narrative is not new. The freshness, rather, is in his distillation of history from poetry and pictures. Fresh also are his pages on the "jelling" of royalist culture after 1625 and on Charles I's keen interest in art, masques, and architectural projects.

Altogether, then, this is an engaging and sensitive study. But the achievement does not escape querying. Given the politics of masques, why was their audience so sharply restricted to the royal entourage, and what does this say about the court's mental world? Why are we told nothing about London as the heart of the book trade? Should not the matter of language have been broached: the question, say, of a Puritan and parliamentary way of speech versus the language of the court, of its masques, poetry, and letters? Are Jonson, Jones, and Van Dyck made to carry too much weight in the central chapters, where, in tracking a courtly consciousness, the analysis calls for more scope and balance? The delineation of a culture is at once a social and a psychological inquiry, and, in this labor, we should perhaps be leery of outstanding artistic personalities.

LAURO MARTINES  
University of California,  
Los Angeles

JOHN MORGAN. *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes toward Reason, Learning, and Education, 1560–1640*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1986. Pp. x, 366. \$49.50.

Despite occasional doubts, most scholars have been prepared to accept the possibility of some sort of causal relationship between the rise of Protestantism and the rise of rationalism. Although the precise details of that relationship vary from writer to writer, the form most commonly postulated has been the linkage of Puritanism to science. John Morgan launched an assault on that commonplace in an article published in 1979 and now has broadened the subject under attack to include the entire world of learning. His intent is "the elucidation of intellectual attitudes," by examining the writings of large numbers of Puritans in the years before the revolution.

Almost inevitably, considering the confused state of Puritan studies today, Morgan begins with definitions. His Puritans may be recognized by the fervency of their beliefs, by their very active faith expressed in the household as well as the school and pulpit, and by their calls for drastic reform within the Established Church. Like those of most members of the Church of England, their views were largely Calvinist. Convinced that God's plans for human salvation were incomprehensible to our fallen reason, they turned instead to the nonrational, to faith, to what Morgan calls "enthusiasm." Unlike many of their coreligionists, however, they sought assurance of salvation in such exemplifications of their faith as sabbatarianism and in such doctrines as covenant theology. More critically, however, these Puritans turned against the misuse of reason. They recognized that human reason had a place in the secular world, even in the study of Scripture, but denied it any role in the more important pursuit of salvation. And, because reason was prone to try to expand its role into the world of soteriology, the unchecked use of reason could actually harm the Puritan. Morgan does not go so far as to say that the Puritans had no interest in secular learning, but he does argue at considerable length that grace, good living, and the like counted for more in what really mattered: preparing oneself for the possible advent of God's grace.

That argument takes up the first quarter of Morgan's book; in the remainder he examines the ramifications of this Puritan view. First, he looks at the role and status of ministers, at the learning necessary for a preacher, and at how such learning could most usefully be deployed. Morgan argues that, although Puritans did, of course, believe in a highly educated ministry, they valued more the minister's ability to convert his auditory. The minister cooperated with the head of the godly household and with the schoolmaster, and all had their links with the universities. Each of these, and the institutions with which they were associated, comes within Morgan's purview, always with the same conclusion: reason mattered but not as much as one might think; the

Puritans wanted some reform but relatively little. And, since Morgan believes that his scholarly predecessors in these matters erred by selective quotation from only a few authors, he brings forth an enormous weight of citation from an array of sources—and writes a book that is a good deal longer than it need be.

There is something curiously unsatisfying in all this. Morgan himself admits that the situation changed abruptly after 1640, although it remains unclear to me why the shift should have been so rapid. The attempt to display the wide variety of Puritan opinion by massive citation runs afoul of a constantly shifting definition of Puritanism. Further, I am not certain that sheer numbers matter; Morgan's predecessors, who concentrated on the important figures, those with the most influence, may have had a point after all.

F. J. LEVY

*University of Washington*

JOHN VON ROHR. *The Covenant of Grace in Puritan Thought*. (American Academy of Religion Studies in Religion, number 45.) Atlanta: Scholars. 1986. Pp. ix, 226. Cloth \$18.95, paper \$13.95.

The idea of a covenant between God and humanity, which offers salvation in return for obedience to divine will, is an important theme in the Judeo-Christian tradition. In both the Old and New Testaments, there are several references to God's covenant with Adam before the Fall, with the nation of Israel, and with Christ on behalf of his followers. But, in seventeenth-century English Puritanism, speculation about the covenant became, to use Perry Miller's apt phrase, the marrow of Puritan divinity, the conceptual key to Puritan thought on an immense variety of doctrinal and pastoral issues.

Over the last two decades, several books and many articles have been written on Puritan covenant theology. John von Rohr's book provides what is now the most comprehensive description of this theology. The central topics of interest include the many doctrinal implications of the covenant, such as its relation to predestination and to the *ordo salutis*, the nature of the calling, justification, and sanctification. Von Rohr also discusses doctrinal disputes between proponents of Antinomianism, Arminianism, and Puritan orthodoxy. Pastoral issues also received a Puritan formulation in terms of the covenant, and von Rohr shows how elements of assurance and initiative were conveyed by this theology to the laity. This was crucial to the spread of Puritanism, for predestinarian thought could easily lead the laity to complacency or despair, undermining the spiritual discipline that the clerics sought to instill.

Throughout the book von Rohr argues that in the idea of the covenant Puritan writers found a way to affirm their belief in predestination while maintaining a place for individual initiative in religion. Without the latter, the evangelical ambitions of Puritanism would have been stillborn. Contrasting dimensions of determinism and voluntarism—predestination and piety, divine sovereignty and human freedom—characterize the covenant theology that represented the reception and development of Calvinism in England. On this latter point, von Rohr follows other scholars who argue that Puritan covenant theology was not a radical innovation, as Miller suggested it was, but an extension of biblical precedents and of the ideas of Swiss and German reform writers. Von Rohr, however, expresses skepticism toward the claims of some scholars that different aspects of Puritan covenant theology can be traced directly to different Continental traditions, apportioning part of it to a Calvinist tradition and part to a different tradition begun by Ulrich Zwingli in Zurich.

One of the book's great strengths is the discussion of subtle differences in Puritan views of the covenant. Von Rohr's familiarity with the logic and rhetoric of Puritan theology enables him to describe the somewhat divergent opinions held by Puritan clerics on predestination, the role of human agency, and the psychology of regeneration. This accomplishment illustrates some more general features of the book as a careful, thorough, and well-documented piece of scholarship. Its only weakness is its limited scope, imposed by the practice of a purely intellectual history that does not seek to relate ideas to their institutional and social contexts. For example, Puritan animosity toward Antinomianism may well have been linked to clerical apprehension over the weakened authority of clerics implicit in the doctrine of free grace. But this complaint does not lessen the book's virtues, which will probably establish it as an authoritative account of Puritan covenant theology.

DAVID ZARET

*Indiana University*

TAI LIU. *Puritan London: A Study of Religion and Society in the City Parishes*. Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses, for University of Delaware Press, Newark, Del. 1986. Pp. 259. \$38.50.

The crucial role of London elites and London mobs in the opening stages of the English revolution is well known. That London resources, both fiscal and military, prevented the early defeat and enabled the ultimate victory of the Parliamentary forces is not disputed. The growing disillusionment with the fruits of victory and the fear of sectarianism and the

New Model Army that led to a revolution in the Presbyterian City have been scrutinized by Valerie Pearl and others. What has hitherto received little attention is the effect of these revolutionary events on the parochial church in London, and this neglected field is the subject of Tai Liu's modest but pioneering study.

An initial chapter surveying what little is known about the socioeconomic status of all 110 parishes is followed by chapters on the very limited success achieved by the various classes that composed the London Presbyterian province, on the part played by the minority of Independents in City cures, and on the expulsion of the "malignant" clergy in the early 1640s and the return of a handful of Anglican clergy to London pulpits in the 1650s. These are followed by two brief but illuminating chapters on the new relations of clergy to City vestries and on the continued role of the parish as a civic institution. The first of these notes how elections and contractual arrangements, formerly employed in hiring and financing lecturers, now came to replace traditional presentations and the primary dependence of parochial clergy on tithe income. In the second Liu notes how large a measure of continuity London parishes displayed as civic institutions and the responsible role played in vestry business by Independents as well as Presbyterian laymen.

For all the obvious merits of this careful study, it is ultimately disappointing, not because Liu asks uninteresting questions but rather because his sources do not permit clear answers. Partly because there was little social segregation in London and partly because the social structure of most parishes was so complex, Liu can do little to relate socioeconomic factors to the religious complexion of the parish. Obviously, where the living was too poor to support a settled ministry, it was difficult to establish an effective Presbyterian system, but why the parish of St. Gregory's, which had a substantial community of rich tradespeople and a number of active Puritan Parliamentarians among its parish leadership, should have become a "well-known center of the Anglican clergymen in London" is never made clear, for the parochial records are silent on that score (p. 40). Most London parishes, even the smallest, had a mixture of merchants, tradespeople, artisans, and laborers. To point, then, to the "diversified social composition" of Allhallows the Great does little to explain why its pulpit was monopolized by Fifth Monarchy preachers in the early 1650s (p. 41).

The difficulty here is with our sources. Vestry minutes and church wardens' accounts tell us what happened but rarely why. "Presbyterian" and "Independent" carry relatively precise meanings when attached to clergymen in these years, but what such labels meant to London vestrymen is much less clear. City vestries proved relatively impervious to

Laudianism in the 1630s; Liu shows that they remained relatively impervious even to the shifts and changes of the 1640s and 1650s. Not the least merit of this study is to show us how little we really know about the motives and intentions of even the elite of London citizenry during these decades.

PAUL SEAVER

Stanford University

LLOYD BONFIELD. *Marriage Settlements, 1601–1740: The Adoption of the Strict Settlement*. (Cambridge Studies in English Legal History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xviii, 136. \$34.50.

According to its introduction, this book focuses on "developments in the mechanics of marriage settlements" (p. xiii). Most of the book is indeed a detailed review of the forms of settlement that from time to time developed as the law on future interests took shape. Lloyd Bonfield also charts the appearance and acceptance of the ultimate form, the strict settlement.

Bonfield ventures beyond legal mechanics, however, to discuss the social and economic effects of the strict settlement. It is this subject that his conclusions pertain to, and this is the main part of his book. Here he takes up a subject that has much concerned historians, one that is currently surrounded by controversy. The question is whether settlement reinforced primogeniture or whether it increased equality in the family. Bonfield argues the latter case. He finds that portions for younger children rose, that widows were a heavy charge on estates, and even that patrilineal descent became less emphasized.

The evidence presented fails to substantiate these claims. To prove that settlement increased younger children's portions, one must compare portions about 1700 with portions later on. (Only about 1700, as Bonfield shows, did settlement become the vehicle for younger children's portions.) Bonfield attempts no comparison. Indeed, he gives but one example of portions, discussing only whether the sums were "reasonable" (p. 116). The argument about jointures runs that widows outlived husbands for long periods—twelve to sixteen years—receiving all that while 10 percent on the portions they had brought their husbands on marriage. These figures actually prove that women had come to pay for their own jointures.

Finally, if the patrilineal principle ever declined among landowners it must have been in spite of the strict settlement. Settlement provided the very means of ensuring the descent of estates in the patriline, something that titled landowners at least desired. It provided the means of limiting in advance the interest of the daughter where there was no son, she who was the natural threat to the

patriline and who was in common law the heir. Limiting such a daughter to a portion determined before her birth and sending the bulk of the estate to a collateral male were what Orlando Bridgeman's precedents were all about. Bonfield is oblivious to the problem that the common law rights of daughters posed for landowners. Not only does he never mention it but he evidently misunderstands who the heir at law was. Daughters who succeed to estates, he believes, "disinherit the collateral heir male" (p. 50). He has missed the mainspring of the strict settlement.

Bonfield demonstrates expert knowledge of the doctrine of future interests and its development. He presents valuable data on the spread of the strict settlement and on when it became responsible for younger children's portions, on when it became, in other words, a comprehensive estate planning device. He has things to say about its inventors. He points out its inefficiency judged strictly as entail, although he is not the first to have done this. Nevertheless, he is mistaken on fundamental matters, even about the form of a strict settlement, which he describes simplistically, unaware settlements reduced collaterals to life tenancies so far as they could. Above all, missing the mainspring of strict settlement, he lacks insight into its social meaning.

EILEEN SPRING  
Baltimore, Maryland

ROBIN F. A. FABEL. *Bombast and Broadides: The Lives of George Johnstone*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1987. Pp. 249. \$20.50.

Students of the American revolution are aware of the Scotsman, George Johnstone, who was appointed royal governor of West Florida following the Seven Years' War. Governor Johnstone has been identified as an irascible, combative personality, whose activities as chief executive of that colony remind one of a character in a Gilbert and Sullivan opera. Johnstone remained a shadowy historical figure, however, until the publication of this biography, which explains his personality as it relates to a multifaceted career.

Johnstone was a junior naval officer until 1763 and developed a reputation for achievement that was marred by brawling and unwarranted language. Because of Scottish contacts, he was appointed civil governor of West Florida but tangled with military and naval commanders over questions of authority and was relieved after two years. Back in England Johnstone sharpened his powers of oratory while protecting his brother's interest in the British East India Company. He also found a parliamentary patron in the person of Sir James Lowther.

Johnstone became a parliamentary spokesman against the government and even fought a duel with Lord George Germain. He became an early champion of American rights within the empire and developed a high profile in Parliament by use of hyperbole and invective against prevailing crown policy. A pragmatist, Johnstone agreed to serve as part of the Carlisle Peace Commission of 1778, which offered "home rule" to the Americans, but, because of negative personal diplomatic efforts, he left his fellow commissioners and returned to a seat in Parliament. Despite public remonstrances against Lord North's ministry, Johnstone became an apostate and joined the government possibly because of material reward and because he did not favor complete independence for the Americans. Valuable for his high political profile and successful relationship with the navy, Johnstone was employed to gain convoy and intelligence information before being dispatched to sea duty in 1781. In subsequent naval actions at La Praya, Santiago, and Saldanha, Johnstone enjoyed mixed results. Later active in politics until 1787, Johnstone died in that year at age fifty-seven from symptoms that resembled Hodgkin's disease.

This volume is an effective and balanced biography, which represents enormous original research in sources in North America, Europe, South Africa, and the West Indies. Robin F. A. Fabel is to be commended for weaving together in beautiful prose the study of a man possessed of mercurial temperament whose rhetoric as a member of His Majesty's opposition was perhaps his outstanding contribution to contemporary British imperial politics.

JOHN D. BORN, JR.  
Wichita State University

SEYMOUR DRESCHER. *Capitalism and AntiSlavery: British Mobilization in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1986. Pp. xv, 300. \$19.95.

Skeptically inclined historians from Eric Williams to David B. Davis have found it difficult to accept at face value the "philanthropic" motives avowed by British advocates of the abolition of the colonial slave trade and later of slavery itself. Some have instead suggested that market problems and narrow economic interests had much to do with persuading Parliament to take those momentous steps. (Some of the broader implications of this question were the subject of a special "forum" in the October 1987 *AHR*.) Seymour Drescher finds most of these modern alternative explanations unconvincing, particularly for the years leading up to the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. In his *Econocide* (1977) he showed that the British West Indian sugar economy was quite prosperous down to the end of the slave



trade and in no way benefited from abolition. In his new book he looks more closely at the abolition movement itself and questions some widely accepted allegations about its economic and social roots.

Drescher here argues that the movement has not been fully understood because too much attention has been paid to the London press, Parliament, and the national leadership of the cause and too little attention to its provincial support. For him the real start of antislavery as a political force came in 1788–92 with the petitioning activity begun in Manchester and taken up in most of the significant manufacturing towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire. Its dynamism was complex, for it was one of the few movements of the age in which secular radicals and the religiously inspired could work together. Its religious support was interdenominational (linking, in particular, evangelical Anglicans and Methodists), and its social support heterogeneous and popular. At no stage, Drescher argues, can this broad movement be understood as a class strategy of the *grands bourgeois*. He emphasizes in particular the numerically strong support from northern artisans from 1788. Their involvement cannot be explained away by reference to a “false consciousness” distracting attention from other causes of more immediate concern to the working and lower middle classes. In the northern districts most active in the petitioning movement, he finds much the same people supporting antislavery, parliamentary reform, and factory legislation. Antislavery was thus part of a wider popular protest against the perceived inequities of *ancien régime* Britain.

Drescher's new book is really a collection of essays on key problems in the historiography of antislavery. It is strongest on the period before 1815. He has mastered the vast literature on the movement and has added significant research of his own on points in dispute. To this scholarship he adds a probing critical sense that can raise fundamental thematic and interpretive questions. Unfortunately, the book was rather meanly produced by its original publishers, and its voluminous footnotes are hard to find. Nevertheless, the research and reflection that went into it should make this book compulsory reading for years to come for all interested in the wider perspectives of antislavery.

JACOB M. PRICE  
*University of Michigan*

JOHN KNOTT. *Popular Opposition to the 1834 Poor Law*. New York: St. Martin's. 1986. Pp. 284. \$25.00.

John Knott's study of the popular opposition to the New Poor Law of 1834 seeks to defend the working

class from the charge that its resistance was an ill-considered, hysterical reaction based on little more than fear and rumor. Scholars such as Michael Rose and Nicholas Edsall come in for some hard knocks for their allegedly patronizing tone toward the law's opponents. Knott vividly describes the negative impact of the new law on working-class communities and makes a strong case that opposition leaders were from the outset able to articulate a coherent and sophisticated counterethos based on the principles of “moral economy.”

The eruption in key northern textile and mining districts of mass demonstrations, intimidation, and violence are interpreted not as a blind lashing out but as a rational arsenal of strategies fashioned by men and women who understood all too well the disastrous impact the workhouse system would have on their lives. Moreover, these strategies, operating in harness with a selective participation in local poor law politics, are shown to have had considerable success in forcing Parliament and the Poor Law commissioners to mitigate the rigors of the law. For Knott a corollary to the opposition's effectiveness is its decisive influence on the development and character of Chartism. The author asserts that, far from being swallowed up by the agitation for the People's Charter, the anti-Poor Law movement created Chartism and continued to provide its driving force and vital spirit through the 1840s.

It would be gratifying to be able to conclude this review on an approving note, but Knott's uncredited appropriation of the work of other scholars makes this impossible. The principal victim is Ruth Richardson, significant portions of whose article, “A Dissection of the Anatomy Act” (*Studies in Labour History* 1 [1976]: 1–15), have been used by Knott without any acknowledgment of her scholarly priority. Cosmetic alterations of certain words and phrases do not succeed in masking his wholesale borrowing of the sum and substance of Richardson's work. A tribunal to investigate this matter was appointed by Australian National University, where Knott teaches. In its final report, the tribunal, while recognizing that a “section of Dr. Knott's book . . . substantially reproduces without appropriate acknowledgement, Dr. Richardson's work,” calls this simply a “seriously inadequate scholarly procedure and discourtesy.” A shorter and less euphemistic characterization is surely in order here—one that even beginning undergraduates are warned about and held accountable for.

My own work, *The Making of the New Poor Law* (1978), has not gone entirely unnoticed by Knott. There are, for example, interesting similarities in Knott, page 110, and Brundage, page 95. Other poor law scholars may wish to read Knott's book



with particular care, being ever on the lookout for strikingly familiar passages.

ANTHONY BRUNDAGE  
California State Polytechnic University

D. D. DEVLIN. *The Novels and Journals of Fanny Burney*. New York: St. Martin's. 1987. Pp. viii, 118. \$27.50.

The emergence of feminist literary criticism has led to a renewed interest in the novels and other writings of Fanny Burney (1752–1840). D. D. Devlin's brief analysis of Burney's literary works is a useful addition to this growing corpus. Devlin's stated purpose is to demonstrate that in evaluating Burney's novels one should remember that "the dates of her novels are important." Behind that simple statement lies a more profound design. Burney's earlier biographers tended to dismiss her later works as heavy and tendentious, unworthy successors to the delightful *Evelina* and the perceptive *Cecilia*. More recently, some scholars have seen them as prototypical feminist criticism of women's powerlessness, while others have rejected this reading, insisting that she was simply writing in the romantic genre, which required the protagonist, male or female, to undergo trials, disasters, and dangers.

Devlin offers a different reading and one that appeals to the historian. He relates the novels to the journals, seeing Burney first as a preeminent journal writer, an observer and recorder of people and events. The events in her novels are often taken from her journals, which are in themselves conscious literary works. Moreover, historical events shape the novels. Burney's two final works, *Camilla* and *The Wanderer*, were written after the French revolution, the latter during her ten-year exile in Napoleonic France. In the most original chapter, "Radical and Conservative," Devlin traces the impact of these events on the writings of Burney and two other women, Hannah More and Mary Wollstonecraft. The similarities he finds enrich our understanding and appreciation of these two often ignored works. He does indeed show that the dates of her novels are important.

JEAN E. HUNTER  
Duchesne University

ROBERT M. YOUNG. *Darwin's Metaphor: Nature's Place in Victorian Culture*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1985. Pp. xvii, 341. Cloth \$44.50, paper \$15.95.

In presenting this collection of his essays, Robert M. Young seems determined to put us off. After teaching at Cambridge in the late 1960s, he tells us, he

quit the academy in disgust at its "corruption, opportunism, and hypocrisy." One reason for publishing at this time is "to make some money." More recent scholarship requires little or no comment: he "still thinks well" of his essays and has not read "anything" to make him "feel that they have been significantly superseded" (p. x). In a preface and postscripts, he lectures tendentiously on the ideological corruption of modern science.

Yet, for all this, Young has been a remarkably energizing force within Darwin studies. Among his best-known pieces gathered here are "Malthus and the Evolutionists" (1969), "The Impact of Darwin on Conventional Thought" (1970), and "Darwin's Metaphor: Does Nature Select?" (1971). Other essays deal with the place of psychology in debates over evolution and the breakdown of the "common context" of natural theology in late Victorian periodicals. A lengthy, diffuse, and sometimes sour survey of the ideological implications of the historiographical debate over the place of human beings in nature provides, among other things, an interesting glimpse into Young's own intellectual development. All previously published, these essays deserve the rereading that this handsomely produced edition makes possible.

Young's central thesis is that Darwinism was an integral part of a wider movement in psychology, social theory, and science and cannot be studied in isolation from this "common context." From this perspective, several conclusions follow. Far from undermining religion, Darwin contributed to the nineteenth-century debate over natural theology. The theory of natural selection, although providing a mechanism to explain evolution, was finally more effective in confirming belief in the uniformity of nature. Moreover, Darwin's work was so thoroughly saturated with the rhetoric and imagery of British political economy, Malthus in particular, that it is pointless to distinguish Darwinism from its social implications, Young's particular target being the efforts of Marx and Engels to distance Darwin from Malthus. Finally, the internalist claim that science is ideologically neutral is historically unsupportable and politically dangerous.

Young's virtues as a historian lie as much in his methods as in his often brilliant insights. The title essay, in particular, is a model of the close reading of a wide range of texts. Because Darwinism developed in a "common context," secondary figures command as serious attention as do major ones. If the insistence on the social context of scientific discovery seems somewhat dated, this fact owes a great deal to Young's pioneering efforts.

Yet these same virtues have their defects. Close attention to text often translates into lengthy quotation of passages from primary works without sufficient explication. Copious examples illustrate dif-

ferent responses to Malthus, for example. But these instances do not tell us enough about how Darwin differed from Malthus (as, for example, Peter Bowler and others have explained) nor how Darwin's incorporation of Malthus affected subsequent debates in social theory. Debates concerning Social Darwinism cannot be dismissed (as Young here implies and since has stated explicitly) simply by maintaining that Darwinism was social. For all his insistence on social context, moreover, Young addresses the issue at the level of ideas rather than of institutions and professionalization. There thus remains a gap between his evidence and his demand that science "be viewed in the context of our lives and of contending class forces" (p. 247).

A useful bibliography reveals that Young's departure from academia has not ended his interest in Darwin studies. One hopes that the response to this volume will encourage him to come more systematically to grips with this newer scholarship.

ROBERT C. BANNISTER  
Swarthmore College

PHILIPPA LEVINE. *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians, and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838–1886*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1986. Pp. x, 210. \$39.50.

"Antiquarian" is among the most damning epithets in the professional historian's vocabulary, worse even than "amateur." That this is so betrays a considerable feat of disciplinary amnesia. Like some embarrassingly uncouth ancestor, the antiquarian tends to be excluded from the noble genealogy of professional historians. This is ironic, since one of the main pillars of the latter's self-image—the historian as researcher—rests on the antiquarian legacy. It is also confusing, since the antiquarian legacy is also the amateur legacy, for, contrary to what some present-day historians believe, the professional tradition in history is the literary tradition. Until fairly recently to make a living as a historian meant writing books that the general public would buy, not burrowing deeply into original sources.

Philippa Levine's valuable book does something to restore the antiquarians to their proper place in English historiography by examining the period between 1838, when the Public Record Act was passed, and 1886, when the *English Historical Review* first appeared. This was the heyday of the county archaeological and historical societies—some forty-nine were founded during the period—which mobilized popular enthusiasm for recovering the past by linking it with local pride. The modern archaeological profession has been more willing to acknowledge this common legacy. It is still more comfortable accommodating amateur enthusiasm than is the

historical profession. Yet historians did not hesitate to take advantage of the antiquarian contribution. E. A. Freeman, who once wished that history had more technical terms "to frighten away fools," refused to use manuscript sources, relying instead on printed versions transcribed and edited by scholars belonging to the antiquarian tradition. In a letter to his great friend Freeman, J. R. Green, who was scornful of antiquarian activities, confessed that he did not dare tell the assistant keeper at the Public Record Office "the worst of the matter, namely that I had never seen a 'roll' or read a manuscript in my life." Freeman and Green were both firmly in the mainstream literary tradition of historiography. Levine gives some much needed attention to a sector of the historical profession whose neglect may owe something to its identification with the antiquarian tradition. These are the proliferating curators, archivists, and clerks called into existence by the Victorian state slowly coming to acknowledge its responsibilities for preserving and making accessible its own records and those of the growing number of families willing to entrust their papers to its care.

We are on more familiar ground when Levine deals with the universities, which during this period were asserting their claim to be the central institution of the historical profession. But it is interesting to learn that almost all of the Cambridge History Tripos examination questions, even under the regime of J. R. Seeley, "began with a command: 'describe,' 'state,' 'write the history of.'" And it goes without saying that the questions concerned high politics, although an examiner at King's College London asked for Shakespeare's view of the Plantagenets. Today's populist social historians might contemplate their affinity with the unnamed antiquarian who "wearied and disgusted" the snobish J. R. Planché with a paper on the price of eggs and butter in Elizabethan England.

CHRISTOPHER A. KENT  
University of Saskatchewan

BERNARD PORTER. *The Origins of the Vigilant State: The London Metropolitan Police Special Branch before the First World War*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1987. Pp. xvi, 256. £15.95.

In recent years books on British intelligence have appeared in increasing numbers, not always to the delight of government officials. This has merely heightened the curiosity of the public about the history of the intelligence services and of the "other" policemen who spied on British and foreign dissidents. Bernard Porter has given us an account of the development of Scotland Yard's Special Branch from its birth under this name a century ago to World War I. It was not an easy task, given the

paucity of records and the shredding of documents during World War II.

It was an axiom of British police philosophy that prevention of crime was paramount, which meant in practice emphasizing the role of the uniformed constable over the plain-clothes detective. The English public was sensitive about "Continental" police practices that included the extensive use of spies and informers.

The Special Branch was largely a response to Irish Fenian terrorism of the 1880s. By World War I the branch had become a kind of political police to monitor political opposition: it watched suffragettes, Irish and Indian terrorists, anarchists, pacifists, German spies, socialist groups, and even the Independent Labour party, as well as guarding the royal family and foreign dignitaries. The work of the Special Branch was facilitated by a secret registry of aliens and by the use of general warrants to intercept mail at the General Post Office, both authorized by the home secretary, Winston Churchill. Another antisubversion measure of 1911 was a new Official Secrets Act.

In a sense the book carries on a theme that the author outlined in his *The Refugee Question in Mid-Victorian Politics* (1979). Britain's benign attitude toward political refugees in the Victorian period and the relatively nonintrusive British police practice were artifacts of mid-Victorian liberal capitalism and reflected the confidence of Victorians in the stability and superiority of their political system. An improving system based on individual freedom and a free-market economy provided a shield against the cancer of internal or external subversion. What need had the British of a political police?

By the 1880s, however, the prevalent confidence of the earlier years had already waned somewhat, but police practices remained largely preventive, as they had been. Neither the press nor the police in the 1880s exaggerated plots or cultivated conspiracy theories, and there was no mounting hysteria from the public for the police to "do more."

Still, police practices became more "European" by the 1890s and at times illegal (dirty tricks were sometimes resorted to). If Fenians and anarchists made the Special Branch necessary, the Special Branch was "made" very much by its personnel, who often worked beyond normal government controls. The branch was purely Irish by the 1890s, and other police officials were either Irish or had military or colonial backgrounds, usually in India. In other words, Britain was being policed by its empire, or at least by those whose backgrounds and experience were outside the mainstream of British politics and the prevailing liberal prejudices, not that they posed any serious threat to civil liberties, as the author points out. What remained of mid-Victorian optimism finally faded from view in the years before

World War I, with anxieties about national decay, internal subversion, and, especially, the threat of war.

Readers who are looking for sensationalism or details of individual cases will have to look elsewhere. This is essentially an organizational account of the evolution of the Special Branch and its somewhat confusing overlap with other police and intelligence organizations. Porter's style is lively, and his interpretations and conjectures seem balanced and judicious. He takes pains at every step of the way to point out the significance of what he is describing. This well-researched and interesting account is a welcome addition to the growing literature of police history.

PHILLIP THURMOND SMITH  
*Saint Joseph's University*

SANDRA STANLEY HOLTON. *Feminism and Democracy: Women's Suffrage and Reform Politics in Britain, 1900-1918*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1986. Pp. xi, 201. \$37.50.

Sandra Stanley Holton's splendid study of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies during the crucial years of suffrage agitation before and during World War I is a contribution to a feminist rereading of the suffrage movement in Britain that has been very slowly developing. Earlier books by Jill Norris and Jill Liddington and by Olive Banks, now joined by Susan Kingsley Kent's *Sex and Suffrage in Britain, 1860-1914* (1987) and by a number of new journal articles, are parts of the same recent effort to make suffrage history a part of the larger history of women in Britain. This new work sees the suffrage drive, like the labor movement or Irish home rule, as politically rational and coherent, characteristics suffrage has been denied in so many earlier accounts, most outrageously, of course, in George Dangerfield's *Strange Death of Liberal England* (1935).

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was founded in 1887 as an alliance of all existing suffrage groups under the leadership of Millicent Garrett Fawcett, widow of Liberal cabinet minister Henry Fawcett. Tolerant, energetic, cautious, and skilled in organizational politics, Millicent Fawcett ensured that although the Pankhursts and their supporters formed a more politically visible (if much smaller) organization in 1903 there was no definitive break between their Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) and the National Union until 1912. Indeed, there were hundreds of women who retained membership in both groups, and many National Union members were jailed in WSPU actions.

Beginning with a chapter locating the National Union's ideas about women and the woman ques-

tion in the larger history of feminist thought in Britain and North America, Holton's book is a largely chronological examination of its changing policies in the decade or so before 1918 as it confronted a powerful Liberal government headed by a notorious antisuffragist (Herbert Asquith); a growing Labour party harboring numerous conflicting positions on suffrage for women; the failure by 1912 of a flurry of parliamentary efforts to achieve a compromise on a suffrage measure (the Conciliation Bills); a new stage, after 1912, of WSPU and Women's Freedom League violent confrontations; and, finally, the dislocation and realignments of World War I.

I read this book with growing excitement as one of those books that, by focusing mainly on women or a "women's issue," provides a reassessment of a whole body of literature, an entire era. For example, we can now see quite clearly that the rise of the Labour party during these years was actually taking place on the same terrain as the organization of the suffrage movement. Liberals and ladies as the majority of its members no doubt were, the National Union's central office in London decided, under pressure from its Newcastle branch in 1907, to form an alliance with the Labour party, supplying its prosuffrage candidates with considerable funds (after 1912) and organizational help. This cash and skilled campaigning certainly had something to do with the Labour party's rise. The constant lobbying, private talks, letters, and so on of the National Union had an influence, too, on the voting at trade union and Labour party meetings. The suffrage movement, certainly including this respectable branch of it, occupied a central place in the political world of British social reform.

Using organizational records, personal papers of several of its activists, and—to wonderfully useful effect—the records of several local affiliates, Holton has demonstrated the variety in political orientation, class background, region, and understandings of the meaning of feminism itself that mingled in the National Union under Fawcett's benevolent eye. Continuing her research into the war years, Holton proves that it was by no means true that all feminists were, in August 1914, transformed into flag-waving, white-feather-bestowing patriots. After war was declared, Fawcett quickly established her members in various sorts of relief committees, while maintaining the organization's basic structure. The National Union lost many of its most progressive activists to peace work. The suffrage campaign, however, continued, and it was this suffrage work, with its parliamentary negotiations, and not the dramatic conversion of the liberal cabinet that brought women over thirty the vote in 1918.

ELLEN ROSS  
Ramapo College

MALCOLM COOPER. *The Birth of Independent Air Power: British Air Policy in the First World War*. Boston: Allen and Unwin. 1986. Pp. xix, 169. Cloth \$27.95.

No nation entered the Great War less prepared for what lay ahead than did Great Britain. Massive military and administrative changes were demanded in short order, and "business as usual" methods gave way after much struggle to state control or "war socialism." There have been few areas in this bloody business that have fascinated historians more in recent years than this evolution in civil and military war management.

The stories of many of these areas of wartime endeavor have been similar: as the need for more equipment or more men was recognized, Herbert Asquith's government reluctantly appointed committees to look into each question. Strife within Parliament usually led to further committees and greater experiments in the exercise of executive authority in the effort to meet these war needs. After the advent of David Lloyd George's control-minded coalition, there were frequently new government departments with unprecedented powers over people and property.

Malcolm Cooper has written a brief book about the origins of the Royal Air Force that reinforces this pattern. The prewar Royal Flying Corps and Royal Naval Air Service were but amusing appendages to the "real" services. Wartime saw their potential importance increase, yet training of pilots and supply of aircraft remained backward and insufficient. A true air policy was nonexistent. Hence the formula reveals itself: first, in early 1916, there was Derby's Joint Air War Committee; its muddled efforts necessitated later that year the appointment of the Air Board under the more formidable Curzon; the change in government in December saw him replaced by Lord Cowdray. Only the threat of *Gotha* bomber attacks prompted Lloyd George's acceptance of Jan Smuts's recommendation to create a unified air force, under a cabinet minister and with a more ambitious charge to batter the Germans. This came about belatedly in early 1918, and Cooper indicates that it was rather too late in the war to set the new service off in the right direction. No true discrete air policy evolved, and Britain's air power remained an extension of the will of Sir Douglas Haig and the British Expeditionary Force.

This is a work useful to the student of air policy in the war years, and I have no desire to criticize it for not being a different book. However, although it offers some interesting interpretations of significant episodes in the story (it is strongest when dealing with the struggles between the uniformed airmen), it scarcely has time and space to make its points and move on. The best example, perhaps, is that little attention is given to relating the struggle over the air



question to partisan and ideological politics in Whitehall, where, after all, the key decisions were being (or not being) made. References are made to this bigger picture, it is true, but there is little examination of the roles of Asquith, Lloyd George, Alfred Milner, Reginald McKenna, and the other contenders for control. Winston Churchill and Curzon perhaps are exceptions because of their direct involvement in the administration of the air forces.

This is a revised doctoral dissertation, and, judging from recent books on related subjects issued under this press mark, it may be that the publisher demanded a very compact book, indeed. Criticism of overlong books has been the style for years, but this is an example of a subject that deserves a more thorough treatment than one hundred fifty pages of text can offer.

R. J. Q. ADAMS  
Texas A&M University

STEPHEN HARTLEY. *The Irish Question as a Problem in British Foreign Policy, 1914–18*. New York: St. Martin's. 1987. Pp. xi, 243. \$29.95.

The history of Anglo-Irish-American relations during the dramatic years from 1914 to 1918 has been studied by several historians in the last twenty years. Stephen Hartley has produced a specialized analysis of the attitudes and reactions of the British cabinet, Foreign Office, and Ministry of Information on the Irish question and American responses to it. The work is a mixture of old-fashioned diplomatic history at its best together with a study of the values and assumptions of the professional civil servants. Hartley has combed the cabinet and Foreign Office papers as well as some forty collections of private papers. The result is a remarkable picture of how the prime ministers, foreign secretaries, undersecretaries, clerks, ambassadors, consular officials, and publicity agents saw the Irish nationalist movements and the United States. For the most part, both Ireland and the United States remained incomprehensible, annoying, and at times despicable to the British. Indeed, a major theme throughout the book is the pronounced Unionist and Tory bias of the civil servants that shaped attitudes toward the two countries. British diplomats and agents who attempted to take Irish nationalism or American concerns seriously, such as Sir Cecil Spring-Rice or Lord Reading, were ignored or disregarded. Hartley shows that Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey's specific orders that Sir Roger Casement's diary not be used during the treason trial to destroy sympathy for him were disobeyed by Lords Hardinge and Newton and ignored by the Home Office. Hartley concludes with Captain Stephen

Gwynn's observation that "the man who says he has no politics is in practice almost invariably a Conservative."

What is striking in this account is how oblivious the Foreign Office staff was to the growing dependence of Britain and the Allies on American munitions, credit, and, eventually, troops. Recent books by John W. Coogan and Kathleen Burke have raised questions about the extent to which Woodrow Wilson's administration was prepared to ignore conventional maritime neutrality rights to avoid inconveniencing Britain and to adjust its financial policies to lend vast sums of money to the Allies. Perhaps it is too much to expect that Foreign Office officials would have understood all of the implications of the critical changing relationship between Britain and the United States. Certainly, they refused to accept the idea that an Irish settlement would improve Anglo-American relations. They wanted Ireland to remain as it had been and to have as little to do with the United States as possible. To the extent to which the Foreign Office influenced these events, it is not surprising that the Irish situation continued to deteriorate after 1919 and that the United States refused to form a partnership with Great Britain through the peace conference and the League of Nations. While Hartley's book is an excellent study of one facet of Anglo-Irish-American relations during the war years, in a larger sense it is also an insightful comment on Anglo-American relations generally in the first half of the twentieth century.

F. M. CARROLL  
St. John's College  
University of Manitoba

GUSTAV SCHMIDT. *The Politics and Economics of Appeasement: British Foreign Policy in the 1930s*. Translated by JACKIE BENNETT-RUETE. New York: St. Martin's. 1986. Pp. 435. \$37.50.

It is good to have the most important sections of Gustav Schmidt's *England in der Krise: Grundzüge und Grundlagen der britischen Appeasement-Politik (1930–1937)* available in English. This was an important contribution to the study of British appeasement that has not yet had its deserved impact on Anglo-American scholarship. Schmidt has approached the problem of appeasement through a study of both the external and the internal determinants of British diplomacy in the period 1930 to 1937. In this translation the chapter dealing with Britain's place in the international system and its relations with other states is omitted, as are the detailed descriptions of the "men of influence" in the British decision-making elite. We are given, however, Schmidt's masterly description of the complex and often contending strategies of economic



appeasement offered by financial, industrial, bureaucratic, and political elites as means of managing Britain's financial and industrial reconstruction while deterring Germany from autarky and rearmament. While giving prominence to the multiplicity and importance of these proposals backed by a mass of evidence culled from an astonishing range of official and private sources, Schmidt concludes that the policies of the economic appeasers were never actually implemented. The Foreign Office and the economic departments, for different reasons, agreed that the most effective way to influence Hitler, whose own interests were correctly judged as political, was through political accords, which could then be supplemented by economic arrangements. This impressive and wide-ranging survey of the economic and financial factors in British foreign policy makes this book, along with Bernd-Jürgen Wendt's pioneering "*Economic Appeasement*" (1971), a seminal work in a field neglected by non-German scholars. There are still lacunae in our knowledge (a biography of Sir Frederick Leith-Ross is long overdue), but Schmidt provides a wealth of material in an analytic framework of the greatest interest.

More far-reaching in its implications, although less massively supported by research in depth, is Schmidt's thesis that British appeasement policies were determined by internal political and socioeconomic considerations rather than by the nature of the external threat. Focusing on the armaments issue and its hinge function in linking domestic and foreign affairs, Schmidt argues that the direction and intensity of British rearmament were dictated by fears of the domestic consequences of the creation of a war economy in peacetime. Although challenges in the international situation pointed to an accelerated build-up of the country's defenses, the British response reflected policymakers' concerns with the fragility of the country's economic structure and the political conflicts and social unrest that an arms race would unleash. The very process of British decision making, with its emphasis on committees and consensus building, favored the adoption of an appeasement strategy. Recent work on Treasury policy and on industrial and labor attitudes gives added weight to Schmidt's contention that policy makers were more willing to take risks abroad than at home. More evidence is required about the political climate of opinion in the 1930s (no one has yet followed up Maurice Cowling's *The Impact of Hitler* [1975]) to test some of Schmidt's assumptions.

This emphasis on the primacy of *Innenpolitik*, exaggerated somewhat by the omission of the German chapter dealing with the international situation, is a valuable corrective to the mainstream of appeasement studies. Admittedly, the balance here is so weighted on the domestic side as to exclude a

proper consideration of the international pressures that made appeasement the preferred crisis strategy. One is not made sufficiently aware of the interaction between the external and internal environments even in the concluding chapter. It is unfortunate, too, that Schmidt deals neither with Munich nor with the subsequent reversal of strategies that resulted in the British ultimatum to Germany. It is, perhaps, greedy to demand more than what is already found here, yet this remains an incomplete story.

Schmidt's work is not for beginners despite the efforts of the translator. More advanced students will find this important and innovative study a rich quarry to mine.

ZARA STEINER  
New Hall  
University of Cambridge

KEITH MIDDLEMAS. *Power, Competition, and the State*. Volume 1, *Britain in Search of Balance, 1940-61*. (Hoover Press Publication, number 349.) Stanford: Hoover Institution. 1986. Pp. vii, 404. \$36.95.

This book continues the story begun by Keith Middlemas in *Politics in an Industrial Society, the Experience of the British System since 1911* (1979). Its thesis, endlessly reiterated, is that Britain has been governed by three power centers: Westminster, the trade union movement, and the Federation of British Industry (since 1965 a part of the Confederation of British Industry). The first volume carried the story up to World War II, and the present one continues it through the Macmillan years.

For a reviewer who believed he knew something about the period and is trying to learn more, reading this work, like reading its predecessor, is a maddening exercise. Despite their titles, these studies are not about politics but about planning, generally meetings between civil servants—in effect not about what happened but about what was supposed to happen. The underlying assumption is that official planning is the same as governing and since labor and industry were always consulted in planning they qualify as part of government. The resulting structure the author styles "corporate," arguing that it reached its fullest development during World War II.

Middlemas has clearly done a great deal of research in the sources. He has interviewed participants. And there are interesting nuggets of new information, for example, that the civil services assumed that the war against Japan would continue for some time after Adolf Hitler's defeat and would be carried on largely by the United States. Therefore, they reasoned, Britain would have a breathing space, during which American aid would continue,

in which to begin reconstructing its prewar trading relationships. Unfortunately for this plan, the atom bomb intervened.

One problem is that the author writes in jargon and unclearly. One typically riveting sentence, the topic sentence of a paragraph, will provide a sample: "Since 'labour matters' predominated in the JCC, it became the focus for the BEC while the FBI concentrated more on the similarly-balanced National Production Advisory Committee for Industry (NAPACI) whose terms of reference included production, allocation of resources and what little remained of 'trade'" (p. 21). Again, "arbitrage" is always used when "arbitration" is meant. Technically correct, this is archaic in the age of Ivan Boesky.

Even with five books behind him, the author has not learned how to introduce new material. For example on page 194 the reader is confronted with the "'Robot' scheme (see p. 199)." Does this, one wonders, mean that we are about to learn of servile labor in Bohemia or automated production? Page 199 reveals that the word is an acronym of the initial letters of the last names of the civil servants who made it up in 1952 during Winston Churchill's administration and that it aimed at reintroducing austerity in order to reduce the sterling balances. What the plan, never put into effect, contained leaks out through the next seventy pages.

This is an earnest book, a scholarly book, but not a readable book. Why are there so many of them?

BENTLEY BRINKERHOFF GILBERT  
University of Illinois,  
Chicago

HENRY BUTTERFIELD RYAN. *The Vision of Anglo-America: The U.S.-U.K. Alliance and the Emerging Cold War, 1943-1946*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. 234. \$39.50.

Henry Butterfield Ryan's book is one of a number of recent studies projecting a British view of the origins of the cold war. His specific purpose is to illustrate the sustained British effort to establish a postwar Anglo-American bloc and the American resistance to this, while also demonstrating that the primary British concern throughout was the preservation of their rank as a first-rate power rather than the restraint of Soviet expansion.

Ryan's approach is unusual. This is neither a monograph on a neglected topic nor a comprehensive narrative or interpretation but rather a series of sharp illuminations in the form of four introductory essays followed by case studies of the Polish and Greek crises of the mid-1940s. The essays depict in turn an acute British sense of the need for American support, the obstacles presented by a volatile and at

least partially Anglophobic public opinion in the United States, the personal political relationships from Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt down, and the fatally undermining erosion of Britain's economic position in the latter stages of the war and afterward. The case studies that follow reflect the well-known British complaint that the Americans were quick to moralize but slow to accept real international responsibilities. Thus, of Churchill and Anthony Eden, struggling virtually alone against the Soviets, Ryan writes, "one still marvels at the fight they put up over Poland" (p. 117). In Greece, with their own concrete interests at stake, the British were not always sure how much American help it was safe to accept. But, here too, both Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman preferred to avoid the overt collaboration frequently sought by Whitehall, a situation that changed only in March 1947.

These are all familiar topics. Ryan properly disclaims any new discoveries but justifiably argues that the full implications of Britain's loss of power have still not received adequate attention from diplomatic historians. His succinct analysis of the outlook and purposes of British leaders in this period, based mainly on Churchill's wartime papers but drawing on Foreign Office and other British sources as well, together with his convincing demonstration of British activism over Poland and Greece juxtaposed with evidence of American detachment and confusion, is a valuable corrective. Unfortunately, its full significance, so far as cold-war origins are concerned, is obscured by the author's belief, which he does not fully substantiate, that British leaders were less concerned about the Soviets than with Britain's general decline. Were these not, in the context of Anglo-Soviet confrontation in 1945-46, simply two sides of the same coin, even when competing anxieties about American commercial domination and imperial decay are taken into account?

Provocative conceptions such as Roosevelt's "triangular" notion of postwar security and the intriguing idea of "Anglo-America" warrant a closer elaboration, and Churchill's deep-rooted, prewar interest in an association with the United States, as well as Ernest Bevin's initial preference for a European partner, needs a fuller acknowledgement. But, overall, this is an impressive, well-written book that is right on the essentials and is a sharp prompt to further investigation.

FRASER HARBUTT  
Emory University

WILLIAM JACKSON. *Withdrawal from Empire: A Military View*. New York: St. Martin's. 1986. Pp. xvii, 285. \$29.95.

The pledge Winston Churchill made in 1942 that he had not become "the King's First Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire" (p. 29) has won a place in the history books. However, only four years later his successor, Clement Attlee, was insisting that his country "must not for sentimental reasons based on the past give hostages to fortune." Britain might have to consider itself "an easterly extension of a strategic area the centre of which is the American continent rather than as a power looking eastwards through the Mediterranean to India and the East" (p. 127). Even Churchill came around to seeing the need for disengagement from empire, but it was one thing to agree in principle and another to get out. The process stretched over three decades and involved Britain in some difficult military campaigns.

In this book William Jackson provides a useful survey of these campaigns, set in their broader political and economic context. Jackson is able to combine an intimate firsthand knowledge of the army with a careful reading of published sources. The result is a welcome addition to the literature on decolonization that provides a military perspective missing from most earlier accounts. Clearly written, with a good selection of maps and photographs, the book begins with a chronology of events from 1945 to 1972 that shows the incredible range of challenges that had to be met. In 1963, for instance, as the last national servicemen were leaving the British army, a state of emergency was declared in Aden, Archbishop Makarios called for British help in Cyprus, and Indonesia's confrontation with Malaysia began.

Jackson succeeds in showing the connections between widely scattered campaigns. The lessons learned in Malaya could be applied to good effect in Cyprus. After its first faltering steps in India and Palestine, the British army found the right formula for disengagement. Part of this success lay in transforming "comic-strip reading callow youth" (p. 143) into first-rate troops. But the key to it, in Jackson's view, was in winning over the people so that Communists and "rabid nationalists" could be held at bay and an orderly transition effected. Victory in these campaigns meant keeping financial costs and casualties low and allowing the ballot box to determine who should inherit power.

Considering the scope of events it covers, the book has few errors. The Washington Naval Conference of 1921–22 does become the "World Disarmament Conferences" (p. 20). Some of Jackson's statements might mislead without further explanation. In discussing the period from 1945 to 1956, he says that nuclear deterrence did not dominate military thinking, because "only the United States owned the hardware of atomic bombs" (p. 30). The snap judgments Jackson offers as background for

his campaign history will trouble some readers. Britain's acceptance of a mandate to build a Jewish home in Palestine was an "error of judgement" (p. 51). Following the usual conservative line of analysis, he sees the misguided altruism and peacekeeping fantasies of the British public in the interwar years as undermining the empire.

Jackson's heroes are Britain's soldiers; his villains are usually American politicians, ever interfering and hurrying the British along needlessly. Indeed, the damage done to the empire by World War II might have been repaired if not for the hostile policies of the two superpowers, with U.S. policies "potentially more damaging" (p. 20). The United Nations' vote on the partition of Palestine "would have gone the other way if it had not been for the American use of unscrupulous economic blackmail to make up the minds of the smaller states" (p. 66). The Suez crisis of 1956 was "a Greek tragedy of American making from start to finish" (p. 145). Readers will be not so much startled by these judgments as puzzled by the way they appear unsupported by the account that the author presents.

DONALD S. BIRN  
State University of New York,  
Albany

MICHAEL R. BONAIVIA. *The Nationalisation of British Transport: The Early History of the British Transport Commission, 1948–53*. New York: St. Martin's. 1987. Pp. xii, 192. \$35.00.

Few sectors of the economy have been subject to as much legislative upheaval as British transport in the postwar period, each one of which brought major reorganizations. Yet, all have been to little avail since, as Michael R. Bonavia points out, institutional change could do little to stem the rising tide of private transport, which undermined the financial viability of public transport other than road haulage. Thus, the nationalization of the railways and other forms of transport after World War I, in the misguided belief that by so doing it would be possible to produce a coordinated and integrated system of public transport, was doomed to fail from the start.

However, as Bonavia shows, it was not, at least in the early years, the growth of private transport that aborted the original concept. The Transport Act of 1947 was an overambitious exercise, poorly thought out and badly executed. The British Transport Commission (BTC) had responsibility not only for the railways but also for a whole host of other transport modes and ancillary activities including hotels. The structural format below the BTC was cumbersome and inflexible, and the managerial staffing of the whole organization reflected a bygone

railway age. Ministerial powers over the new organization were wide-ranging and often inhibiting. And, given the commission's enormous task of building up new structures, adapting old ones, and repairing war damage and neglect at a time of scarcities, it is not surprising that the concept of integration fell by the wayside.

Bonavia has written an absorbing account of the creation of the BTC and its work in the early years. One feature to emerge is the paucity of good management at the operating level. It seems that the BTC and its executive arms lacked sufficient dynamic managerial talent, which may partly explain its rather poor performance. It is a pity that the author did not continue the story through to the abolition of the BTC in 1962, since a comparison with the later period would have been enlightening.

DEREK H. ALDCROFT  
*University of Leicester*

T. R. GOURVISH. *British Railways, 1948-73: A Business History*. Assisted by N. B. BLAKE *et al.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1986. Pp. xxvii. 781. \$89.50.

In 1979 the British Railways Board (BRB) commissioned T. R. Gourvish, the author of a study of the nineteenth-century British railways, to write a business history of the first twenty-five years of the nationalized railways in Britain that concentrates on "economic, financial, social and organizational" rather than on "technical" issues. The BRB provided generous support, allowing Gourvish to hire four research assistants, whose contribution is generously acknowledged. Although an editorial committee met regularly to guide the project, this is not an "official" history, since the author has taken full responsibility. The result is a large and dense business history that emphasizes economic, financial, and organizational rather than social issues.

As the author points out, many commissioned business histories are the result of efforts to preserve records. This one, however, was faced with the considerable task of first collecting sources since many of these were missing, destroyed, or dispersed. The main sources used were the records of the central secretariat and the regional headquarters. These have now been collected and will be deposited at the Public Records Office. Since the thirty-year rule made government and Trades Union Congress records unusable after 1956, the author has supplemented these with extensive oral history material.

The interwar railways consisted of a few heavily regulated companies, characterized by declining revenues and falling returns on capital investments. During World War II they were controlled by the

Railway Executive Committee. Although traffic rose substantially during the war, maintenance and investment lagged. Thus, the nationalized industry was forced to face postwar road and air competition in a rundown condition. The railways' own internal development, longstanding government intervention, and corporatist ideas had all prepared the ground for a single rail organization. To this Labour added its demand for an integrated transportation system under a nationalized umbrella. From the beginning the organization was to be run as a public utility that was to provide the best service possible at the lowest possible cost to both its users and the government.

The book is organized into three parts, corresponding to the railways' three major forms of organization. From 1948 to 1953 the Railway Executive operated the system under the British Transport Commission. The latter's ambitious goal was to integrate nearly all forms of national transportation. Because the commission was far removed from operations and saddled with a comparatively small central staff, low executive pay, and inadequate investment funds, the scheme proved unworkable. The Transport Act of 1953 signaled the Conservative government's intention of introducing a new competitive era in British transport. Long-distance road haulage was denationalized, and the railways were liberated from some of their restrictive statutory obligations. The new watchwords were competition and decentralization, but Gourvish notes that the organization remained cumbersome and fairly centralized. The modernization plan of 1955 called for an ambitious investment and rationalization scheme designed to make the railways pay their own way. Gourvish blames both the railways and the government for the plan's failure.

It was during the third period, that of the BRB, from 1963 to 1973, that the outlines of a modern railway system emerged. If there is a hero in this study, it is Richard Beeching, who, during the early 1960s, brought in many outside executives, introduced modern business methods, and laid the basis of a smaller but more efficient system. The Transport Act of 1962 swept away traces of the earlier goals of complete transportation integration and demanded that each division pay its own way. The debt burden of the railways was eased, and they were given control over pricing, facilities, and assets. Labour's Transport Act of 1968 again shifted the emphasis from "efficiency" and "competition" to "service" and "model integration." At the same time, it provided subsidies for specific socially desirable but unprofitable services. In 1970 a Conservative government introduced yet another new structure and again laid stress on a competitive railway system.



One of the major themes of the book is how successive governments set conflicting agendas for the industry as they felt their way through the uncharted territory of managing a nationalized industry. A railway chief complained that "at least half my time has been devoted to organization, reorganization, acquisition, denationalization, centralization, decentralization, according to the requirements of the now regular political quinquennial revaluation of national transport policy" (p. 359). Although Gourvish agrees that governments were excessively fascinated by organizational solutions, rather than facing squarely the issues of the railways' weak competitive position in the face of road and air competition, conflicting social, political, and economic demands, and the need for large-scale investment in a modern but smaller railways system, he also faults railway management for not fully understanding that the "prime function of a business is to optimize its financial performance *within* its environment" (pp. 576-77). He especially blames the "culture" of the railways for resisting realistic innovation. Nonetheless, the reader gets little sense from this work of what this culture was and how it operated.

The major contributions of the work are its discussion of government intervention, a detailed analysis of organizational issues, and, especially, its calculations of losses, profits, investments, productivity, and wages on a consistent basis. The book contains a wealth of tables, charts, and maps and some photographs. Gourvish notes that the problems of the railways were unique and that a private corporation under similar constraints could probably have done no better. In the finest tradition of British economic history, the work makes a major contribution to the debate among experts on the past and future role of nationalized industry. This solid contribution to scholarship, however, could have been made more useful to the nonexpert reader and historian if even more of its statistical and organizational discussion had been relegated to the appendixes than already is the case, if more attention had been paid to the "culture" of the railway management and its workers, and if its conclusion contained a fuller summary of the book's important story.

GERARD M. KOOT

*Southeastern Massachusetts University*

PAUL SWANN. *The Hollywood Feature Film in Postwar Britain*. New York: St. Martin's. 1987. Pp. 168. \$29.95.

Since the late 1960s there has been an increasing interest in the phenomenon known as "cultural imperialism," which encompasses the various means by which one society imposes its culture on another,

mainly through the use of ubiquitous mass media images. Much of this work has been done by communication scholars and those interested in international affairs. Unfortunately, very little of this has filtered into mainstream historical analysis as a major factor in understanding the development of modern societies. As an example, in the work of scholars such as Herbert Schiller (*Mass Communications and American Empire* [1969]) and Jeremy Tustall (*The Media Are American* [1977]) we find useful, if somewhat polemical, historical examinations of the significance of American mass media marketing practices as the major contributor to the modern problem of "cultural imperialism," and yet their works, and those of other scholars with similar concerns, are seldom acknowledged by current historians. (One exception would be Emily Rosenberg's *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion* [1982], which does take a look at the role of mass communication, particularly motion pictures, as an integral part of American foreign and economic policy.)

This work by Paul Swann crams a great deal of information into its 154 pages of text. In a well-reasoned, clearly written argument, he provides the social and cultural background to the problem of the American film industry's domination of the British movie market in the postwar period and the various attempts to establish a viable indigenous British motion picture industry. Although this may appear to be a small matter in the context of the serious business of forging postwar alliances, it was actually an important bone of contention between the two countries between 1946 and the mid-1950s. The battle was, in fact, a three-cornered one between the British government, the Hollywood film industry, and the American government, which was eager to see the British economy stabilized, while at the same time objecting to the imposition of various tariffs and quotas aimed at keeping film dollars in Britain. Swann provides a succinct summary of the various negotiations between these parties and the eventual outcome, which was the gradual decline of the British film industry. By 1955 the fight over motion pictures was over, and the issues transferred to the new medium of television, where the notion of "cultural imperialism" is even stronger.

This is an extremely useful volume for social and cultural historians who wish to understand the significance of the mass media as agents of change and objects of public policy. What Swann provides is an insightful case study of a society's fight to establish an indigenous cultural industry in the face of an overwhelming onslaught from outside. This particular fight was only one minor skirmish in the ongoing battle against cultural imperialism being waged



in modern society. Historians would do well to pay attention to these arguments.

GARTH S. JOWETT  
University of Houston

MARGARET H. B. SANDERSON. *Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton, c. 1494–1546*. Edinburgh: John Donald. 1986. Pp. viii, 315. £20.00.

In her preface Margaret H. B. Sanderson admits that her emphasis changed from "the study of a great public figure" to "a contribution to Reformation history" (p. vi). She presents a lively narrative of David Beaton's career and some spirited glances at his character, with less than average recourse to the biographer's standard currency of "no doubt," "must have," and "would have been." Beaton emerges as a forceful, sometimes irascible, arrogant, and aggressive man whose impatient directness comes out in his letters. Yet the book is a "life and times," for Beaton was much involved in the mainstream events of his day: Scotland's relations with England and France and the growth of disaffection from the traditional church system.

For years Beaton was concerned above all else with international negotiations, and his incessant travels—seven journeys to France between 1533 and 1540—make "shuttle diplomacy" an apt phrase. Not the least valuable feature of the book is an itinerary for the years from 1524 onward. Sanderson brings out the influence of Beaton in the last years of James V's reign and clarifies the complexities of the opening years of Mary's.

The contribution to Reformation history is substantial. Some prominent men are known to have been attracted to Protestantism, and a few prosecutions of "heretics" are familiar, but Sanderson uses new material to investigate more obscure features, especially the cells, sometimes of individuals related to each other by blood or marriage, which existed in certain burghs. An appendix gives particulars of 168 active Protestants, a remarkable figure considering that the source material is scanty and that much of the activity was underground. After Sanderson's disclosures no one should again suggest that when revolution came in 1559–60 it was the work of only a handful of magnates.

Two aspects of Beaton's character require assessment. One is the motivation of his diplomacy. That he was bitterly hostile to England is not in doubt—no one knew it better than Henry VIII—but the question remains whether he was in a real sense a "patriot," who would have resisted the subjection of his country to England's rival, France. That he was much gallicized is clear. Between 1533 and 1542 he spent four and one-half years in France and was

consecrated bishop of Mirepoix (and created a cardinal) before he held a Scottish bishopric.

The other feature that demands attention is Beaton's "sexual depravity" (p. 37). Sanderson seeks to excuse the conduct of this celibate cleric by piling up examples of contemporaries with worse records, and her terrible indictment unintentionally strengthens the case against the pre-Reformation clergy. Besides, she deploys weighty scholarship to demonstrate that Beaton had no more than eight bastards. She makes much of the fact that "all eight children were born before he was fully ordained" (p. 39) and elsewhere uses the phrase "full ordination" (p. 121), but, although there were seven distinct orders of ministry, there was no such thing at any stage as a half-measure. It does not seem to have occurred to her that if Beaton was not in holy orders he could have married his mistress.

Beaton was more than a Scottish Wolsey, for he was archbishop of St. Andrews, whereas the primatial see of All England eluded Wolsey. The administrative and judicial activities of a sixteenth-century archbishop in his province and his diocese, the running of his estates and his household (of over one hundred people), and his functions as chancellor of a university are reviewed, and we get glimpses of his way of life at home and on his travels and even of his somewhat dandified dress. It is indicative of the far-reaching scope of Sanderson's work that the index gives the names of over four hundred of Beaton's Scottish contemporaries, and there are appropriate genealogical tables. Use is made of a wide range of material, often in manuscript and not infrequently in private collections, most of them now housed with the public archives of Scotland. One of the appendixes is a calendar of nearly three hundred documents issued in Beaton's name. Errors are few, but it was a curious lapse to omit from the suffragans of St. Andrews the see of The Isles (pp. 113, 117), which was not allotted to Glasgow when that archbishopric was established in 1492.

GORDON DONALDSON  
University of Edinburgh

RICHARD GLEN EAVES. *Henry VIII and James V's Regency, 1524–1528: A Study in Anglo-Scottish Diplomacy*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1987. Pp. x, 194. \$22.75.

Henry VIII's relations with Scotland were troubled. His older sister, Margaret, had been married to James IV, the king of Scotland, as part of Henry VII's attempt to end the traditional enmity between the English and the Scots, but peace did not result and James was killed fighting the English in the famous battle of Flodden in 1513. His young son succeeded as James V; Margaret married a Scottish

nobleman, the Earl of Angus; another Scottish lord, the Duke of Albany, became regent. But Albany, who had spent most of his life abroad and spoke only French, returned to France in 1524. Scotland was left in the hands of rival noble factions, with Henry VIII naturally cultivating those who were sympathetic to him. Had Margaret and Angus worked together they might have dominated the situation, but they came to hate each other and were eventually divorced; by temperament they were unable to provide stable rule. The period of factional chaos continued until 1528, when James came of age and took affairs into his own hands.

In an earlier book Richard Glen Eaves delineated Henry VIII's Scottish policy from 1513 to 1524. Here he carries the story forward to the end of the minority. This is diplomatic history of the most traditional sort, much of it a summary of dispatches that have already been calendared or published in full. One wishes that Eaves had conceived the project more broadly, with more attention to the factional character of Scottish society, the significance of the French connection, and the beginnings of religious division. The characters of the chief actors might have been developed more fully as well: Margaret, for instance, is often described as "incompetent," but a more probing examination of her attitudes and activities would have been valuable. Despite his narrow focus, Eaves handles the intricacies of English diplomacy and Scottish factionalism with a sure touch, and his study provides details for a confused period that has been known only in general outline.

STANFORD E. LEHMBERG  
University of Minnesota

JOSEF W. KONVITZ. *Cartography in France, 1660–1848: Science, Engineering, and Statecraft*. Foreword by EMMANUEL LE ROY LADURIE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1987. Pp. xx, 194. \$39.95.

This is an important book for both the history of cartography and for history in general. By offering an "externalist" treatment of mapping in its institutional, political, and social context, Josef W. Konvitz has moved the subject away from an "internalist" view of linear cartographic progress. Equally, this is a powerful demonstration for historians at large of how maps were integral—even necessary—to the rise and functioning of the modern state. Maps "represented the conquest of space through measurement" (p. 21), and they were preeminently "a way of claiming possession, a means of asserting knowledge as an instrument of control" (p. 159). Permeating many branches of government, they became a routine public activity, and it is the theme

of interaction between cartography and public affairs that binds Konvitz's narrative together.

Although the French Enlightenment cradled the development of maps in modern culture, this topic has been neglected. In six chapters, each considering different types of maps, Konvitz has incisively plugged this gap. "The National Map Survey" (chap. 1) resulted in the Cassini maps of France, showpieces of eighteenth-century European cartography. Konvitz shows how factors of patronage, institutions, and ideas—rather than theoretical scientific innovation—regulated their history. Particularly original is the second chapter, "Cartography and the State in the Revolutionary Era," where much new ground is covered: the use of maps in boundary demarcation and diplomacy, the development of the cadastre, the attempts to centralize the collection and production of maps across a burgeoning bureaucracy, and issues of administrative reform and metrical revision. The remaining chapters focus on marine charts, military maps of mountain areas, transportation planning maps, and statistical maps embracing commercial, economic, educational, ethnographic, medical, and moral information. They also reveal "how politics dictated the conditions under which maps were made, collected, analysed, and used" (p. 54).

There is much here to commend. The book is an honest narrative firmly grounded in the official archives; its style is crisp and clear; it registers both success and failure in state intervention in mapping; it conveys the tensions between centralized and decentralized authority; and proper weight is given to individuals as agents of change. But alternative interpretations are possible. In Konvitz's text maps as technical artifacts and as historical documents are not always fully visible, so we wonder how government policy, institutional practice, and "sycophantic" attitudes structured the emphases and silences of map content. Like one of his characters (p. 78), Konvitz is also something of a meliorist. An astute political and institutional historian, he is, however, less attuned to the ideological force, the rhetoric, and the social significance of maps. In making France "a unified, rational space" (p. 105), he puts cartography and science in the van of progress but muffles voices of dissent. Even Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie is scornful in his foreword of peasants who found it hard "to believe that the academicians were engaged in a purely innocent activity" (pp. xi, 14). There is no reason why a history of cartography should not have examined their fears.

In 1985 Konvitz's book received the first Nebenzahl Prize in the History of Cartography; this will be a hard title to follow.

J. B. HARLEY  
University of Wisconsin,  
Milwaukee

ALBERT N. HAMSCHER. *The Conseil Privé and the Parlements in the Age of Louis XIV: A Study in French Absolutism*. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, number 77, part 2.) Philadelphia: The Society. 1987. Pp. 162. \$25.00.

With awesome erudition and powerful analysis, Albert N. Hamscher elucidates the relationships between the parlements and the Conseil Privé during the personal reign of Louis XIV. The Conseil had *de jure* powers over the parlements and could nullify their decisions or call cases out of these sovereign courts to decide them on its own. These powers and practices had caused bitter disputes in the mid-seventeenth century. The Fronde certainly had fiscal and clientage causes, but it was also a duel between the parlements and the Conseil for supreme power in the realm. At least since Tocqueville these parlement-Conseil conflicts have interested historians because of the light they shed on absolutism in practice, that is, its realization in institutions and political decisions by the Conseil to quash or at least to temper the powers of the parlements.

Using carefully worked out sampling techniques, Hamscher scrutinizes cases from the records of the Conseil in order to discern the power relations between the Conseil and the parlements. He finds that the number of cases nullified by the Conseil actually declined during the Sun King's personal reign and that those called up from the parlements rose only a bit. Instead of acrimony and bitter duels over control of important cases, sober dialogue and reasoned *motifs*, or explanations for Conseil decisions, came to prevail between the parlements and the Conseil. From the chancellor on down through the entire legal system, the practice of restraint and respect for the authority and dignity of the parlements displaced contestation. The intendants came back after the Fronde, of course, but they too were belled by the chancellor so that their judicial powers conformed to the jurisdictions of the parlements. The Conseil Privé could no longer be relied on to uphold humiliating decisions made by an intendant for the purpose of increasing his authority at the expense of a parlement.

There was a very real jurisdictional sphere for the Conseil Privé. No parlement had jurisdiction over the entire realm, and disputes between various royal courts, provincial institutions, the church, powerful aristocratic families holding rights and property in various parts of the realm, and professional corporations required a court of appeal above the sovereign courts. But that the jurisdiction of the Conseil remained just that, and did not expand at the expense of the parlements, is a finding of immense significance. The thesis of the inexorable shift toward absolutist government manifested through a bureaucracy controlled by the royal council and the

intendants is seriously undermined by Hamscher's findings.

Hamscher notes the frustrations of the historian who must rely on written records to reconstruct what was said and thought. At one point he refers to the "secrecy" of the proceedings of the Conseil (p. 95). There seems to have been a decline of litigiousness, if not litigation, in the king's personal reign; lawyers, judges, and councilors may have found that they did not have to account for their decisions by presenting lengthy arguments to each other or to future historians. "Secrecy" may not be the *mot juste*; silence or respect before a mystery may more accurately characterize what both the parlements and the Conseil felt toward each other so long as each stayed in its sphere. Although there is no way of measuring the power of words by counting their decline in quantity over jurisdictional disputes, it nonetheless provides a clue to the stability that came into being after 1661.

Hamscher concludes not only by confirming his findings in an earlier book but also by stating that Louis XIV's characterization of the problem about judicial interference in politics was essentially correct. Still, Hamscher is unwilling to describe the Conseil as a court of law (pp. 34, 107). Is the implication that he still considers the parlements the highest courts of the realm? *Tout est là!*

OREST RANUM

*Johns Hopkins University*

DANIEL ROCHE. *The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century*. Translated by MARIE EVANS and GWYNNE LEWIS. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1987. Pp. 277. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$11.95.

This is the English translation of a book that first appeared in 1981. Daniel Roche attempts to re-create the lives of the popular classes by examining their living arrangements within an expanding city, their consumption of goods, especially clothes, and their behavior in an environment that was at once threatening, supportive, and raucous. He offers a picture of popular life that is full of contrasts and ambiguities. The popular classes, living in cramped, dark quarters in a filthy, dangerous, unhealthy city, were often wretched, but they were also progressing during the eighteenth century in their self-perception, their literacy, and their habits of consumption.

Despite the many efforts of government officials who feared epidemics, social disturbances, and food shortages to confine the city's size and boundaries, Paris continued to grow. The population increased 30 percent over the century as migrants swarmed

into the old and new quarters from all parts of France and Europe, creating a new morphology of space and a different social geography. Roche discusses the emergence of two cities: one in the center, densely populated by workers; the other on the periphery, inhabited by the wealthy and their servants. Yet, the author also emphasizes the coexistence of classes in both areas and within single buildings where workers occupied the upper stories and the well-to-do the lower ones. Roche divides the popular classes into two hierarchies, servants and wage earners. He contrasts the plight of those in both hierarchies who, on the one hand, lived in poverty and debt, seeking the necessities of life, and, on the other, became modestly affluent with investments and cash. The author's vivid depiction of the inequality of space in the people's dwellings stresses the contrast between the relatively comfortable lodgings of servants of the aristocracy and the clutter, congestion, promiscuity, and drabness of the single-room domiciles of workers, whose rent more than doubled during the century and represented 26 percent of income under Louis XVI.

The principal contribution of this book is the author's analysis of consumption to attain an image of daily life. Using notarial inventories, he explains the importance of the bed in the household, always a major part of one's legacy, as a conjugal symbol and the only place of privacy and security; the fireplace and its implements as symbols of light, warmth, eating, and health; mirrors and wall-hangings as images of status; and, above all, clothing as an expression of individuality and social identity. Roche plots a sartorial revolution in which clothing increased in quantity and value among the poor and changed dramatically from the simple, durable, somber garb of the early century to the light, ephemeral, colorful costumes of the later century. A new elegance in the dress of the people indicated changes in manners, a filtering down of the styles of the rich, an ambiguity in social ranks, the birth of a consumer society keyed to obsolescence, and a textile revolution.

The consumer revolution also embraced literature. Roche is persuaded that the elite culture of books, academics, and universities affected the working classes, transforming a popular mentality fashioned by oral and visual traditions. Using marriage contracts and wills, the author estimates that at the dawn of the revolution 90 percent of men and 80 percent of women could write. He stresses the growth and availability of free education, the rise in book sales, the surge in letter writing, and the profusion of the printed word in almanacs, pamphlets, tales, depictions of Paris, newspapers, songs, and posters. Reading made its impact on the people less through content than through the psychological meaning inherent in a new form of leisure.

Roche has based his study primarily on notarial archives, as well as on police records and morgue registers, and he uses them effectively. In one important section of the book devoted to sources, he criticizes three types of observers of the Parisian populace and the historians who use them. First, he views *littérateurs* as preachy instructors of the people whom they considered ignorant, credulous, prejudiced, and violent. Other writers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau created a mythology of uncontaminated rustics, and some such as Tousseint-Gaspard Taconet (misspelled Taconner) created stage characters who were amusing, kind, and picturesque, but unrealistic. Second, a group Roche labels moral economists (Louis-Sébastien Mercier and Rétif de la Bretonne are his favorite examples) were really writing literature, not actual accounts of Parisian life. He finds them superficial, exotic, didactic. The moral economists have at best left us "picturesque snippets for anthologies" (p. 46). Finally, doctors were reformers who saw only a disorderly, pathological city, a city of evil, decay, and death. Roche goes too far. It is not difficult for the historian to separate the didactic and picturesque in a Mercier, for example, from what are penetratingly realistic descriptions of popular culture. It is striking that Roche, for all his caveats, quotes Mercier throughout, perhaps to enliven his rather dull prose.

This book raises important questions about urban space, material consumption, and the conditions of life of the popular classes. It only hints at their beliefs, values, and dreams. Despite a brief, engaging account of taverns, Roche is on the whole silent about popular recreation. Scholars who have not already read the French edition will want to read this book in order to rid themselves of the notion that the popular classes were always and everywhere miserable, to learn how notarial records can be used imaginatively, and to become alert to areas for future inquiry.

ROBERT M. ISHERWOOD  
Vanderbilt University

ALAN B. SPITZER. *The French Generation of 1820*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1987. Pp. xvi, 335. \$42.50.

In his excellent new book, located at the intersection where intellectual, educational, social, literary, and political history meet prosopography and the history of *mentalités*, Alan B. Spitzer sets himself the ambitious task of assessing the impact of one generation on its own age: that of the generation of French intellectuals born between 1792 and 1803 who reached a precocious maturity around 1820.



As Spitzer defines it, his French generation of 1820 comprised a few hundred young men and a handful of young women, mostly of privileged background, who had proven their mettle by winning academic competitions, and who began their race for fame and fortune in the Paris of the 1820s. Much as they differed, they shared a common sensibility and the conviction that they were destined to build a new world of their own imagining in the ruins left by their parents. The young were linked by the experience of a common historical moment—the end of the Empire and the onset of the Restoration—as well as by personal networks, youthful arrogance, and a universal impatience with old fogies and their uninspired politics and shopworn classicism.

Spitzer is particularly good at showing how many common assumptions were shared by contemporaneous coteries of young intellectuals seemingly cut off from each other by ideology and temperament. It is in this light that the author examines the fascination that Victor Cousin's philosophical banalities exerted on his generation, the attraction of Henri de Saint-Simon's doctrines on his circle of devotees, the high ambitions of the collaborators of the *Globe*, the efforts of the young royalists around Victor Hugo nurturing the new romanticism in the *Muse française*. The generation of 1820 shared a common dream of creating the grand new synthesis to fit their instant in history, much as they might argue over the shape of that synthesis.

For me the most stimulating contribution of this book is Spitzer's discussion of the generation's social context. He argues persuasively that the generation was launched on a wave of rising opportunities and expectations, rather than being thwarted, as has often been claimed—shades of Stendhal's *The Red and the Black*—by institutional roadblocks. Militant opposition to the regime, for instance, was hardly a symptom of despair; it could be the making of a budding young lawyer. Elsewhere, new opportunities were opening up for the academically qualified as the Napoleonic *Université* moved from organizational charts to the staffing of the lycées. Similarly, the lifting of Napoleonic restrictions on the press and the theater opened up possibilities for those eager to make a name for themselves with their pens.

Spitzer makes no excessive claims for his generation of 1820. They did not create their brave new world, and most of them merged quietly into the French intellectual mainstream after 1830. As the author sees it, on at least two counts theirs was a doomed collective enterprise, whatever the individual achievements of a Hugo, a Delacroix, a Balzac. The generation of 1820 vastly underrated the constructive achievements of the revolutionary epoch and thereby overrated its own opportunities for

renewal. Also, a conventional classical literary education honed by the academic *concours* system did not adequately prepare the winners to rethink and reshape the world.

Within its own carefully stated assumptions, this study is unassailable: it is elegantly written (and handsomely designed), cogently argued, and unostentatiously learned. It offers a novel perspective on the French Restoration and on the aspirations of its rising elites. Ultimately, the reader's reception of this book hinges on the utility of "generation" as a historical construct. I was persuaded that it provides a fascinating new window onto the past.

PETER H. AMANN  
University of Michigan,  
Dearborn

JANE F. FULCHER. *The Nation's Image: French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. x, 280. \$37.50.

This volume is by far the best recent example of the growing appreciation of social and cultural history by musicologists. Paul Henry Lang initiated this tendency well nigh fifty years ago in *Music in Western Civilization*, submitting music to Zeitgeist with a passion for quick generalization that may have made others in his field hesitant to do cultural history. Jane F. Fulcher has gone about interdisciplinary work from a very different perspective. She has become extremely well read in the newer kinds of social history and theory, learning how to look at culture using both political and semiological concepts, and has come up with a way of talking about opera in context that is a major contribution to cultural history.

The book's starting point is quite iconoclastic: it demolishes William Crosten's much too often repeated idea of the Opéra in the July Monarchy as a bourgeois, indeed entrepreneurial, institution. Fulcher shows that, even when given a private license by the new regime, it had state financing and remained a public institution that was beholden to produce works appropriate to the political needs of the government, while at the same time engaging the tastes of an extremely volatile public. She approaches the subject with a canny sense of the problems faced by the directors of the Opéra in doing that, demonstrating their attempts to shape musical and literary fashions to fit their political purposes. Ultimately, they failed; there were too many contradictions inherent in shaping opera to the political bill. She depicts the productions as grand miscalculations, as attempts to develop an elusive political chemistry whose concoctions did the



regime more harm than good. This was not propaganda, pure and simple, for "the grand repertoire became a matrix for an often ineffable political transaction, a unique dialogue between political groups, and a means of apprehending complex realities" (p. 202).

The main productions had interestingly varied political implications. In *Le Siège de Corinthe* (1826) the Opéra made a risky attempt to coopt discontent with both the regime and the Opéra's productions; in *Robert le Diable* (1831) it was "implicated . . . in the increasing ridicule of the monarchy's image" (p. 80); and in *La Juive* (1835), as unrest against the regime grew more serious, it shifted back to a kind of clerical authoritarianism. In the process the Opéra became a "symbolic target" of the regime that figured prominently in caricature and critique of the government, unleashing the *esprit frondeur* against it. As a result the Opéra pulled back to productions whose grandeur lay more in show than in semiological dialogue.

Fulcher argues that the Opéra came back to such efforts, with no greater political success, in the Second Republic, chiefly with Giacomo Meyerbeer's *Le Prophète* in April 1849. From that time on the Opéra abstained from taking such risks, returning to the sense of grandeur as entertainment. But under the Second Empire, nonetheless, "the Opéra continued to serve as a tool or symbol of political compromise, an image to obscure contradictions but one that ended by magnifying them instead" (p. 165). The one flaw in the book is its naive treatment of the attempts at a kind of workers' opera before and after 1848. Fulcher offers few materials on these projects save some grand ideals and speaks hazily of the "workers" who supposedly went, raising far more questions than she solves.

WILLIAM WEBER  
University of York

MIRIAM R. LEVIN. *Republican Art and Ideology in Late Nineteenth-Century France*. (Studies in the Fine Arts, Art Theory, number 11.) Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press. 1986. Pp. xvi, 339. \$54.95.

This book, a revised doctoral dissertation, examines the political and social rationale behind the official sponsorship and encouragement of art during the early years of the Third Republic. The heart of the matter is captured in the author's quotation from the French government report on the Paris Exposition of 1878: "The present government, like that of the First Republic, must regard art as an especially powerful means of national education and industrial prosperity . . . It is simply a matter of propagating art, of cultivating the taste of the people for it,

and of putting it in the service of democracy" (p. 77).

"Republican art theory" in the 1870s and 1880s, according to Miriam R. Levin, was dominated by "an ideology which made art a major force influencing public values and economic behavior in favor of the lifestyle of the small producer and entrepreneur" (p. 1). "The syncretic character of the Republican art program is unmistakable," she states (p. 104). It was a "stratagem to maintain the middle classes as the pivotal power in French society" (p. 109), one that "sought to check psychological and economic dislocations and class antagonisms caused by industrialization through what might be called, in the broadest sense, aesthetic education" (p. xv). Art was considered "the medium in which the artist could assert, and the individual locate, his identity as both an independent being and a member of a community" (p. 221).

Levin pursues this complex and difficult theme by concentrating on the ideas, attitudes, and policies of six men, each of whom was politically active and also in close contact with artists and art educators: Jules Ferry, Victor Hugo, Edouard Lockroy, Antonin Proust, and Jules Simon. In addition she treats examples of the work of artists such as Pierre Puvis de Chavannes and Jean-Jacques Henner and of architect-engineers such as Gustave Eiffel. Although she makes use of a broad range of printed sources and has a solid knowledge of secondary works on political history, art history, and social theory, an investigation of the archives of the Ministry of Fine Arts and Education would likely have added important primary material.

ROBERT J. BEZUCHA  
Amherst College

MEREDITH L. CLAUSEN. *Frantz Jourdain and the Samaritaine: Art Nouveau Theory and Criticism*. Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1987. Pp. xx, 330. f. 132.

Few nineteenth-century buildings represented big city environments better than department stores. Designing for mass clientele and receptive to new construction techniques, architects of department stores created models of a new city architecture for a new urban age. The first great stores set the tone with iron-and-glass skeletons, ideal for vast displays and mass circulation. But their builders were reluctant to forego traditional monumental effects. A more complete commitment to modernity would await Louis Sullivan's Carson Pirie Scott building (completed 1904) and Frantz Jourdain's Samaritaine (completed 1910), where monumentality was jettisoned for a facade of steel and glass and thus a clearer articulation of function through form.

If Jourdain was a man of many words and few buildings—the Samaritaine was the one substantial structure he designed—he was nevertheless a central figure in avant-garde circles in France. Best known for his association with the art nouveau movement, Jourdain battled incessantly for a rational, contemporary, and democratic city architecture. In her excellent study of the man and the building, Meredith L. Clausen shows how the Samaritaine evolved from the most advanced thinking of the times and the influence of Parisian exposition architecture. The building brought together aesthetic concepts about form expressing function, radical social values that sought a closer association between art and city life, art nouveau celebrations of new materials and decorative arts, and Jourdain's own belief in the intrinsic worth of machine-made, serially produced components. When completed, the Samaritaine represented the summation of decades of planning, polemics, and prolific organizational affiliations by its architect. It was also, as Clausen successfully demonstrates, a composite of its age.

The author is less successful in tracing the relationship between the architect and his client or between the store's design and the particular clientele it was intended to attract. Almost certainly, the Samaritaine was a collaborative effort. Most likely, the Samaritaine's owner was responsible for many of the interior decisions, for example, the preference for greater display space rather than sweeping staircases. Surprisingly little is said about the functional design of store offices and depots, although these had become as critical to the success of a department store—and as representative of its operations—as the display areas the author concentrates on. Further, the text is not unambiguous concerning adverse reaction to the building. Clausen emphasizes a sudden shift in popular taste away from art nouveau, but she also discusses aesthetic shifts that even Jourdain came to advocate. By the 1920s the price of extension was removal of the more flamboyant features of the structure. Jourdain himself prepared the new facade, an acquiescence that would seem to confirm a loss of faith in some of the values the original design had espoused. The architect's response to the only building for which he would be remembered could have been more clearly developed. These faults aside, Clausen's admirable study convincingly shows how architectural history can be used to enhance our appreciation of both metropolitan institutions and the social environment they expressed. Thinking about buildings, by the turn of the century, required thinking about the machine age and about life in the city. This book shows how the connections were made.

MICHAEL MILLER  
Syracuse University

THEODORE ROPP. *The Development of a Modern Navy: French Naval Policy, 1871–1904*. Edited by STEPHEN S. ROBERTS. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 1987. Pp. xi, 439. \$28.95.

This must surely be one of the more unusual books reviewed in this issue for it is a slightly revised dissertation that first appeared fifty years ago. Stephen S. Roberts, the editor, claims it was "a classic long before it was published," and he is correct. If a twenty-year-old memory serves me correctly, the dissertation was used so often Harvard had to have it rebound. Arthur Marder cited it extensively in his *The Anatomy of British Sea Power* (1940), and Theodore Ropp summarized portions in his chapter, "Continental Doctrines of Sea Power," in the first edition of Edward Mead Earle's *Makers of Modern Strategy* (1941). The omission of this chapter in the second edition is a major flaw in this otherwise excellent work. Consequently, there is still nothing in print that compares with Ropp's study of this rather neglected subject.

Ropp's period, the last quarter of the nineteenth century, is not well known. It was a time of rapid but bewildering technological change and in France a period in which the controversies surrounding the theories of the *Jeune Ecole* occupied much attention accompanied by what Ropp terms the "politicization of naval strategy." Here new weapons such as the torpedo and ideas such as cruiser warfare were identified with political progressives, while traditional battleships were linked to political conservatism, perhaps even unsuited for a republic. Ropp is particularly interesting when he compares the theories of the *Jeune Ecole* concerning commerce warfare against the British with the German use of unrestricted submarine warfare during World War I. Ropp is also very effective in pointing out the technical factors behind the British naval scares of the 1880s, when the superiority of the Royal Navy over the French was far less than many may have realized. His accounts of the French naval budget and arcane accounting practices are also very instructive. Ropp's judgments on other navies are shrewd, expressed in his characteristic pithy style, for example, describing Alfred von Tirpitz's strategy as "bluff," which proved the adage "that a second-best navy is like a second-best poker hand, useless when called" (p. 335).

Ropp's achievement is all the more remarkable for the French naval archives themselves were not open to him in the late 1930s, and the heart of his book is based on studies or courses by officers at the *Ecole Supérieure de la Marine*. Roberts, who has done an excellent job of editing, maintains that his own research convinced him the additional material would not lead to any significant changes in the volume. I suspect he is right, although there are a

few instances when it might have been useful to see the original files—the Fashoda crisis is one—rather than rely on material seen through the prism of French naval officers. Roberts has added a supplementary bibliography of significant works on the French navy published since Ropp wrote his dissertation. The fact that it is only a little more than one page demonstrates how much the subject has been neglected. On the other hand, a fair amount has been published on other navies in those fifty years, and Ropp's citations of secondary literature are not as complete as they might be. I doubt if it would change much of what he says, but, with his gift for the apt phrase, it is possible he might have chosen to express himself either more authoritatively or somewhat differently on certain subjects. These are minor points; after fifty years the book remains a major achievement, and the Naval Institute Press is to be thanked for making it available in a well-produced edition at, by today's standards, a reasonable price. Roberts has also included excellent and clearly reproduced plans and photographs, which are of unusual interest, for perhaps never before or since have warships appeared as grotesque as they did then.

PAUL G. HALPERN  
Florida State University

CLAIRE ANDRIEU *et al.*, editors. *Les nationalisations de la Libération: De l'utopie au compromis*. Paris: Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques. 1987. Pp. 392. 240 fr.

The publication of a book on the postwar nationalizations at a time when France is in the midst of selling off public enterprises seems incongruous. But the colloquium that generated this collection of papers was conceived even before the Left came to power in 1981 and initiated a second round of nationalizations, which in turn led to the current reversal of policy and the plunge into privatization.

This volume of essays, edited by Claire Andrieu *et al.*, begins with the prewar origins of the nationalization movement, elaborates the grass-roots social upheaval that brought spontaneous plant takeovers during 1944–45, provides studies of each major participant (for example, the Confédération Générale du Travail [CGT], the Mouvement Républicain Populaire, and Charles de Gaulle), and concludes with papers on the legislative process during 1945–46. There are also excerpts of the discussions that occurred during the colloquium itself in 1984 and some testimonies by those who participated in the liberation, for example, Raymond Aubrac. Antoine Prost knits the twenty-five essays together by interspersing several syntheses, and he also contributes an epilogue on the

second wave of takeovers that explains how nationalization became the touchstone of the Left by 1972. This is a neatly crafted volume in which the rewritten colloquium papers now form a coherent history of the reform up to 1946. It will be considered the standard study of the subject.

Collectively, the essays point to one overarching conclusion. The nationalizations that followed World War II were the result of a national consensus among the political parties, the trade unions, and the public. Agreement on the need to take over key sectors was so universal that it is difficult to assign responsibility for these reforms. This quasi unanimity, Prost argues, attached France to these enterprises and helped them survive. Thus, France after 1950, unlike Great Britain, experienced no privatization. What the liberation introduced remained intact, though not unchanged, for forty years. In contrast the wave of nationalization of the early 1980s, unlike that of the 1940s, was marked by strong partisanship. Following Prost's logic, this lack of consensus has made the entire public sector vulnerable to the current drive for denationalization.

The inspiration for the liberation consensus reflected a universal determination to break with liberal capitalism and to avenge and purge those responsible for defeat and collaboration. This mood of moral outrage, which facilitated the nationalizations, contained an element of left-wing demonology. Politicians and the public believed that the "trusts" had to be quickly dismantled before they resumed control of the economy and checked the new republic. Here was the fruit of the interwar phobia about the "deux cents familles" and the "mur de l'argent." Serge Bernstein's essay suggests this source of the consensus and reminds us that besides the political, economic, and social calculations that account for nationalization there was also the psychological need to exorcise capitalist demons.

Although the liberation consensus may have been formidable, it was fragile and fleeting. There was agreement in principle but not on either ends or means. The Socialists and the Communists, for example, could not agree whether or not the reform was a step toward socialism. Discord among the partisans of nationalization gave the legislation its negotiated and heterogeneous character. In addition the political consensus around nationalization quickly collapsed and some of its champions, such as the Communists, who had only belatedly adopted the reform, became its critics. A nuanced interpretation of the liberation consensus thus must balance the widespread commitment to nationalization with both the dissonance over implementation and the opportunism of certain political actors.

It is impossible here to do anything more than suggest other major findings of this colloquium. For

example, the reader learns that the administration was not uniformly hostile and in certain instances aided, or at least mediated, the reform; that spiritual "paternity" for nationalization belongs to the CGT and the Socialists although their advocacy converged with that of the Communists, the Christian Democrats, and the Gaullists; that within the Socialist party nationalization was taken seriously by only a handful of its leaders; and that the final shape of the legislation was due to a complex give-and-take between trade unions, parties, and civil servants.

In retrospect the durability of the nationalizations of the liberation may have less to do with the remarkable consensus that created them, which these essays emphasize, than with what followed. Most of the new enterprises either quickly adapted to market criteria or provided the goods or services that assured their existence. It was their performance, which goes beyond the chronological limit of this volume, as much as the transitory consensus of 1945–46, that accounts for their survival to the mid-1980s.

RICHARD F. KUISEL  
State University of New York,  
Stony Brook

MIGUEL ARTOLA. *La Hacienda del siglo XIX: Progresistas y moderados*. Madrid: Alianza. 1986. Pp. 366.

It is a generally acknowledged fact that the treasury was a prime factor accounting for the slow growth of the Spanish economy over the nineteenth century. State financial stringency was inherited from the past, but the situation grew much worse early in the nineteenth century after a drastic collapse in customs revenues that followed the disruption of the colonial empire and after public expense was boosted by war at home. Although some of these issues have been carefully scrutinized in the economic literature before, Miguel Artola's achievement is to provide a comprehensive study of Spain's public finances over the period 1808–74. The book relies heavily on legal texts and official reports in order to point out the contrasting views on public finance philosophy between opposing political parties. Indeed, it is in Artola's interest to show that the political and institutional vacuum existing between the *Moderado* and *Progresista* parties had also its counterpart in public finance history.

Artola follows a chronological line of analysis in which chapters match the political scene. Each chapter discusses at length three issues that form the backbone of the book: public finance reforms, the budget, on which more concern is shown for revenues than for expenses, and the recurrent problems arising from an ever increasing public debt that accounted for most of the deficit.

The book opens with an account of the liberal reforms of 1808–14, which stemmed from the Cortes and the Constitution of 1812. They were aimed at establishing direct taxation in place of the deeply enrooted indirect taxation, at establishing Europe's first budget, and at preventing mounting public debt from becoming endemic and prostrating future economic development. The return to absolutism and its impact on public finance are analyzed in chapters 2 and 4, and in chapter 3 the author describes the effects of the short-lived parliamentary monarchy of 1820–23 on the budget and the debt. The fiscal reform of José Canga Argüelles, which meant a return to the liberal policy, is discussed with great detail and care.

The death of Ferdinand VII in 1833 brought civil war to Spain. Accordingly, it also meant a large increase in public expense calling for an urgent reform of fiscal policy. It also brought a new constitution that enabled *Moderados* and *Progresistas* to take turns at the head of the government. The reader will undoubtedly find interesting the analysis provided in the book of the three main attempts at reforming the treasury. Thus, in chapter 5 Juan Mendizábal's initiatives at controlling the deficit are discussed. His ambitious projects, which included the suppression of tithes, linked state finance to the disentailment of church property. In the following chapter, Artola dedicates great attention to the Mon reforms of 1845, inspired by Canga Argüelles, who was seeking a rapid increase in public receipts through new taxes levied on trade, commerce, and real estate. Finally, in the late 1860s Laureano Figuerola clearly opposed traditional *Progresista* fiscal philosophy by dispensing with income tax, although he, nonetheless, abolished the *consumos* tax and imposed a free trade tariff.

This book is a well-documented history of public finance over two-thirds of Spain's nineteenth century (although mention is made of the whole century in the title) viewed through contemporary works, and it is under this focus that the work should be considered. It is not the result of quantitative research, and in general no new data are made available. It is a highly informative account of the treasury that I believe will interest the nonspecialist reader on Spanish contemporary economic history and also the student of European comparative public finance history. Unfortunately, the reader might regret the absence of a selected bibliography and the little care shown for tables and graphs where notes on sources are poorly compiled.

A. GÓMEZ-MENDOZA  
Universidad Complutense

CATHARINA LIS. *Social Change and the Labouring Poor: Antwerp, 1770–1860*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp. x, 237. \$20.00.



For fifty years or more historians have attempted to describe the lives of the poor; for the same amount of time those lives have resisted study and description. The book reviewed here opens for its readers a new body of documentation and informs those readers in strong detail about the working poor who lived in Antwerp in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this era the economy and labor force of Antwerp were transformed twice. In the early eighteenth century the city still had a substantial textile industry, which employed many skilled artisans working in small shops. By the end of the eighteenth century the silk production and other work that had provided that employment had given way to lace production, cotton, and mixed textiles and to large enterprises outside the guild system. This reduced the skilled workers to proletarians but provided them a marginal existence. Yet even this new textile industry eroded in the early nineteenth century, and the city's industrial economy gave way before the growth of its port. Skilled craft work was replaced by factory and cottage industry labor before 1800; that was in turn replaced by the casual labor of the docks before 1850.

The replacement of industry with commerce dramatically altered employment conditions in Antwerp. The overall level of unemployment increased, and the kind of employment available changed. Whereas women had been able to earn minimal incomes as skilled workers in lacemaking and textiles, there was little place for them in a booming commercial center. Their levels of employment declined, and what jobs they could find were for unskilled work. For men the situation was little better. Few skilled jobs remained, the majority of employment positions being for casual labor on the docks. A flood of migration fueled population increase. Most of these migrants filled unskilled jobs: young women as domestic workers, young men as longshoremen. Their numbers and their ability to find work ebbed and flowed with the volume of trade through the port.

This excellent book records the social and physical changes that accompanied the change in economy and labor force. In short the people of Antwerp became increasingly impoverished in the nineteenth century. The poor ate less and less well, both in terms of the appearance of their food and its caloric content. They had an increasingly difficult time finding acceptable housing, so that they were both gouged and crowded. Fewer were able to marry legally. Finally, the poor of Antwerp had more and more need to turn to assistance from others. Catharina Lis documents the provision of poor relief with enviable detail. Its recipients were not a sorry group of permanent beggars so much as a changing group of those who were ordinarily

employed but who temporarily encountered difficulties. These recipients did not stay on poor relief for very long, because the system excluded them as their children aged and became potential workers. The rules that limited access to assistance meant that the working poor developed their own network of assistance in order to keep life going in very difficult times.

The book answers important questions about the relationship between economic change and poverty, the characteristics of the poor, and their means of survival. It goes beyond local history by making comparisons with other Belgian cities and by addressing a question of vital importance. The sources used include the widest possible range of local documents, with special emphasis on those that describe the poor themselves: the records of poor-relief administration and population. The result adds much needed depth to our understanding of the history of the poor in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

MYRON P. GUTMANN  
*University of Texas*

BIRGIT BJERRE JENSEN. *Udnævnelsesretten i enevældens magtpolitiske system 1660–1730* [The Right of Appointment in the Power Politics of Danish Absolutism, 1660–1730]. (Administrationshistoriske studier, number 12.) Summary in English. Copenhagen: Rigsarkivet. 1987. Pp. 376. 244.00 KR.

Birgit Bjerre Jensen's monograph is an important study of both Danish absolutism and early eighteenth-century European administrative history. Although the title suggests coverage of the entire period, the introduction of absolutism in Denmark-Norway and the appointment policies of Frederick III and Christian V are considered only briefly. Instead, Jensen concentrates almost exclusively on the procedures developed by King Frederick IV (1699–1730) to select his officials after 1706.

During this period the king made these appointments, as he made most decisions, alone in his cabinet on the basis of written summaries from the appropriate departments regarding the vacant office and the applicants for the position. To ascertain Frederick's policy, Jensen examines 2,582 appointments to positions in both Denmark and Norway within the Danish Chancellery (*Danske Kancelli*) and the Exchequer (*Rentekammeret*). The king used the recommendations of the departments in approximately one-half of these cases but in the other instances conferred appointments without using the process by naming individuals who had not followed the regular application procedure.



Although the king's disregard for his own appointment process might seem capricious, Jensen's research provides a rationale for Frederick's actions. The king chose the top officials in these departments, the viceroy for Norway, and the provincial governors (*stiftamtmand*) for Denmark from among those he knew at court, therefore having good reason to bypass the normal selection process. As a king still very accessible to his people, he also apparently fulfilled an impressive number of their requests for appointments to royal office. The evidence also indicates that Frederick IV on some occasions deliberately ignored specific recommendations by the departments when they expressed a decided preference for some of the applicants or specifically ranked the candidates.

Jensen contends that the king's tenacious assertion of all the prerogatives of personal absolutism led him to follow this seemingly contradictory course. Frederick demanded competence from all his officials regardless of the means of their selection. But the king also believed that appointment to royal office should still be based on royal favor rather than purely on merit. Thus, he deliberately ignored his own system to remind his officials and courtiers of this fact. Frederick's reign, therefore, represents an important milestone in the development of Danish absolutism, for the king's defense of his own powers forestalled the development of bureaucratic absolutism in Denmark-Norway until the mid-eighteenth century.

The author completes this study with brief examinations of the duration and particularly the forms of royal appointments that were made.

Jensen has provided a thorough study of a topic of interest to all historians of early eighteenth-century Europe and of Dano-Norwegian absolutism. The work is soundly conceived and well researched, and it contains a fairly extensive English summary (pp. 313–30), which contains a cogent survey of the work despite some typographical errors.

LELAND SATHER  
Weber State College

JONAS FRYKMAN and ORVAR LÖFGREN. *Culture Builders: A Historical Anthropology of Middle-Class Life*. Translated by ALAN CROZIER. Foreword by JOHN GILLIS. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1987. Pp. ix, 321. Cloth \$32.00, paper \$12.00.

This is a study of how a middle-class world view and life style were formed in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Sweden. When, Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren ask themselves, did the national stereotype of the Swede—a rational, “nature-loving, conflict-avoiding person, obsessed with self-

discipline, orderliness, and punctuality” (p. 5)—take shape? To answer this question, the authors contrast the differing perceptions of time, nature, gender, work, leisure, privacy, and pollution held by the peasantry, on the one hand, and the new Oscarian (the Swedish counterpart of Victorian) bourgeoisie, on the other. Oscarian bourgeois culture is also contrasted on occasion with that of the Swedish working class and of the “insincere and shallow” (p. 266) aristocratic class.

The authors approach their subject by examining the embedded nature of ideas and attitudes in material culture. Löfgren's discussion of changing attitudes toward time, nature, and the home comprises the first three chapters of the book. Whereas the peasant conception of time was rooted in the cyclical rhythms of nature and work, the nineteenth-century middle-class conception was more linear and mechanical. For the middle class, the goal was to manage and control time. Time that is “slipping away” or “running out,” however, dominates in addition to being dominated.

Nature had a similar duality for the middle class: it was to be both conquered (in a scientific and technological sense) and contemplated. Natural imagery proliferated in the domestic world in the patterns on carpets, the myriad house plants, and the albums of photographs and prints piled on parlor tables. Nowhere is the contrast between peasant and middle class attitudes toward nature more apparent than in the difference between a farm animal and a pet. Although this point was outlined some time ago by the British social anthropologist Edmund Leach, Löfgren verges on amusing in his discussion of birds as “paragons of bourgeois virtues compared to other animals” (p. 80).

In his description of the emergence of the family-centered life style (based on marriage, parenthood, and the sanctity of the home), Löfgren begins with a rather sweeping generalization: in peasant society the family “had no self-evident position. The social landscape was based on the farm, not on the individual or the biological family” (p. 91). This statement is one example of a problem that permeates the book. It is not always clear when the authors are referring to all of European peasant society or simply to Swedish peasant society. Is this truly a “historical anthropology of middle-class life” as the subtitle suggests or simply of Swedish middle-class life? Certainly, throughout European peasant society there are variations in the relative importance of the family unit as opposed to the household or domestic group. Conversely, companionate marriages have been outlined in other European contexts. How different were the Oscarians, and how unique, therefore, was the national stereotype?

Chapters 4 through 6 were written by Frykman. The reader is first struck by a somewhat jarring shift

in style and approach. Frykman's contribution is more theoretically informed, particularly by the work of Mary Douglas. In addition the material in his chapters evokes a rather curious reaction of both repugnance and excitement.

Twentieth-century ethnographers, guided by their dedication to self-conscious neutrality, more often than not eliminate descriptions of filth and misery from their accounts. Rarely do they write about smells unless they are enticing. This is not the case with historical travelers within Europe and abroad, who, albeit with underlying moral judgments, frequently recorded disease, dirt, and degradation. Frykman is bold enough to adopt the less squeamish approach in his discussion of peasant views of purity and dirt. His reference to the peasant woman who boasted, after discharging natural functions, of "never using anything other than her index finger" clearly highlights for the reader a totally different attitude toward dirt and cleanliness than our own or that of her bourgeois contemporaries (p. 197). Only, Frykman tells us, when bodily functions became private, when the physical became distinct from the social, were privies built. He raises the issue of masturbation in his final chapter as he focuses on the question of bourgeois discipline and self-control. Much of this material is rich for anyone who has a more Freudian analytical perspective. Frykman does better than Löfgren in his documentation of general statements.

Despite the absence of what would be a fruitful comparative framework and the relative thinness of primary sources cited in the bibliography, this volume is well worth looking at. Materials published in Swedish are relatively inaccessible to North American scholars, and we have Alan Crozier and Rutgers University Press to thank for making some of it available to us. Finally, one blatant omission is the absence of any discussion of the impact of religion.

CAROLINE B. BRETTELL  
Southern Methodist University

TUOMO POLVINEN. *Finland between East and West: Finland in International Politics, 1944-1947*. Translated by D. G. KIRBY and PETER HERRING. (Nordic Series, number 13.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1986. Pp. xi, 363.

Tuomo Polvinen has emerged as one of the leading diplomatic historians in Finland. *Finland between East and West* is a translation of the second part of a larger work whose title in English is *Finland in International Politics*. D. G. Kirby and Peter Herring have done a reasonable job of editing and translating this work, thus bringing to a wider audience a major study on a little-known period in Finnish history.

The book is divided into seven major parts, with the following titles: "Finland Leaves the War," "The Allied Control Commission," "The Ending of the War in Europe," "Political Deadlock," "From Moscow to Paris," "The Paris Peace Conference," and "The Conclusion of the Peace Treaty." There is a conclusion that provides a summary and an overview of the main issues covered, and there are extensive appendixes, including the text of the armistice agreement and the Paris Peace Treaty. The book includes detailed notes and an analytical index.

The book provides much valuable material for the historian and the serious student of international relations, and it is also valuable for the more general reader. The focus is on Finland as a small country caught in the maelstrom of war, first on the side of the Germans; then, as the fortunes of war turned decisively against the Germans and the Finns in the summer of 1944, the leaders in Helsinki began to look for a way out of a situation that presaged disaster. Through a tortuous process the Finns left the war and ended up fighting their erstwhile comrades in the northern part of the country, as the Germans gradually withdrew their forces from Finland. During the next stage Finland had to convince the Allied Control Commission, particularly its dominant member, the Soviet Union, that the leaders in Helsinki were serious about their quest for a new foreign policy. During this period the Finns were forced to put some of their wartime leaders on trial. At the same time they also dealt with right-wing elements, particularly in the armed forces, who resented the political deals made with Moscow and hoped for better fortunes in the postwar settlement. After the conclusion of the war in Europe, the various conferences held to determine the postwar shape of the Continent treated Finland like a defeated enemy state, even though there was sympathy for its plight among the British and the Americans, mostly out of support for the democratic principles that continued to prevail in a nation facing dire economic and foreign policy circumstances. Throughout this period the Soviet leadership treated Finland with much greater leniency than it accorded the defeated states in Eastern Europe. It is hard to determine why this was so, and the author really does not provide a systematic answer. Suffice it to say that Finland managed to preserve its democratic system and its free enterprise economy, even though certain restrictions were put on its foreign policy and its military establishment. Even with these relatively mild restrictions, there were elements in Finnish politics that demanded greater concessions, some of them hoping for a revision of the border adjustments that had taken place after the end of the war. It took all the persuasive power of President Juho Kusti Paasikivi to control such elements. In fact one of the main

reasons for Finland's success in maintaining its independence during this dangerous period was precisely Paasikivi's capabilities in Realpolitik. The traditions established with this statesman were continued with considerable success under Urho Kekkonen.

This book is an interesting volume on an important topic. It spends rather too much time on the international negotiations that helped set the limits of Finnish independence and Finnish territory; the author (or editor) examines these gatherings in great detail but deals with other countries and the negotiations that settled their fates to an extent that goes beyond the need to establish the context in which Finland's future was debated and determined. I would have liked to see more emphasis on Finland in these negotiations and perhaps more also on the domestic political scene in that Nordic country. But this is a relatively mild criticism, and it may be directed as much at the editor as the author. All in all I find this to be a valuable addition to our knowledge of a crucial time and an important place in European history.

TROND GILBERG  
*Pennsylvania State University*

ALOIS SCHMID. *Max III. Joseph und die europäischen Mächte: Die Aussenpolitik des Kurfürstentums Bayern von 1745–1765*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1987. Pp. xii, 563.

Diplomatic historians have generally devoted less attention to the peaceful reign of Elector Maximilian III Joseph (1745–77) than to the other eighteenth-century Bavarian Wittelsbachs. After all, the dynastic ambitions of his warlike predecessors Max Emanuel and Emperor Charles VII embroiled Bavaria in devastating wars over the Spanish and Austrian successions, while his dissolute Palatine successor Charles Theodore's desire to sell the electorate to Austria led directly to the War of the Bavarian Succession. Instead, Maximilian III Joseph is best remembered as the eighteen-year-old prince who promptly concluded peace with the Habsburgs and permitted them to regain the imperial crown immediately after his father's death. To most historians his long reign marks that moment at which Bavaria turned away from its ambitious and necessarily anti-Habsburg dynastic policies and began a half-century of virtual dependency on Vienna.

Alois Schmid argues, however, that Maximilian's early compromise with Austria at the Treaty of Füssen was only a tactical move and hardly represented a departure from traditional Bavarian dynastic policy. Instead, this rather thoroughly researched and detailed study demonstrates that the elector kept alive the quest for greater recognition

and higher princely rank for one of Germany's most venerable dynasties in an age when several other German ruling houses had achieved royal status; even his predecessors' pretensions for the Habsburg succession were not totally extinguished at Füssen. Furthermore, like several other middle-sized German states, Bavaria remained an active, though subsidiary, player in great power diplomacy that alternately aligned itself with France, Austria, and Great Britain. Only with certain ministerial changes following the Seven Years' War, a subsequent Habsburg-Wittelsbach marriage compact, and the impending extinction of Maximilian's line did Bavaria assume a more passive posture in its diplomacy.

In addition to redefining the course of Bavarian diplomacy, the author also redraws the conventional portrait of Maximilian III Joseph the statesman. He readily confirms the prevailing view that the elector was essentially a mild-mannered mediocrity surrounded by a ministry bereft of great minds. He points out, however, that Maximilian was quite capable of directing affairs of state, especially in the first two decades of the reign when his ministers failed to provide him with either a consensus or a strong figure to help guide him. Moreover, during these years Bavaria's statesmen were typically practical tacticians who, like their counterparts in the other German ministries, managed to muddle through diplomatic and military crises, often by relying heavily on the protection or subsidies of the great powers.

Schmid's study reaffirms that, notwithstanding certain nuances in the direction of Bavarian policy, Maximilian III Joseph's main contribution lies primarily in having given Bavaria over a generation of peace that began with his succession and ended with his death. Whether this contribution to our understanding of Bavarian diplomacy during the first two decades of the elector's reign merits five hundred plus pages of text is less clear, especially since its size will likely restrict its appeal to specialists in the foreign policy of Bavaria and related German states.

CHARLES INGRAO  
*Purdue University*

SHLOMO NA'AMAN. *Der Deutsche Nationalverein: Die politische Konstituierung des deutschen Bürgertums 1859–1867*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 81.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1987. Pp. 360. DM 68.

Shlomo Na'aman's new study of the German Nationalverein, the major national association of the unification era, both reinforces the established contours of that organization's profile and adds signif-

icant new accents to it. Literature on the period has usually assigned a subordinate place to the Nationalverein. Na'aman proposes instead that the organization played a pivotal role during its relatively brief existence (1859–67). To begin with, the program that its leaders carefully formulated, seeking a constitutional national state in a federal structure, staked out the theoretical and political boundaries for the constitutions of the North German Confederation (1867) and the German Empire (1871); Otto von Bismarck ultimately had to operate on terrain defined by his liberal opponents. Similarly, the Nationalverein significantly contributed to the shaping of three major currents in German party politics: moderate liberalism, liberal democracy, and social democracy. In regard to social democracy, Na'aman's argument is qualified, however; the descent was organizational, not ideological. In constructing the first all-German workers' association in 1863, Ferdinand Lassalle used the Nationalverein as his model, only substituting his one-man authority for the executive committee of the liberal nationalists.

This development undermined the Nationalverein's hopes of maintaining a deferential working-class following. The association was left with the two elements, liberal and democratic, that had joined together in its foundation. As Na'aman notes, the balance between liberals and democrats was the source of the early Nationalverein's strength. When this equilibrium collapsed amid the tensions produced by Bismarck's Schleswig-Holstein policy, the organization lost its dynamism. In aligning the Nationalverein's history along the liberal-democratic axis, Na'aman liberates it from an over-emphasis on connections with the constitutional conflict and Progressive party in Prussia. The moderate liberals of the Nationalverein would go on to found a national, not a Prussian, party in 1867: the National Liberal party. That their democratic opposites failed to launch a counterpart was a matter, according to Na'aman, not of lack of opportunity but of personal and ideological shortcomings.

Na'aman moves into a hazier region in asserting that the Nationalverein's efforts were an attempt, as his subtitle says, to achieve "die politische Konstituierung des deutschen Bürgertums." Both terms of reference demand more elaboration than they receive. If *Konstituierung* means attaining political consciousness and effectiveness simultaneously, a clearer definition of the process is needed. Beyond that, it is questionable that a social group is jelled into activism through a single organizational creation. And which social group is under discussion? Na'aman limits the *Bürgertum* to the educated and propertied middle strata and excludes both the industrial bourgeoisie and Catholics from this classification. This procedure, however, leaves more

questions than answers about the identity of the *Bürgertum* or at least takes us no further than traditional categories. Membership rolls of the Nationalverein suggest a more complex social base.

Na'aman, then, gives us stronger political history than social analysis. We know better what the Nationalverein wanted and gained. We remain on the old territory in regard to its constituency and to the sphere it occupied between Bismarck and Lassalle.

DAN S. WHITE

State University of New York,  
Albany

JACK WERTHEIMER. *Unwelcome Strangers: East European Jews in Imperial Germany*. (Studies in Jewish History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1987. Pp. ix, 275. \$29.95.

Between two and three million Jews fled persecution and poverty in Eastern Europe between 1870 and 1914. About seventy thousand of them settled in Germany; most of the rest traveled through it on their way to other havens. In assessing their treatment by German officials and German coreligionists, Jack Wertheimer seeks to illuminate the status of Jews and the nature of anti-Semitism in imperial Germany.

Wertheimer's most significant finding is that the hoary image of German Jews despising and shunning their eastern brothers is seriously overdrawn, at least for the imperial period. He concedes that some individuals harbored prejudices against the immigrants and that votes for them became a contentious issue in Jewish communities narrowly divided between Orthodox and Reform factions. Far more significant, however, were organized efforts by German Jews to help the newcomers. These ranged from providing legal aid and opposing government discrimination to sponsoring charitable and educational programs that eased adjustment and promoted acculturation. These efforts commanded such broad support among German Jewry that they are hard to square with the view of Peter Gay and others that German Jews, consumed by self-loathing, turned on their eastern coreligionists in order to gain psychic relief and disarm German anti-Semitism. Social tensions between the two groups undeniably engendered feelings of ambivalence about eastern Jews, but these tensions are better explained by objective class and cultural differences than by pathological self-hatred. Wertheimer's analysis enhances the emerging consensus that German Jewry grew in self-awareness, assertiveness, and solidarity with other Jews during the last decades of the Second Reich.



Of no less interest is Wertheimer's examination of the treatment of eastern Jews by German bureaucrats. Since Germany never adopted comprehensive legislation governing immigrants, state and local officials were free to elaborate administrative measures that turned out to be arbitrary and cynical, at least in the state of Prussia, on which the author has centered most of his research. Following Otto von Bismarck's dictum that alien Jews were an "unwanted element," bureaucrats discouraged their naturalization and occasionally expelled them, sometimes after long and productive periods of settlement, or else denied them residency permits in the first place. Wertheimer argues that this sorry record demonstrates continuity between anti-Semitism in imperial Germany and that of the Nazis. He has a point where the persistence of bigoted stereotypes of immigrant Jews is concerned. Moreover, he demonstrates that pre-Nazi Judeophobia was no mere literary and cultural code serving to establish a new German identity. The imperial bureaucrats, after all, did more than just talk about anti-Semitism. But documenting their actions, as Wertheimer has done in admirable fashion, is insufficient by itself to establish a strong line of continuity with the postwar period. Indeed, his own evidence may be read to suggest that official anti-Semitism in imperial Germany had much more in common with traditional xenophobia than with the murderous racism of the Nazis. His brief comparative analysis of the treatment of Jewish immigrants in Germany, France, England, and the United States shows that such xenophobia was fairly widespread in Western culture. A thoughtful reader may conclude that the Nazis really were *sui generis* after all.

DONALD L. NIEWYK  
Southern Methodist University

J. ALDEN NICHOLS. *The Year of the Three Kaisers: Bismarck and the German Succession, 1887-88*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1987. Pp. xii, 413. \$34.95.

In short, crisp chapters, J. Alden Nichols ably reconstructs the traumatic political events that flowed from the diagnosis of the crown prince's cancer of the throat to his death a year later as Kaiser Frederick III. No new revelations appear in the familiar story, but the book so immerses the reader in the flow of politics that the actions of the central players become vivid and understandable. Through the "daily chatter" of the party press and private papers, the author strives to convey an insider's view of the chancellor's management style. During this first real test of the Bismarckian state, Otto von Bismarck's "domination through balance and ma-

neuver" is contrasted favorably to the "warring ideologies" of irresponsible, "parochial" conservatism and tendentious, "unreal" liberalism (p. 343). Eager to jar current historical interpretation out of "the same liberal groove of a hundred years ago" Nichols presents a dry-eyed account of the doomed couple, Fritz and Vicky, wasting little time on the "what if" associated with their eerie ninety-nine day reign (p. 345). Rather than being their nemesis, so argues Nichols, Bismarck had positioned himself to effect a durable transition to the liberal conservatism that the couple espoused in practice, if not always in theory. But, "with William I's longevity, Frederick's cancer, and the personality of William II, Bismarck's luck ran out. And so eventually did Germany's" (p. 349).

Although this conclusion indicates that the limits of Bismarck's "realism" had been reached in the succession crisis, the author prefers to underscore the chancellor's statesmanship rather than the unravelling of his system. Yet underlying the great war scares of the late 1880s and the increasing nervousness of the German public was the looming question of what and whom would succeed Bismarck. Bismarck's greatness rested on the defeats he had inflicted on the whole internal political spectrum, including the conservatives, in the 1860s; Frederick's promise lay in guaranteeing a historical continuity that neither Bismarck nor William II could offer; by 1888 both the chancellor and Frederick were whistling in the dark.

In this work, as in his earlier study, *Germany after Bismarck: The Caprivi Era, 1890-1894* (1958), Nichols uncovers the central dilemma of Frederick's "liberal generation." But his refusal to entertain the pathos of this overlooked age-group, one overshadowed and then overtaken in its prime, leads him to underplay the apotheosis of Frederick's public martyrdom. In one of the first great media events of the newspaper age, the pioneer of celebrity monarchism bequeathed a confusing legacy that encouraged the myth of a lost liberal Arcadia, a melodrama of generational sacrifice, and a maddening exasperation. Nietzsche, for instance, would mourn Frederick as "Germany's last hope" in June, dream of guiding William II's destiny in September, and go mad in December damning the house of Hohenzollern, excusing, however, "the unforgettable Frederick the Third, the most hated, most libeled of the whole race." Eighteen eighty-eight was quite a year.

PETER BERGMANN  
University of Connecticut

DONALD E. THOMAS, JR. *Diesel: Technology and Society in Industrial Germany*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1987. Pp. xii, 279. \$26.95.



Rudolf Diesel was born and raised by a German family living in Paris. In 1877, at the age of nineteen, he and his family moved to Munich, where Diesel attended the city's technical academy, from which he received a degree in engineering. Through much of the 1880s he lived in Paris once again, as the representative of a German refrigeration company. It was in the French capital that the idea of an alternative to the steam engine germinated in his thoughts, which, a decade later, led to a successful German patent application for the engine that bears his name. Premature attempts to market the engine commercially in the 1890s before all of the technical problems relating to its production were solved led to disillusionment, bankruptcy, and Diesel's apparent suicide in 1913.

Donald E. Thomas, Jr., focuses on two major themes in his biography of Diesel. First, he is concerned with Diesel's ideas about the social question and his plans for a utopian industrial society. Diesel saw as his goal the creation of a small power source that would revivify artisanal production. That is, he saw his invention as an alternative to the steam engine that would allow small-scale entrepreneurs to compete effectively with the industrial barons. Thus, brakes would be put on the proletarianization of German labor.

Diesel also wrote a major book on the social question in which the ideas of Charles Fourier, Henri de Saint Simon, and Auguste Comte are evident. He postulated a rational industrial order, or beehive as he called it, in which workers came to recognize their solidarity with employers and society. Thomas argues that the nascent engineering profession, seeking to gain acceptance from the more established university-trained professions, was at pains to avoid any taint of political radicalism. Diesel's vision was, thus, a conservative one, not much different from the Taylor system in the United States. Workers were called bees and were not to challenge the holders of either economic or political power in Diesel's vision of the future.

A second major theme centers on the difficulty of Diesel and his sponsors, Alfred Krupp and Heinrich Buz of M.A.N., in transforming Diesel's theory into a workable engine that could be mass produced. The problems were much more serious than anticipated, and for a time in the 1890s it appeared that the engine might be abandoned altogether. Only after Diesel lost his patent rights in 1907 were the problems solved and the promise of the invention realized. In the meantime many stockholders, including Diesel, lost a fortune, leading to all sorts of recriminations and attacks against Diesel.

Thomas has written a clear if somewhat repetitive account of Diesel's life. He is at his best in describing the technical side of the story, which will certainly be of interest to business historians and schol-

ars interested in the history of technology. In regard to his stated aim of writing, "a case study in the interrelationship of scientific, technological, social, and economic trends in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Germany," a partial success is achieved. Only rarely does Thomas venture beyond his subject to integrate him into the contemporary streams of German intellectual life. However, the book does fill a gap in our knowledge of the German entrepreneur in the *Kaiserreich*.

KENNETH BARKIN  
University of California,  
Riverside

ANSELM FAUST. *Arbeitsmarktpolitik im deutschen Kaiserreich: Arbeitsvermittlung, Arbeitsbeschaffung und Arbeitslosenunterstützung 1890–1918*. (Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte, number 79.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1986. Pp. viii, 338. DM 78.

Although a leader in the introduction of social insurance giving industrial workers protection—however inadequate—against the economic consequences of sickness, accident, and old age, imperial Germany played no such pioneering role in shielding laborers against the ravages of unemployment. Not until after the advent of the Weimar Republic did the German state move to insure workers against joblessness. Anselm Faust attempts to explain the hiatus between Otto von Bismarck's social insurance initiatives of the 1880s and the adoption of a national policy on labor exchanges and jobless benefits in 1927.

Faust identifies the 1890s as marking the beginning of sustained public debate in Germany on labor market issues. He cites as reasons for increased concern the lapsing of the antisocialist law in 1890 and the economic difficulties of the immediate post-Bismarckian years as well as changing perceptions of how an industrial economy functions and growing awareness of the country's dependence on industry. The generally high levels of employment during the last two prewar decades did not allay public concern. Faust not only recounts the terms of debate and the scope of local initiatives during those years but also identifies multiple political and technical obstacles preventing implementation of a national policy. War brought massive disruption of the labor market and further postponed long-term solutions. Faust concludes his account in 1918, claiming that, even though none of the outstanding issues had been resolved by that date, the outlines of future initiatives were becoming evident.

In his investigation of labor market policy, Faust concentrates on developments relating to labor exchanges, job creation, and financial support for the

jobless. Faust's discussion of the interrelatedness of these three areas is one of the strengths of his book. Another strength is the inclusiveness of his coverage of the multitude of groups participating in the debate on employment issues. He surveys the positions taken by municipal, state, and national governments; by employers in large- and small-scale industry, in the crafts, and in agriculture; by socialist, Catholic, and liberal unions; by white-collar employees; by political parties; and by academic social reformers. Equally wide-ranging are his sources. These are limited to printed materials, but, since Faust's focus is on public debate and initiatives, they serve him well.

In his conclusion Faust attempts to place his detailed study in a broader context by linking it to the oft-debated question of the limits of reform in Wilhelmine Germany. He sides with those who define the problem in terms of mounting internal tensions and stalemate produced by a discrepancy between economic modernity and political backwardness. Since, however, the delay in achieving a significant breakthrough on a national response to employment problems was an international rather than a specifically German phenomenon, Faust's findings do not fit neatly into the framework he has chosen for them. But it is possible to entertain reservations about such matters while still appreciating Faust's careful, many-sided account of the development of labor market policy under the Second Empire.

ELAINE GLOVKA SPENCER  
Northern Illinois University

RAINER ZITELMANN. *Hitler: Selbstverständnis eines Revolutionärs*. New York: Berg; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1987. Pp. x, 485. \$50.00.

Much of the research on Adolf Hitler during the last one and one-half decade has centered on the important elements in the Führer's Weltanschauung and the degree to which Hitler, and the National Socialist movement that he led, was a retreat from the "modern world" of technology, urbanization, and industrialization.

Rainer Zitelmann's contribution to this debate is this lengthy inquiry, which focuses mainly on whether Hitler's "revolutionary" ideas included a significant social-economic component and whether or not he was primarily a "modernist" or an "antimodernist." To answer these questions, Zitelmann rests his case on a compilation and study of all statements made by the Führer on these matters from the start of his political career in 1919 until his suicide in 1945. The materials in question include Hitler's published works (chiefly his two books and his signed articles in the Nazi press), plus

his wartime monologues (various forms of "Hitler's Table Talk") and his statements to reporters and confidants. From these sources Zitelmann concludes that Hitler did indeed have a significant social-economic program, which pivoted on "careers open to talent" for gifted Aryans, as well as an expansion of state control of economic processes and some increase in public ownership of utilities and the means of production.

All of this was, in Zitelmann's view, shaped by Hitler's fundamental Social Darwinist view of man and society, which dictated competition, the subordination of the individual to the group, and the need for a "racially" competitive society to renew itself by the rise of able *Volksgenossen* from the lower depths of the social order. Given his conclusion that Hitler had a relatively consistent and forward-looking social-economic vision, Zitelmann, not surprisingly, places him in the modernist, rather than the antimodernist, camp.

Zitelmann has managed to give a coherent shape to Hitler's social-economic views and has also turned up some interesting sidelights, such as the Führer's repeated exaltations about the wonders of American technology. But it is the very coherence that Zitelmann finds in Hitler's thought that causes the greatest doubt for me. Anyone who has studied such works as "Hitler's Table Talk" knows that they have the character of a verbal delicatessen. The Führer mixed together insights and humbug in rich profusion, and his desire to score argumentative points, or dazzle his listeners, seems frequently to have been the only discernible motive for the jumble that surfaced on any particular day. It is difficult to accept that Hitler's basic social-economic Weltanschauung can be found in such materials, even if one adds in his formal writings and interviews. It is equally difficult to feel comfortable with any construction of what he "really thought" about these matters when we know so little about the part Hitler actually played in the development and implementation of social-economic policies during the Third Reich.

Zitelmann's book is an admirable example of exhaustive scholarship on an important aspect of the mind of Hitler. But it is less likely to stand as a decisive synthesis than as a provocative turn in the pursuit of the eternal enigmas of the Third Reich and its creator.

BRADLEY F. SMITH  
Cabrillo College

GEOFFREY STOAKES. *Hitler and the Quest for World Dominion*. New York: Berg; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1986. Pp. x, 254.

By a careful and detailed analysis of the writings and speeches of a number of individuals important in the early history of the Nazi party as well as Adolf Hitler's own words, Geoffrey Stoakes attempts to provide a new perspective on the origins and development of Hitler's views on foreign policy. The influence of the ideas and formulations of the *All-deutscher Verband*, the Pan-German League, is reviewed at length, and in this the author has used the unpublished second volume of Heinrich Class's memoirs. The author reviews at length the early development of Nazi party foreign policy ideas as influenced by Dietrich Eckart, Alfred Rosenberg, and Gottfried Feder. There is also a much less convincing discussion of the influence of Karl Haushofer. Of special interest are the way Stoakes presents the impact of the at times rather different ideas of these men on Hitler and his attempt to relate the evolution of Hitler's formulation of his own perceptions to the international and domestic German political developments of the time.

The author's suggestion that the second volume of *Mein Kampf* with its extensive discussion of foreign policy was written in part as a counter to the foreign policy ideas of Gregor Strasser will certainly attract considerable attention. In a short set of conclusions, Stoakes not only summarizes his findings but also discusses the relationship of these to the development of Hitler's foreign policy after 1933.

However useful the close examination of the early evolution of Nazi views on foreign policy may be, there are several major problems with the work. Given the title of the book, the author's summary dismissal of the other major scholarly work to deal with the topic, Jochen Thies's *Architekt der Weltherrschaft* (1976), is entirely unconvincing. The insistence on Hitler's limited Continental perspectives comes poorly from an author who ignores Hitler's naval and architectural plans. It is astonishing to see an author who emphasizes careful inspection of texts who is unaware of the many questions raised about the reliability of August Kubizek's memoirs, who has not found out that Werner Maser's transcriptions of Hitler's letters have been challenged, and who relies on the hurried translation of Hitler's second book, obviously without checking against the German text. Stoakes's own translations do not inspire confidence. There has been some debate recently about Hitler's references to the Armenians. An allusion to the "Armenier" in 1922 becomes a mention of "Americans" in this book (p. 163). Here is a manuscript that was ready for revision, not publication.

GERHARD L. WEINBERG  
University of North Carolina

HEIDRUN KAUPEN-HAAS, editor. *Der Griff nach der Bevölkerung: Aktualität und Kontinuität nazistischer Bevölkerungspolitik.* (Schriften der Hamburger Stiftung für Sozialgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts, number 1.) Nördlingen: Franz Greno, for Delphi Politik. 1986. Pp. 179.

This volume addresses readers from the social science community and others who are interested in the abuses of demographically inspired medicine and genetic engineering. The authors' examples are from the history of the Third Reich and often enough from one of its successor states, the democratic Federal Republic of Germany. To a large extent, these writers are interested in the thematic collusion of Third Reich phenomena and those of the Bonn republic, and in a sense it is fateful continuity that is featured as a lead theme here.

Hamburg surgeon Karl Heinz Roth uses a somewhat converse approach as he concentrates on universal precursors of Nazi eugenics, essentially posing the important question: how unique were the Nazis' ventures into human engineering? Annegret Klevenow joins him in this by addressing the question of sexual reform in the Weimar Republic—a reform whose concepts were already saturated with dangerous eugenic notions. Sabine Schleiermacher deals with the demographic program of the Protestant church, specifically how its interest in social, if not racial, hygienics paralleled the much more brutal practices of the National Socialist rulers, and with what she calls "continuity after 1945." Heidrun Kaupen-Haas dwells on Nazi family planning and the perceived problems of voluntary abortion and homosexuality as well as certain complements and remedies: sterilization, castration, and state-ordained abortion. In her epilogue she reminds readers of what is now widely known: that race scholars such as Fritz Lenz and Josef Mengele's teacher Otmar von Verschuer continued functioning in venerable German university positions after 1945. Ludger Wess produces evidence that Professor Hans Wilhelm Jürgens, an influential West German population policy planner, spent his formative years in the critical postwar era as a student of former Nazi racist professors of Verschuer's ilk. Wess seeks to illustrate the connection, however tenuous one might think it to be, between Jürgens's concepts and National Socialist stratagems as he argues that Jürgens showed deference to a charlatan, Professor Heinrich Wilhelm Kranz, originally an ophthalmologist who at Giessen University became one of the most criminal race scholars in Hitler's Reich. Susanne Heim, finally, examines world-wide genetic manipulation in our present day and age: are they manifestations of scientific progress or consequences of institutionalized criminality under Hitler?

All these essays are boldly conceived, and their arguments, on the basis of largely convincing material, cogently executed. Some authors, Klevenow in particular, are less persuasive than the rest, for their historical treatment is too cursory and the attendant analysis not sufficiently penetrating. The best article by far is Roth's. It is substantial, superbly researched, and elegantly written. By showing that the genetic researchers Verschuer and his assistant Mengele before World War II had sympathetic colleagues in England, the United States, Russia, and Scandinavia, he demonstrates the potential for evil in the scientific work of pre-Hitlerian non-Germans, without taking anything away from the gruesomeness that lay in the consequentiality of the Nazi doctors.

On balance this is the kind of book that is urgently called for in today's aura of accelerating scientific "progress" and is suited to bolster the reflective powers of the historian in any field. In the shadow of powerful political, industrial, medicinal, and other high-establishment lobbies, such critical volumes are very difficult to write and equally difficult to publish. Historians of medicine and science no less than students of the Third Reich and the Federal Republic especially would be well advised to resort to this anthology, despite its obvious shortcomings.

MICHAEL H. KATER  
York University

STEFAN KÖNIG. *Vom Dienst am Recht: Rechtsanwälte als Strafvverteidiger im Nationalsozialismus*. New York: Walter de Gruyter. 1987. Pp. xxv, 260. DM 68.

This book reflects a recent emphasis by German historians on examining the role of defense lawyers (*Strafvverteidiger*) in the Nazi legal system. It is based principally on sources from the files of the Reich and Prussian ministries of justice, several provincial courts, and Nazi party and police agencies; it adds to previous studies on the subject by Wolfgang Knapp, Werner Beulke, and Dietrich Güstrow. Stefan König shows how German defense lawyers had historically remained in an inferior position to judges and prosecutors: judges and prosecutors had been viewed as representatives of the monarchical and authoritarian state, and lawyers as agents of the "people." Under the Weimar Republic the numerous court cases involving lawyers who were Communists resulted in the erosion of the freedom of lawyers to defend persons who requested their services. Some lawyers were even banned from practicing in the highest courts. The emergency decrees of Weimar President Paul von Hindenburg further undermined the autonomy of the judicial process,

particularly in such areas as the collection and use of evidence.

The Nazi government expanded significantly the role of prosecutors and diminished proportionately that of judges and defense counselors. As soon as Adolf Hitler seized power in 1933, he began revising and "coordinating" the German legal system. He regarded criminal law as critical for the maintenance of his dictatorship. Jewish and Communist lawyers were quickly driven from their profession, and the remaining counselors were required to join the Reich Chamber of Lawyers and the Nazi Lawyers' Association. These maintained a close supervision over their members. The chamber used internal "courts of honor" (*Ehrengerichte*) to discipline lawyers who failed to show respect for the Nazi party or state. As late as November 1938, such tribunals purged the remaining few Jewish lawyers from the profession.

A combination of terror and legal decrees resulted in defense counselors in criminal cases serving only with the approval of the courts and the Reich Ministry of Justice. König traces the pressures on lawyers involved in notorious cases such as the Reichstag fire trial and that of Ernst Thälmann. Counselors who persuaded their clients to retract previous confessions made under the threat of violence were vigorously attacked by the police. The Gestapo, which viewed lawyers as "deadly enemies of the state" (p. 103), also prohibited them from visiting clients held in "protective custody" and from viewing interrogation reports and other pertinent documents. Further perversion of justice occurred in the "special courts" (*Sondergerichte*) and "people's court" (*Volksgerichtshof*), which aimed at dispensing an even more ruthless and summary law.

The final remnants of independent justice disappeared during World War II, when lawyers lost what remained of such rights as cross-examining witnesses and when it became standard procedure for judges and prosecutors to confer before trials to determine their outcome (pp. 185–86). In the trials of the conspirators involved in the July 1944 plot to assassinate Hitler, the defense became totally farcical as lawyers demanded in court that their clients be executed.

Although König offers sufficient evidence for the declining morale of the lawyers and their opposition to Nazi treatment of them, it is difficult to accept his conclusion that the counselors, much like those whom they defended, were "victims" (p. 2) of the Nazi regime. As the author himself notes, the lawyers did nothing when the Nazis began their destruction of the legal system by ousting Jews, Communists, and other opponents from the profession. Only when the government infringed on their pre-



rogatives did they protest or, what was more likely, suffer in silence.

DONALD M. MCKALE  
Clemson University

DETLEV J. K. PEUKERT and FRANK BAJOHR. *Spuren des Widerstands: Die Bergarbeiterbewegung im Dritten Reich und im Exil; Mit Dokumenten aus dem IISG Amsterdam.* (Bergbau und Bergarbeit.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1987. Pp. 223. DM 21.

In this slim volume, Detlev J. K. Peukert and Frank Bajohr deal with some "traces of the resistance" in Nazi Germany. They provide and critically comment on several documents from the era penned by leading "free" (or socialist) trade union officials involved with the miners of the Bochum area. They consider, as well, the social, economic, and political problems faced by the miners.

The most prominent person in the book is the relatively little known Franz Vogt (born 1899), an active Social Democrat at the end of the Weimar Republic inside parliament (as member of the Prussian Landtag), as well as a trade union functionary and executive of Bochum's *Reichsbanner*. Although his sketches constitute the centerpiece of this book, several of his contemporaries in the miners' movement are also given the floor. Particularly interesting are Vogt's autobiographical notes written from exile in Amsterdam in March 1934 published here in full, as is, among other items, a lengthy "situation report" he composed in August 1936 on the German miners. This latter analysis deserves a closer view not merely because it is rare but because it reflects many of the strengths and weaknesses of the conception of resistance held by the Left. On the one hand, it painted a nuanced picture and offered details about the daily lives of the miners. However, Nazism was seen primarily as a tool of the big capitalists aimed at the workers. The extent to which it was a social movement that attained considerable support, if not popularity, even in the ranks of the proletariat, was not fully appreciated. Vogt quite correctly indicated that within a short time after the "seizure of power" virtually no scope remained for the miners to organize any resistance. A combination of factors conspired against them. They were "atomized" (p. 138) at work, literally right down to the pit face, as well as in their leisure activities; there was little information available from outside the immediate vicinity so that it was impossible to form a picture of what was happening. Reinforcing these difficulties was the constant threat of being turned in, denounced to the boss, Labor Front, or the Gestapo for uttering the slightest word against the "new order." This threat in particular needs to be underlined for it made resistance appear to have no

chance of success. How Vogt explained the widespread occurrence of denunciations of the era (even in this milieu) is instructive. He reported that it was thought that there was "one works spy [*Betriebs-spitzel*] for every twelve to fifteen workers" (p. 140). Such a figure is almost certainly an exaggeration. How would the regime go about finding so many "spies"? Although Vogt conveyed the impression—which likely reflects the view of the time—that these people were in some sense foreign to the mine (outsiders, infiltrators, planted or paid agents), in fact, evidence from more recent research would suggest this was likely not the case.

Newer work on the social history of the Gestapo, for example, would suggest that many of the men who reported various kinds of political "criminality" to the authorities were probably "insiders," at the very least, members of long standing in the same social milieu. They denounced their workmates—as did other citizens from other social classes and virtually all vocational groups—for a host of reasons, not even primarily because of loyalty to or belief in the new system and Hitler. Although Vogt was certainly correct to call the denunciation "the most dangerous impediment of systematic illegal activity" (p. 140), this weapon would not have been so effective without the cooperation of many people from all walks of life. Nor does the new research vindicate Vogt's view that the stream of denunciations of the early years of the regime was drying up by 1936 (p. 145); they continued to flow at least until the failure at Stalingrad in 1943. "The period of passivity" (p. 147) of the workers was not over in 1936, nor were miners (among others) about to break into a strike movement (p. 150).

Although this book will be of interest primarily to labor historians, because of the primary documents it brings to light, others dealing with the Third Reich should find it useful.

ROBERT GELLATELY  
Huron College  
University of Western Ontario

HANS WOLLER. *Gesellschaft und Politik in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone: Die Region Ansbach und Fürth.* (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, number 25.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1986. Pp. 347. DM 48.

As a product of Martin Broszat's "Bavarian Project" research teams on local history in the postwar years, this volume has excellent credentials. Both German and Military Government (MG) documentation support the explanation that the Ansbach and Fürth counties were excellent choices. Their diversity also offers perspectives: Ansbach, a conservative garrison town, Protestant villages, and right-wing votes;



neighboring Fürth had possessed industry, socialist workers, and a sizable Jewish community.

The organization logically traces the beginnings of MG, German administration, denazification, the revival of parties, and the economy. Yet, Hans Woller moves rather casually between the two communities and upward to the Munich and Bonn governments.

Valuable is the story of how MG chose mayors of the many villages, with the recurring theme that Americans had neither the personnel nor knowledge even for that task, much less to govern directly. European émigrés conducted investigations, yet local MG commanders were quickly disabused of propaganda's stereotypes and tried to help the natives so far as headquarters permitted. Woller notes the conflict between positive commanders and the negative Counter Intelligence Corps, which the natives compared to the Gestapo, but which lost clout as it became obvious that Germans posed no threat.

An important point is that there was less continuity in leadership from Weimar times at the local level than has generally been assumed. Americans dismissed many more officials for political reasons than had the Nazis, thus opening jobs to business and cultural leaders, who had been under less pressure than officials to join the Nazi party. Local history also proves that the much deplored "renazification" did not occur. Woller details which party members returned to what government employment, observing that the percentages are impressive but that once-active members remained at the bottom of the pyramid.

Local history confirms the consensus that nominal Nazis were punished early and relatively harshly, grabbed by the machinery when General Lucius Clay pushed it hard; activists were later treated relatively mildly, when Clay wanted the machinery dismantled. The study explains why Nazis received affidavits from anti-Nazis: friends knew they had joined the party for nonideological reasons and behaved decently. The community provided testimony against nasty Nazis and isolated them after their internment.

As for economic revival, local history describes MG's expelling the corrupt and incompetent trustees appointed in 1945. Among entrepreneurs struggling to revive production, the famous Max Grundig displayed his entrepreneurship by avoiding the MG controls that crippled his competitors.

Woller, born as the occupation ended, offers a fresh look, yet, despite the excellence in detail, he ignores writings of Americans who maintained that the occupation had done more harm than good and the recent thesis that the occupation succeeded when it let Germans make decisions. That case could be made from his examples, such as the official who deplored not knowing MG's boundaries

of freedom; an officer could figuratively knock him down and the next day politely pull him to his feet. A close reading shows that progress was usually a result of a German convincing an American to change a misguided policy or a German discovering how to avoid it.

Woller stresses that officers became increasingly friendly but that Germans became increasingly anti-American, blaming them for postwar suffering and GI violence. As a nonviolent GI participant, I am pleased that a young German can see that many of us were well intentioned and willing to learn. Yet, as a historian, I must assert that many Germans were also well intentioned and much better qualified to rebuild their country, economically, intellectually, and politically. Woller sees the need for Germans to be told that conquered civilians did much that was positive. Too many of us still believe that Americans in uniforms achieve wonders for the world.

E. N. PETERSON  
University of Wisconsin,  
River Falls

PETER BURKE. *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. x, 281. \$34.50.

This book consists of sixteen essays, which concentrate on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and range in content from the anti-languages of beggars to Renaissance portraiture. Its subtitle—modes of perception and communication—points to important themes at the cutting edge of social history, and the list of essays promises scintillating reading: "Classifying the People," "Insult and Blasphemy," "Rituals of Healing." Unfortunately, the delivery is disappointing.

Peter Burke begins by defining his approach. Historical anthropology, unlike most brands of social history, is deliberately qualitative, concentrates on specific cases, is microscopic instead of macroscopic in explanation. Next follows one of the most edifying of these essays—an examination of the sources. Instead of the general distinction between primary and secondary, Burke divides them into those that come from outsiders and those from the insiders of a given society. The former include ambassadors' reports and the testimonies of travelers (which increased significantly in number through the early modern period). The latter include chronicles, letters, and memoirs and should be, according to Burke, scrutinized more for subjective than objective truths, more as works of fiction than as documents providing facts.

The essays that follow fit a general pattern. They mostly begin with catalogues of social science ap-

proaches from luminaries such as Norbert Elias on the "threshold of embarrassment" to the American school of "symbolic interactionism." From these discussions the essays delve immediately into the details of microhistory. We learn the various categories of beggars used to distinguish their crafts in seventeenth-century Rome and the new liturgical inventions of sixteenth-century popes. Placed in larger arguments, these facts might lead to new interpretations. However, with the possible exception of the chapter on the revolt of Masaniello in seventeenth-century Naples, these essays lack sustained arguments, and little develops from one essay to the next. Their conclusions often boil down to clichés. In the introduction, for instance, we learn that "the Mediterranean world is a world where life . . . is lived in public, on the square" (p. 10). In several other essays, we learn that Italians were theatrical, "the world as a stage" (p. 145), that they were obsessed with making the "bella figura" (pp. 10, 194), and that honor was often at the root of social behavior.

Burke's recruitment of numerous social theorists (Mary Douglas, Erving Goffman, Pierre Bourdieu, V. L. Tapié, J. V. Polišenský, the list could go on and on) and his focus on the individual case offer little toward new visions of early modern Italy. Perhaps one theme (even if it is an old one) does emerge along the margins of several of these essays. From the republics of the Renaissance to the principalities of the seventeenth century, Italian society became more formal and more socially and economically polarized. But here the pieces of a general explanation do not fit together. Several chapters demarcate the growing social elitism of the patriciate in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries; social titles and formal speech grew more grandiloquent, conspicuous consumption mounted, and their portraits spread across larger canvasses from simple busts to full-length poses accompanied by a multiplication of props. The reason for these changes in behavior, according to Burke, was that competition from upstart artisans and shopkeepers forced patricians to inflate the old forms of social distinction. But, in a society polarized economically more and more sharply, should we not have expected the opposite? If artisans were becoming poorer would they not have been less able to threaten the social preserves of the rich and the powerful?

Burke fastens on the individual case even as a conclusion to the preceding fifteen essays. The last chapter relates the increasing tendency as early modern society advanced to repudiate ritual but again offers little that is new. Far from bringing together the disparate masses of microhistory from the previous two hundred twenty pages, the final chapter leads to confusion. His previous descriptions of Italian theatricity, increasing formalism in

speech and address, the ritual embellishments of sixteenth-century popes indeed pointed in the opposite direction. Far from repudiating rituals, Italians wallowed in them, laying them on more thickly as we move from the Renaissance through the seventeenth century.

In conclusion the reader is struck by the mediocrity of these essays, especially considering Burke's previous mastery of the historian's craft. Perhaps these essays should be read in the way Burke instructs us to read the lives of Counter Reformation saints—as texts more about the societies doing the canonizing than about the societies from which the saints came. In like vein, his essays present few discoveries for early modern Italy. On the other hand, they do provide insights into the current crisis of social history: the poverty of a "method," microhistory, that for the past several years has been the rage from Bologna to Berkeley.

SAMUEL COHN, JR.  
Brandeis University

GIAN PAOLO BRIZZI, editor. *Il catechismo e la grammatica*. Volume 2, *Istituzioni scolastiche e riforme nell'area Emiliana e Romagnola nel '700*. (Cultura e vita civile nel Settecento.) Bologna: Il Mulino. 1986. Pp. 204. L. 16,000.

The essays in this volume are apparently those that remained after the publication of volume 1, *Istruzione e controllo sociale nell'area Emiliana e Romagnola nel '700*. The themes stressed in the introduction to the first volume are repeated in the preface to this one: recent research emphasizes continuity rather than sharp differentiation between the schools of the Italian states in the pre- and post-Napoleonic periods; despite the dissolution of the Society of Jesus and the events of the French revolution, the religious orders provided basic standards in both content and method for educational establishments from the sixteenth well into the twentieth century; civil governments failed to supplant the schools of religious orders with state-controlled schools.

Appropriately, the first contribution, by G. Angelozzi, takes up the subject of education under the control of religious orders, which set the tone for all schools even after the Napoleonic tidal wave swept over Italy. Although many orders worked out their apostolate in education, the Jesuits, at first tentatively, later enthusiastically, achieved their most conspicuous success in this field. But Jesuit schools took more than a century to become the chief educational model because the order demanded complete autonomy from patrons and the Jesuits had to contend with their vow to live by alms alone, which were never sufficient to maintain finan-

cial liquidity. Not until the order developed the residential school (convict) for *externi* and adepts sufficiently loyal (and rich) did they surmount this difficulty.

Editors doubtless have considerable liberty in publishing their own material and emending, sometimes mutilating, that of others, but Gian Paolo Brizzi, whose chapter is the centerpiece of the book, has used his freedom to give us seventy-eight pages of dreary and repetitious information about communal schools in the area under consideration. Surely, such data could have been presented in an analytical table covering possibly three pages. Apart from the statistics, what Brizzi tells us is that communal schools were practical in intent and that enlightened sovereigns did their best to encourage this tendency.

By far the most informative essay in the collection is that of Marina Roggero. She uses the *Costituzione per i nuovi regi studi* (1768) issued under the auspices of Ferdinand of Parma as the prototype for what other Italian princes with an enlightened bent employed to create schools that would escape church control and be used in the interests of the state. The effort to bring education under state control was not especially successful; there was never enough money to implement bold ideas, and state schools always had to return to using religious orders as teachers. However, impetus was given to innovative ideas such as more emphasis on moral rather than dogmatic theology, the use of Italian rather than Latin as the language of instruction, and the increase of literacy (for pragmatic reasons of course) among the prince's subjects. Austrian Lombardy and Savoy led in this process, but Italian educational theorists were fully aware of what was being tried and in part implemented in other European areas and did not shy away from venerating John Locke as their master.

SAMUEL J. MILLER  
Boston College

T. J. WINNIFRITH. *The Vlachs: The History of a Balkan People*. New York: St. Martin's. 1987. Pp. viii, 180. \$37.50.

The present work spans the history of the ethnic groups known as Vlachs from the third century to the twentieth. Consisting of several dialects with a pre-Latin substratum and a vocabulary largely of Latin origin, the Vlach language has also been affected strongly by Greek and Slavic. Known as Vlach or Arumanian, it closely resembles Romanian. Not just an ethnic name, "Vlach" was also the term for pastoral populations or even for an ethnic group that was simply different from one's own. Controversy thus surrounds all Vlach groups.

The historical Vlachs of T. J. Winnifrith's study are the scattered Romance-language speakers of Europe from Istria in the north and Dalmatia in the west to the Sava and Danube rivers. North of the lower Danube dwell the Vlachs of Romania or Romanians. South of the Sava and Danube were found other groups of Vlachs, some of whom were resettled in the eleventh century. Information regarding the Vlachs before the tenth century is fragmentary and unreliable, and only since the thirteenth century do we have substantial records about them.

During the last four or five centuries, the area of occupation of the bulk of the southern group of Vlachs has been the Pindus. At an earlier time, however, larger numbers of these Vlachs may have been situated along portions of the route between Serdica (Sofia) and Stobi and along the Via Egnatia from the Adriatic to Lychnidus (Ohrid) and Heraclea (Bitola).

Unfortunately, the author does not raise the question of Vlach presence along numerous routes of transhumance. He shows, however, that a large proportion of southern Vlachs has long possessed permanent summer cantons along the upper reaches of the Aoos (Vijose), Arakthos, Aspropotamos, Pinios, and Haliakmon rivers, while some of them wintered with their sheep in the warmer climes of the Aegean and Adriatic. As transhumance declined, they settled down in their winter homes or moved into Greek or ethnically mixed towns. Counting some five hundred villages around 1800, they now number fewer than one hundred.

A study of transhumance may unlock some of the many secrets about the Vlachs. The other needed approach is a systematic historical study of Vlach dialects and toponymy. The author has done neither. Moreover, he lacks a firm grasp of Slavic languages. He calls Stari Vlah (a mountain at the confines of Serbia, Hercegovina, and Montenegro) "Stari Vlahia" and derives the name of the Albanian town of Berat, as well as of Beritoarie, from *Imperatoria*. "Berat," however, stems from Slavic "Belgrad" (White Fortress). The etymology of "Beritoarie" is more uncertain. He twice misspells *samodržec* (autocrat) and wrongly explains the use in an eleventh-century document of the term *bezeite* as a deformation of Vlach *fugite* (p. 101). In fact, the word in question is Slavic *bežite*, a cognate of *fugite* and, similarly, the imperative second person plural of the verb "to flee." Finally, the author does not realize that the term *comes* (plural *comites*) took the form of *kmet* in South Slavic dialects to denote a headman or notable.

Despite the foregoing reservations, the book is a useful and generally objective study of the Vlachs, with a good critique of Romanian, Hungarian,

Greek, Bulgarian, and other narrowly nationalist conceptions of history. Of particular value are its twelve maps of Vlach settlement.

TRAIAN STOIANOVICH  
Rutgers University

JANUSZ TAZBIR. *La république nobilaire et le monde: Etudes sur l'histoire de la culture polonaise à l'époque du baroque*. (Polish Historical Library, number 7.) Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk or Ossolineum, Wrocław. 1986. Pp. 214. 230 Zł.

JANUSZ TAZBIR. *Śpotkania z historią* [Encounters with History]. Warsaw: Iskry. 1986. 2d ed. Pp. 192. 200 Zł.

JANUSZ TAZBIR. *Świat Panów Pasków: Eseje i studia* [The World of Polish Nobles: Essays and Studies]. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie. 1986. Pp. 390. 300 Zł.

If in the past Polish and other scholars were mainly interested in seeking reasons for Poland's gradual decline and subsequent partitions between 1772 and 1795, now they devote increasing attention to that country's cultural, religious, intellectual, and economic history. A multiethnic country of large size, Poland-Lithuania remained for long an oasis of religious toleration and a haven for persecuted religious minorities coming from various parts of Europe. Gradually, however, religious toleration gave way to a striving for religious conformity. This came about because of the worsening of Poland's international position, the deteriorating economic situation, and the activities of the Jesuits, particularly in the field of education. Among the scholars who have examined the shift in outlook and *mentalité* of the Polish ruling nobility, a prominent place belongs to Janusz Tazbir.

A prolific scholar, Tazbir is principally a specialist in the field of cultural history. His scholarly interests, however, also include intellectual history and the history of religion in the early modern period. The present review aims at evaluating three of Tazbir's most recent studies, which deal mainly with Polish society of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in general, and the ruling nobility in particular. Based on primary sources and secondary writings, the above works are presented in the form of essays and studies. Some of them are revisions of earlier publications.

As Tazbir points out, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Poland-Lithuania was a place of intellectual fermentation, heated religious debates, original cultural trends, particularly Sarmatism (a cultural trend popular with the nobility), and other fascinating phenomena. He raises so many points and controversial issues that I can discuss only a few of them. Of great importance is the author's effort to

describe the gradual evolution in the *mentalité* of the generations he examines. Tazbir shows how people shift away from a tolerant attitude toward religious dissenters and ethnic minorities and instead become intolerant and even openly hostile. He shows that people may view negatively anything that is unfamiliar—in language, religious beliefs, and dress. In the case of Poland-Lithuania, the country gradually evolved toward identifying Roman Catholicism with Polishness, largely because the country's enemies and invaders were of a different faith. As the country's economic and international situation worsened and as the Jesuits gained influence, an increasing number of Polish nobles came to believe that their numerous calamities were God's punishment for their having been tolerant of religious dissent.

The author is particularly interested in describing the mentality of the nobles. He deals with their education, their intellectual horizons, and their views of their own country and foreign lands. Tazbir argues convincingly that in early modern Poland there was no particular anti-Semitism. Like any other alien group in Poland-Lithuania, Jews were the object of various accusations, unfavorable judgments, and stereotypes. But in business dealings, for example, a nobleman or magnate never favored a Christian over a Jew.

Because Polish nobles came to embrace a belief that they descended from ancient Sarmatians and to disclaim any common origin with Polish burghers and serfs, language was not a factor in bringing Poles of different social station closer together. A strong feeling of community, on the other hand, gradually developed among the members of the ruling nobility regardless of their origin.

An intellectual with an inquisitive mind, Tazbir deplores the measures gradually taken against religious dissenters in Poland-Lithuania. With the twilight of Polish tolerance, the quality of religious writings and preaching diminished considerably. Yet the situation of non-Catholics in Poland-Lithuania was never as bad as that presented by Voltaire and other champions of the Enlightenment.

Tazbir devotes much attention to Sarmatism, which was popular among Polish nobles in the second half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century. Nobles became fascinated with the Orient. Male nobles began to enjoy wearing oriental clothes, and the Polish-Lithuanian nobility turned away from Western cultural influences. Most Polish nobles became complacent and self-centered and increasingly devoted to the pursuit of their own interests at the expense of civic duties. Flattered by the Jesuits and proud of their own "golden freedom," most Polish nobles lost a sense of reality. They came to believe that Poland had the best constitutional system on earth and that



it enjoyed God's special blessing and protection. Interest only in local affairs, limited horizons, and polonization of the Polish Catholic church, with even the Holy Family being polonized, were some of the characteristic features of the period. Routine acts of devotion replaced true religious experience.

In the three books under review and in his other writings, Tazbir devotes sympathetic attention to the Polish Brethren, who were the most radical and modern among the Polish religious groups. Because they rejected the doctrine of the Holy Trinity and tried to approach religion in an intellectual, inquisitive way, the Polish Brethren were hated and condemned by all the other Christian churches in Poland-Lithuania and were exiled in 1658. The author evaluates positively the intellectual contribution of the Polish Brethren to the Enlightenment and Unitarianism in both England and the United States. The writings of Polish Brethren could be found in the Harvard Library in the eighteenth century, and they were part of John Locke's private library. Although the real influence of the writings of the Polish Brethren on subsequent thought requires further and deeper investigation, their enlightened views on war and peace, crime and punishment, social justice, and religion certainly influenced the development of modern thought in general and of the Enlightenment in particular.

Tazbir's language is superb, and his arguments are logical and convincing. The author's use of comparative history is helpful in placing the Polish experience in proper perspective. Although one misses something while reading Tazbir's works in translation (some of his works and articles are available in English, French, German, Spanish, and Italian), the idea of making them thereby more accessible to the scholarly community is praiseworthy. Tazbir is also to be praised for his intellectual honesty. The task of the historian is not only to describe but to explain things as well and place them in proper historical perspectives. Tazbir does it well. In Poland his books reach not only the academic community but the reading public at large.

ADAM A. HETNAL  
Southern Utah State College

DEREK BEALES. *Joseph II. Volume 1, In the Shadow of Maria Theresa, 1741–1780*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. xviii, 520.

Habsburg scholars have complained for decades that there is no definitive biography of Joseph II. They need complain no more, for here it is. This is the first of two volumes on Joseph; the second will cover his reign from 1780 to 1790.

The questions any historian will pose on opening this book's cover will be the time-honored ones.

Does the author consider Joseph enlightened, and, if so, what was the source of his enlightenment? Was he the original "Josephinist"; in other words, was the reform Catholicism begun during the reign of his mother, Maria Theresa, his inspiration, or was it, as many scholars contend, inspired by others? And, above all, where did Joseph get that bull-headed determination to institute reforms regardless of the repercussions they might have throughout the monarchy?

Derek Beales certainly regards Joseph as enlightened, but he seems unsure as to the source. Whatever its origins, Joseph's enlightenment did not come from his reading the philosophes. Beales suggests that it came from his attending meetings of the *Staatsrat*, where the internal matters of the monarchy were discussed regularly by the leading Habsburg statesmen. Joseph was intimate with the problems facing the monarchy and listened to and engaged in the debates aimed at resolving those problems. Thus, his enlightened notions must have derived from proposals and suggestions of capable ministers whom he heard, not from digesting Montesquieu and Rousseau.

Was Joseph the original Josephinist? Beales argues that he was not. The famous chancellor, Wenzel Anton Kaunitz, was the prime mover of religious reform in the monarchy; he was ably assisted by others and listened to by Maria Theresa herself. But Beales argues—quite persuasively—that Joseph's real contribution to Josephinism before 1780 was not his own initiatives but his relentless support of the initiatives of Kaunitz and others, especially in dampening Maria Theresa's inclination to go over to the religious reactionaries among her servants.

As to Joseph's determination to reform everything, Beales argues in this volume at least that he was often frustrated in his reform efforts by his mother and Kaunitz and that his frequent trips around the monarchy and abroad arose as much out of his frustration as out of a desire to see other lands. But Beales also points out, again convincingly, that Joseph was not simply a reformer for the sake of reform. At times he wished to proceed at a slower pace than either Maria Theresa or Kaunitz, and he sometimes changed his mind about matters, at first advocating the wholesale uprooting of some institution only to advise caution and delay later on.

These brief paragraphs on the major scholarly issues do not really do justice to this book. It is a magnificent work, full of treasures of information, thoughtful discussions, and extensive footnotes to please the meticulous scholar. But its chief asset is its portrayal of Joseph himself, especially as he dealt with his mother. Too often one imagines Joseph as coldly rational, impervious to criticism, narrowly focused, and unsympathetic to the impact his re-



forms might have on individuals. What Beales offers is a man of passion, tenderness, love, and wide swings of mood, but also a man driven by a sense of what must be done and a man fundamentally unhappy. Beales tells of the relationship between Maria Theresa and Joseph with special sympathy and compassion, in a way that can be appreciated not only by scholars but by anyone who has experienced as an adult a domineering but loving parent.

KARL A. ROIDER, JR.  
Louisiana State University

RAPHAEL MAHLER. *Hasidism and the Jewish Enlightenment: Their Confrontation in Galicia and Poland in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*. Translated by EUGENE ORENSTEIN et al. New York: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1985. Pp. xvii, 411. \$29.95.

The medieval Rus' principality of Galicia became in the fourteenth century part of the Kingdom of Poland, was in 1772 made a Habsburg crownland, and was incorporated during the interwar years into the renewed state of Poland. Besides its role in Polish, Rus'-Ukrainian, and Austrian developments, Galicia was during those many centuries an important center of Jewish life. By 1910 Austrian Galicia contained nearly eight hundred seventy-five thousand Jews (the *Galizianer*), despite the fact that significant numbers had already emigrated to other parts of Austria-Hungary and, most especially, to the United States.

Although Galicia was not the source of the great intellectual movements that dominated modern Jewish life, the community living there nonetheless provided fertile ground for the evolution of trends such as Hasidism, the Haskalah, Socialist-Zionism, and even sectarian movements such as Frankism. It is the first two of these movements, and in particular their initial evolution during the first half of the nineteenth century, that is the subject of this book.

The volume consists of ten essays, not originally planned as a single volume but rather drawn from previously published studies in Hebrew and Yiddish, at least four of which had already appeared in English translation as journal articles. Yet, despite their disparate origin, these studies form a thematic unit made accessible to an English-reading public in good translations by Eugene Orenstein, Aaron Klein, and Jenny Machlowitz Klein. The first six essays concentrate specifically on the Jewish community in Austrian Galicia; the last four look at the neighboring Congress Kingdom of Poland within the Russian empire, with particular emphasis on how developments there either differed from or were similar to those in Galicia.

In these essays Raphael Mahler corrects the simplistic view that Hasidism was only an antirabbinical

movement of religious renewal or, on the other hand, that the Haskalah was simply a cultural-literary enlightenment movement that favored Jewish assimilation. Rather, the author shows how each of these bitterly contested rival currents of Jewish thought changed in the course of its history: Hasidism eventually compromising with the Orthodox *Mithnaggedim* but creating its own well-entrenched religious hierarchy (the cult of the *zaddik*); the Haskalah, while supporting the existing absolutist political system, nonetheless seeking to renew Jewish society through adaptation not assimilation.

The emphasis in this collection is on the socioeconomic characteristics of the followers of Hasidism and the Haskalah. Mahler's data are drawn from a wide variety of secondary writings and archival collections that he used before the war in Galicia's provincial capital of Lvov and more recently in Warsaw. Although he succeeds in treating dispassionately the often fierce polemical attitudes between Hasidism and the Haskalah, Mahler, who is a native of Galicia and acculturated in interwar Poland, does share the often overstated criticism of the Habsburg empire that was so prevalent among intellectuals in East Central Europe's post-1918 successor states.

Thus, Mahler's opening pages dealing with the supporters of Hasidism speak dramatically of Austria's "brutal suppression of Galician Jewry," including "forced labor and even whipping" for Jewish women who did not light Sabbath candles, although a few paragraphs later the reader learns that the Jews were consistently successful in violating governmental restrictions, including resistance to special taxes. Despite the overdramatization of some passages, this collection of essays, which complements the political and legal concerns in Mahler's earlier *History of Modern Jewry, 1780-1815* (1971) provides an excellent introduction to the vibrant aspects of Jewish culture that flourished in part because of the political and social stability that was the norm in East Central Europe before the outbreak of World War I and the dawn of the twentieth century.

PAUL R. MAGOCSI  
University of Toronto

KARL M. BROUSEK. *Die Grossindustrie Böhmens 1848-1918*. (Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum, number 50.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1987. Pp. 223. DM 98.

The author of this book has provided a valuable source of information on Bohemian industry after the middle of the nineteenth century. (Moravia and Silesia are outside of the purview of the study.) The data assembled, many from obscure secondary works, can be consulted profitably by anyone seek-

ing information about almost any aspect of this sector. For example one can learn that the number of flour mills before World War I was around seventy-two hundred and even that the sources differ in their reporting of this number by as much as plus or minus twenty-five (p. 147). In contrast Karl M. Brousek does not come forth with any thesis on the process of Bohemian industrialization, does not set out to explore the relationship between the various components of this process, and does not begin to put it into a comparative perspective.

The author has remained isolated from Anglo-American scholarship. Of the one hundred fifty citations, only a handful are in English. This is a pity because Americans have been writing quite a lot about the Habsburg economy as well as about the process of European industrialization, and the author could have profited enormously from this literature. He could have tested some of the theories that have been put forth concerning the Habsburg economy. Had he read David Good's work on market integration, to give just one example, he might have been tempted to compare the performance of Bohemian industry with that of some of the other provinces of the monarchy.

In sum this work, encyclopedic in conception, is fine as a source of data; the analysis of the data, however, is apparently left for others to do.

JOHN KOMLOS

*University of Pittsburgh*

BRIGITTE HAMANN. *Bertha von Suttner: Ein Leben für den Frieden*. Munich: R. Piper. 1986. Pp. 551. DM 49.80.

"A life for peace," the subtitle of the latest biography of Bertha von Suttner (née Kinsky), sums up the Austrian baroness's chief claim to be remembered today. But, as the author shows, she was also active in other reform causes: women's rights as well as the struggle against anti-Semitism and for the extension of political freedom in Central Europe. The publication in 1889 of her antiwar novel *Die Waffen nieder!* (Lay down Your Arms) brought her immediate fame, and she succeeded in converting many readers to antimilitarism by her passionate protest against the horrors of war. Her reputation as a writer, however, has faded since then. Her book was essentially a *Tendenzroman*, a literary genre seldom in fashion in the twentieth century, while most of her other works of fiction were composed merely to keep the wolf from the door. She must now be judged, therefore, primarily as a peace activist and antiwar publicist.

An agnostic and an anticlerical, the baroness based her internationalism not on religion but on a deeply held humanist ethic, which suffused her

whole outlook on life. Unlike her disciple and friend, Alfred Hermann Fried, whose pragmatism prevailed in the German Peace Society, she approached international relations from a moral standpoint. Although she did not share Tolstoy's belief in the spread of conscientious objection to military service as a panacea for war (for she thought this imposed too great a burden on the average conscript), she regarded the Russian pacifist as the prophetic voice of the peace movement. Her own remedy for militarism was comparatively modest: the substitution in disputes between states of a court of arbitration for the arbitrament of war.

She considered the Social Democrats, too, as allies in her crusade against militarism, yet she rejected class war. In domestic politics she was a liberal not a socialist. Under the baroness's guidance the Austrian Peace Society, which she had founded in 1891, sought especially the support of persons of influence; this policy indeed mirrored her often expressed desire to enlist leading politicians and persons prominent in social life for the cause of peace. She worked closely, for instance, with Tsar Nicholas II at the First Hague Peace Conference (1899) and with the Swedish dynamite manufacturer Alfred Nobel.

Von Suttner, the daughter of a field marshal and sister of three generals, began to develop an interest in peace only after she was forty. Despite a rather conventional upbringing, she had, however, enjoyed a more thorough education than most women of her social class then received. Well-read in three languages and possessing, too, some knowledge of the sciences, she combined courage in face of ridicule and abuse as well as considerable intellectual ability with boundless energy and enthusiasm, a talent for organization, and a striking presence. These qualities assured her a vital role in the peace movement. By awarding her the Nobel Peace Prize in 1905, the prize committee confirmed this judgment. Her career ended with her death in June 1914 at the age of seventy-one.

Brigitte Hamann has produced a well-researched and not uncritical account of von Suttner's life. Not only has she used von Suttner's abundant writings but she has consulted a number of archives, of which the most significant is the collection of the baroness's letters in the library of the United Nations (Geneva). The book consists mainly of narrative; the author indulges only rarely in analysis. This is, perhaps, a shortcoming. But, on the whole, Hamann has done her job well and thereby made a valuable contribution to peace history.

PETER BROCK

*University of Toronto*

ADAM BROMKE. *The Meaning and Uses of Polish History*. (East European Monographs, number 212.) Boul-

der, Colo.: East European Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1987. Pp. viii, 244. \$20.00.

Despite its title, this is not really a work of historical scholarship, nor does it have much to say about Polish history as such. Adam Bromke is a political scientist whose latest book continues his side of a somewhat dated debate (but one that has traditionally held great interest for Poles) concerning the lessons that history holds for those trying to find their way politically in today's Poland. The first half of this short book consists of a series of essays by the author; much of their contents are replies to critics of his twenty-year-old book, *Poland's Politics: Idealism vs. Realism*, and have mostly been stated previously. References to Polish history are exclusively from the presentist perspective of its "meaning," that is, how it should be read by today's armchair political strategists. As the author concedes, his essays are personal and contentious; they are also subjective, repetitious and self-indulgent, and they could have been summarized effectively in a single, cogent article. The second half of the book consists of Bromke's translations of various Polish political thinkers, ranging from Roman Dmowski to Pope John Paul II, whose thoughts are considered helpful to Bromke's position. These selections are made available in English for the first time, and even those who do not share Bromke's views will find them useful.

Bromke is a veteran of the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 and has been personally and professionally involved in Polish political questions ever since. He has read widely and knows "everyone," and his opinions will deserve a hearing from those interested in his issues. But these issues will not be of primary importance to historians, who are more likely to be put off by his repeated dismissals of scholarly history (except as it serves as a guide to current politics) as a matter of overspecialization, narrow monographs, and whatever Bromke understands as "historicism in the Von Ranke tradition." Bromke's own quaint positivism seems dated even by social science standards, for example, his search for "the model" of Polish history, his conviction that it contains a "uniform pattern," and his determination to force historical forces and events into an analytical structure defined by simplistic (if not false) dichotomies (for example, realism *vs.* idealism), which, where not altogether sterile, merely point to some of their less interesting aspects. Most controversial to me is Bromke's continued fascination with Dmowski, who he believes still has much of value to teach today's Poles. But most scholars who have studied the historical consequences of Dmowski's philosophy, an amalgam of Social Darwinism, anti-Semitism, clericalism, and chauvinism that repre-

sents much that is least attractive in Polish nationalism, place him among the most baneful of Polish political thinkers. One might as well recommend Heinrich von Treitschke as a guide for today's Germans. Overall, while this book may find a receptive audience among political theorists or students of current affairs in Poland, its value to historians of that country will be quite limited.

RICHARD BLANKE  
University of Maine

R. J. CRAMPTON. *A Short History of Modern Bulgaria*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. xiii, 221. Cloth \$34.50, paper \$12.95.

To write an intelligible history of Bulgaria since that country's recovery of independent statehood in 1878 and to compress this history into 209 pages of narrative text while holding political, socioeconomic, and cultural aspects in judicious balance is quite a challenge. R. J. Crampton meets that challenge handsomely. Beginning with a short, twenty-page introductory chapter on premodern Bulgaria from the founding of the first empire in 681 through the country's extraction from Ottoman rule in 1878, the book proceeds through three longer chapters to relate Bulgaria's history from 1878 through the end of World War I, during the interwar decades and World War II, and under Communist rule to the present time.

The history of modern Bulgaria tends to puncture a conventional contemporary academic myth that claims that political violence is a function and consequence of deep inequality between socioeconomic classes or of polarizing hostility between ethnic groups. Neither of these two allegedly causal conditions pertained in this country. Bulgarian society was the most egalitarian in Eastern Europe in terms of both property distribution and status flexibility. There was no aristocracy, nobility, or oligarchy after 1878; literacy was more extensive and the population was ethnically more homogeneous than in any other state in the region. Yet Bulgarian politics were particularly violent and savage, consistently marked by multiple assassinations, coups d'état, revolts, torture, and repression, long before the Communist seizure of power at the close of World War II. And the manner in which the Communists consolidated their power in the era of mature Stalinism extended and deepened but scarcely initiated this mystifying tradition of gratuitous political violence. In as concise a book as this, it is enough that Crampton relates this story without accounting for it. Perhaps it cannot be "explained" in conventional social science terms.

Particularly helpful to the reader interested in current history is the book's account of the Commu-

nists' economic difficulties since their violent political victory over other parties, followed by their no less violent internecine purge in the late 1940s.

A few small errors should be corrected in future printings. The dynasty of King Ferdinand's consort was Bourbon-Parma (not Palma) (p. 35). The assassination dates of a trio of Macedonian political figures are confused (p. 102): Todor Alexandrov was killed on August 31, 1924, Alexander Protogerov on July 7, 1928, and Peter Chaulev on December 23, 1924. It is not correct that Hitler prohibited Bulgarian expansion to the Aegean coastline during World War II (p. 125).

JOSEPH ROTHCHILD  
Columbia University

IVAN L. BOEV. *Balkanite v globalnata politika na SA.Sh., 1945–1975* [The Balkans in the Global Policy of the U.S.A., 1945–75]. Sofia: D"rzhavno Izdatelstvo Nauka i Izkustvo. 1986. Pp. 368. 4.42 lv.

In this book on U.S. foreign policy and the Balkans, Ivan L. Boev notes that between 1945 and 1955 the Balkan allies of the Soviet Union were treated as part of a Soviet monolith without distinction between nations. Later, a general differentiation among these countries occurred and is reflected today in U.S. foreign policy.

Boev contends that the Balkans began to figure into U.S. foreign policy at the beginning of the twentieth century. He stresses that, for the United States, the Balkans were then and are now viewed from a strategic perspective. Overall, U.S. foreign policy for the period under study, he says, was devoted to the pursuit of world domination, although by the 1960s the United States had diminished powers to enforce its will.

The book deals with the period spanning the presidencies of Harry S. Truman to Gerald R. Ford. Its author dwells heavily on the decades of the 1940s and 1950s and devotes comparatively few pages to the period between 1960 and 1975. The work contains copious footnotes, but few refer to sources. The author gives no evidence of having visited the United States nor of even exhausting the secondary materials available on the subject in other Balkan languages, not to mention English. Rather, he relies heavily on works in Bulgarian and Russian.

The book is polemical at times and is littered with political rhetoric. Still, it is interesting insofar as it presents a Bulgarian perspective on the place of the Balkans in U.S. and world affairs. The book seems to be directed at a small and select Bulgarian audience; this impression is reinforced by the absence of

a foreign-language summary, an index, and a bibliography.

DUNCAN M. PERRY  
University of North Dakota

TOIVO U. RAUN. *Estonia and the Estonians*. (Studies of Nationalities in the USSR.) Stanford: Hoover Institution. 1987. Pp. xvii, 313. Cloth \$31.95, paper \$15.95.

Toivo U. Raun's book is a carefully and judiciously written general history of the small Finnish-related Baltic nation that after a brief period of independence between the two world wars was incorporated into the Soviet Union. It has been a history filled with tragedies. These periods of crisis resulted in drastic population losses. In a dramatic illustration of this point, Raun notes that around 1550 the Finns and Estonians were roughly equal in numbers, but now there are five times more Finns than Estonians. Yet the Finns also have experienced periods of serious population losses.

The history of the Estonians, a small nation surrounded by larger neighbors, has been harsh. After their pre-Christian era came to an end in the early thirteenth century, they have been ruled by Danes, Germans, Swedes, and Russians. Raun deals relatively briefly with the prehistoric era and the medieval period of Danish and German conquest and domination. He also passes rather quickly over the period of Swedish domination and Polish involvement in the early modern period. But, although Raun's coverage of these periods is succinct, he displays a thorough familiarity with the most recent specialized international scholarship published in several languages.

With the beginning of the period of Russian domination in the early eighteenth century, Raun can anchor part of his discussion on his previous work. Perhaps because of this and some relaxation in the needs of compression, his account here becomes richer in nuances. His discussion of the complex revolutionary years in the early twentieth century is clear and many-sided. Years of social and political mobilization brought about both a social revolution and the emergence of independent Estonia. The social revolution took the form of a radical land reform, which defused the appeal of bolshevism and resulted in a highly equalitarian parliamentary democracy. In discussing the authoritarian Pääts regime of the 1930s, Raun relates the principal assessments of its character fairly, although he does not hide his own views.

World War II cost Estonia its independence and brought enormous population losses through deportations, death, and flight. Occupied in turn by the Soviets and Germany and again by the Soviets,



the Estonians struggled in vain to reestablish their sovereignty. Armed guerilla resistance, Stalinist repression, deportations, and a drastically lowered quality of life characterized the postwar years. The end of the Stalinist period brought relief. Yet the increase of Russians in Estonia, ironically attracted by the relatively high living standards, has intensified Estonian fears concerning their national and cultural survival. When covering these matters, Raun offers a penetrating and illuminating discussion of Soviet nationality policy. He ends on a rather pessimistic note pointing out the retrogression before Mikhail Gorbachev.

The recent developments in Estonia have been interesting indicators of the extent of the Soviet reform policies. Toleration of more extensive economic experimentation and liberalization than elsewhere in the Soviet Union has been combined with criticism in *Pravda* of Estonian nationalism. The Estonians have been the only Soviet nationality with easy access to the Western media in large numbers via Finnish television, and this exposure inevitably shapes their aspirations and view of the world.

This is a well-balanced and useful contribution to knowledge in the West of a region and people that have received scant attention previously. Much of the material in the book has not been before available in English, and this adds to its value.

PEKKA KALEVI HAMALAINEN  
University of Wisconsin

N. E. BEKMAKHANOVA. *Mnogonatsional'noe naseleniie Kazakhstana i Kirgizii v epokhu kapitalizma (60-e gody XIX v.—1917 g.)* [The Multinational Population of Kazakhstan and Kirgizia in the Age of Capitalism, from the 1860s to 1917]. Moscow: Nauka. 1986. Pp. 242. 3 r.

The present volume represents Nailia Ermukhanova Bekmakhanova's latest contribution to the study of the historical geography and demography of the Kazakh Steppes and Central Asia before the Russian revolutions of 1917. Having dealt in her earlier works with the emergence of the multinational population of the Russian state, as well as with the investigation of its class structure (*Istoki velikoi družby* [1969], *Problemy istoricheskoi demografii v SSSR* [1977], *Chislennost' i klassovyi sostav naseleniia Rossii v SSSR (XV–XX vv.)* [1979]), Bekmakhanova has chosen, since the mid-1970s, Kazakhstan, northern Kirgizia, and the ethnocultural, historical ties of the Turkic peoples of the region as the focuses of her scholarly interest.

The book under review here extends to 1917 the investigation of the emergence of the multinational population of Kazakhstan and northern Kirgizia that Bekmakhanova launched in an earlier work

entitled *Formirovanie mnogonatsional'nogo naseleniia Kazakhstana i Severnoi Kirgizii (posledniaia chetvert' XVIII–60-e gody XIX v.)* (1980). Her main goal, as stated in the introduction, is to attempt to answer questions of history, ethnography, historical geography, and demography by investigating the dynamics of population growth (natural and mechanical shifts) and identifying the boundaries of the nomadic, seminomadic, and settled populations. She also sets forth to determine the national, professional, and social composition of the population of the area and to analyze the relationship between various ethnic groups. This is an ambitious task, indeed, but, having read to the end of page 243, the last one in Bekmakhanova's six-chapter study, one feels short-changed.

This is a book that is basically descriptive. Whenever analysis is attempted, Bekmakhanova pays her dues to economic determinism and adheres to the theory that assigns a positive role to the Russian annexation of Kazakhstan and Central Asia in discussing the economic, political, social, and cultural changes that shaped the lives of the indigenous peoples since the eighteenth century.

Despite the fact that one of Bekmakhanova's main concerns (even if understated) is the impact of the Russian colonization on the indigenous population of Kazakhstan and northern Kirgizia (demographic changes, land rights and land organization, changes in the agricultural economy, and so on), she provides no theoretical discussion of either the settlement process and the frontier concepts or the process of colonization. Instead, in chapters 3, 4, and 5, which emerge as the core chapters of the book, Bekmakhanova reviews the changes in the political-administrative organization of Kazakhstan and northern Kirgizia between 1861 and 1917, assesses the scope of Russian in-migration, identifies the changes in the birth and death rates of the indigenous population, and relates these factors to the dynamics of change in the numeric strength and national composition of the population for the same period.

Chapter 6 is probably Bekmakhanova's weakest for she attempts to address complex issues of economic, social, and political history, cultural anthropology, and ethnography in a marathon fashion that hinders thorough analysis.

Most valuable for the Western reader are perhaps chapters 1 and 2, in which Bekmakhanova offers a review of historiography and a discussion of Soviet archival sources, as well as of the published documents on the historical demography of Kazakhstan and northern Kirgizia. Bekmakhanova draws on Soviet archival sources and secondary works alone, and her work contains no mention of standard Western works such as Donald Treadgold's *The Great Siberian Migration* (1957) or George Demko's



*The Russian Colonization of Kazakhstan, 1896–1916* (1969).

The absence of a bibliography and index affects negatively the scholarly value of Bekmakhanova's work. Despite this, however, this book should by no means be overlooked by those interested in the history of the Kazakh Steppes and Central Asia; the archival information that it makes available to the Western scholar alone compensates for the unimaginative methodological approach of the author.

AZADE-AYSE RORLICH  
University of Southern California

ANDREAS MORITSCH. *Landwirtschaft und Agrarpolitik in Russland vor der Revolution*. (Wiener Archiv für Geschichte des Slawentums und Osteuropas, number 12.) Vienna. Bohlau. 1986. Pp. 250.

The heart of Andreas Moritsch's study of the Stolypin agrarian reforms is a seventy-page analysis of the regional variations in Russian agriculture and the regional impact of the reforms and an appended set of thirty-eight regionalized tables that provide supporting numerical data. Moritsch's argument is, in brief, that in ten of European Russia's thirteen economic regions the Stolypin reforms either were irrelevant and virtually ignored or merely facilitated agricultural evolution that was already well under way. Where peasant agriculture was already intensive and market-oriented, for instance, up to 50 percent of peasant households withdrew from the commune and exhibited a corresponding propensity to consolidate their now private holdings. On the other hand, in the three regions—the Central Agricultural, the Middle Volga, and the Left-Bank Ukraine (*Malorossia*)—that were at the heart of Russia's agricultural crisis, the reforms had minimal impact, with below-average rates of withdrawal from the commune and consolidation; where peasants lacked land and did not practice intensive agriculture, they could not set up an independent farm. In other words, the reforms failed to work where they were needed most. Actually, Moritsch's data do not completely support his argument: the rate of separation in the Central Agricultural Region slightly exceeded the national average, for instance. But the national average was a composite of wildly different regional averages, and Moritsch does demonstrate the striking differences in the impact of the reform by region, and he explains convincingly why peasants responded to the reform in such regionally different ways.

Moritsch argues that the Stolypin reforms failed in the critical center because they ignored peasant agricultural conditions. He is an unabashed partisan of the agricultural program the Kadets advocated in

1905 and 1906: distribution of state and other lands (including those private estates already rented out) to land-hungry peasants and measures to encourage improved agricultural productivity. (What those measures might be remained vague for the Kadets, as they do in Moritsch's presentation.) The Kadets did not openly advocate the abolition of the commune, but they believed that it would gradually die out as agricultural evolution took its own course. That seems to be Moritsch's view as well, and by implication it minimizes the importance of the Stolypin reforms. Agricultural evolution was already underway where conditions were favorable and would have proceeded with or without Stolypin's program. That is a thought-provoking idea, but it is not one that Moritsch advances explicitly.

Moritsch's regional analysis of the impact of the Stolypin reforms is quite valuable, his tables present in convenient form regionalized socioeconomic data that many historians will want to consult, but the rest of the monograph is disappointing. Moritsch's discussion of the agrarian crisis of the late nineteenth century is entirely derivative, cliché-ridden, and in good part undercut by his own regional analysis. He has nothing much to add on the operations of the Peasant Bank and the workings of government-encouraged migration eastward. The discussion of the agrarian policies of the various political parties other than the Kadets is derivative, perfunctory, and unnecessary. Neither in the tables nor in the text does he offer evidence of changes in agricultural productivity, however measured—a strange omission, since the reforms were meant to improve productivity. And the politics, drafting, and evolution of the Stolypin reforms, the meat of the first half of the book, are treated better by George Yaney and Dorothy Atkinson.

JOHN BUSHNELL  
Northwestern University

RICHARD ABRAHAM. *Alexander Kerensky: The First Love of the Revolution*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1987. Pp. xiii, 503. \$29.95.

Aleksandr Kerensky wrote four books relating to his role in the Russian revolution of 1917, which may help account for the absence for seventy years of any scholarly work devoted to him. But Kerensky is too important to be left to Kerensky, and Richard Abraham's meticulous and readable biography is a splendid contribution to the literature on the revolution.

Six of the eighteen chapters that constitute this work deal with Kerensky's life prior to February 1917. They not only fill in a narrative that is not generally known but also succeed in establishing

that Kerensky was the leader of the serious insurrectionist activities of the Socialist Revolutionary party between the beginning of the war and the overthrow of the tsar. Abraham believes that the writings of Soviet scholars and Kerensky himself have conspired to underestimate this aspect of Kerensky's career. Soviet jealousy concerning the Bolshevik claim to glory is easy to understand, but how to explain Kerensky's uncharacteristic modesty? The question seems to relate to his attempts to find acceptance in relatively conservative political environments in the West after 1917. Abraham touches on this theme when referring to Kerensky's exaggeration, in emigration, of his nationalism in 1917, but it would have been useful to explore at somewhat greater length the theme of Kerensky's self-underestimation as a form of protective coloration.

This correction is important because it helps explain Kerensky's ascent in 1917. Abraham's account of this rise and the subsequent decline to October comprises nine of his eighteen chapters. Because of Kerensky's eminence in these months, it is more difficult to introduce new material here, but it is nevertheless illuminating to reconsider the period by following the thread of Kerensky's career. Perhaps because of his erudite grasp of the great difficulties that Kerensky faced in 1917, Abraham for the most part is not explicitly judgmental toward the man whose failure led to the end of political pluralism in Russia. There is no general appraisal of Kerensky's impact, no outright quarrel with the generally unfavorable treatment that Kerensky has received at the hand of historians in recent years. Abraham pays tribute to Kerensky's humane qualities, his oratorical talent, and his popularity (while it lasted). He does not avoid all critical remarks, observing, for example, that Kerensky became isolated from the real Russia and that he was "impervious to social analysis" (p. 275). But for me the book left some sense of disparity between the description of Kerensky's weaknesses and the extent of his political collapse, more than can be accounted for by the adversity of circumstance. On one matter that is not creditable to Kerensky, his use of false documents to accuse Lenin of treason, Abraham's account seems unjustifiably brief, leaving a good deal of uncertainty concerning Kerensky's involvement or scruples in the affair.

The final three chapters deal with the life of a fairly minor fugitive and émigré and therefore make a different kind of story. Much of it, including the narrative of Kerensky's love life, which was tempestuous before, during, and after 1917, makes interesting telling. But it is the epilogue to the biography of an important historical figure, not a major subject in its own right. What is important is that Abraham has filled admirably the longstanding

need for a study of the major figure that Kerensky was for eight months of his almost nine decades.

ROBERT H. MCNEAL  
*University of Massachusetts*

DIETRICH GEYER. *The Russian Revolution: Historical Problems and Perspectives*. Translated by BRUCE LITTLE. New York: Berg; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1987. Pp. viii, 163. Cloth \$27.50, paper \$11.95.

Nearly all these eleven essays originated as lectures delivered at the University of Tübingen during the troubled year 1967. First published in 1968 (not 1977, as the flyleaf has it), their principal service was to acquaint the wider academic community in the German Federal Republic with the work done in the English-speaking world since World War II on the Russian revolution and so to overcome any lingering nationalistic prejudices. Given the scholarly progress made during the last twenty years, the present English-language version inevitably wears a somewhat dated air, even though it includes a brief select bibliography that highlights recent publications. The text is virtually unchanged. Dietrich Geyer, a leading authority on modern Russian history and an advocate of what he calls the structuralist method, deals expertly with the socioeconomic and political preconditions of 1917, the reasons for Russia's rapid leftward drift between February and October, and the Bolsheviks' tactics in staging their coup. There is, however, little about the popular movements that made their conquest of power possible or about the nationalities question.

The author's deterministic line of reasoning sometimes leads him onto treacherous ground. For example he argues that, although Rosa Luxemburg correctly identified the dangers inherent in Lenin's establishment of a centralized single-party dictatorship camouflaged as soviet democracy, no other course was possible without fatally weakening the revolutionary regime; "no outsider had the right to demand that the Russian comrades quietly abandon the historical stage" (p. 140). Geyer also contends that, although "the bright promise of 1917 was stifled by the straitjacket of Stalinism," one should not place the responsibility for this on the early Bolsheviks but rather "consider . . . the inability of all nations to break out of power structures that vitiate their principles—whether socialist or democratic" (pp. 140–41). Do the imperfections of democracy excuse the crimes perpetrated in consolidating state socialism? Such a view was indeed fashionable in certain quarters circa 1967, but it seems much less plausible today. In considering the Russian revolution's place in world history, Geyer sets it in the context of the worldwide drive for

economic modernization, which leads developing societies to challenge Western domination. This idea was still fairly novel at the time of writing. In the late 1980s we are perhaps more struck by the national particularities of such phenomena: outbreaks of revolutionary violence may yield regimes run by conservative mullahs, not economic modernizers. And, surely, this is where the Bolsheviks' greatest achievement lies: they created a new political order that has had strong appeal to aspiring dictators, Communist and non-Communist, of whom few, however, have adhered to it for long. Notwithstanding these criticisms, students will find this a useful introductory text, especially if read in conjunction with Leonard Schapiro's recent survey, *1917: The Russian Revolutions and the Origins of Present-Day Communism* (1984). Moreover, the translator, Bruce Little, has done an excellent job.

JOHN KEEP  
University of Toronto

#### NEAR EAST

VERA BASCH MOREEN. *Iranian Jewry's Hour of Peril and Heroism: A Study of Bābāi ibn Luṭf's Chronicle (1617–1662)*. (American Academy for Jewish Research, Texts and Studies, number 6.) New York: American Academy for Jewish Research. 1987. Pp. xv, 247. \$25.00.

Although there has been in recent years a substantial outpouring of historical studies in Israel, France, and the United States on the subject of the Jews of the Islamic world, very little of it has dealt with Persian Jewry. Hence, this revised version of Vera Basch Moreen's doctoral dissertation is particularly welcome.

The book consists of a detailed, critical analysis of a seventeenth-century chronicle, *Kitāb-i Anusī* ('The Book of a Forced Convert') by Bābāi ibn Luṭf. The chronicle belongs to the genre of Jewish historical literature known as *megillah* (scroll), which recounts danger and ultimate salvation. This scroll records in verse the history of the Jews in Safavid Iran between 1617 and 1662. This was a time of periodic persecutions of the minorities. At first the Shi'ite Safavids had only oppressed the Sunni Muslims, but gradually they began to clamp down on the "People of the Book"—Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians. The campaigns against the non-Muslims culminated in a wave of forced apostasy that began in Isfahan in 1656 and spread to other population centers. The result was a phenomenon paralleling the Marrano experience in Spain more than a century earlier. Bābāi ibn Luṭf, a Jew living in Kashan, was among those who saved themselves by outwardly adopting Islam (thus the title of his work).

Excerpts of the Judeo-Persian text of the *Kitāb-i Anusī*, as well as synopses and translations of excerpts in English, French, and Hebrew, have appeared since the beginning of the twentieth century. None of these earlier studies, however, has attempted such a close analysis of the entire work, neither have they made such extensive use of Muslim Iranian sources, both published and in manuscript, to set the work in a broader comparative context. In addition to these sources, Moreen also draws on the standard European travel literature of the period and the important Armenian chronicle by Arakel of Tabriz. The latter corroborates and complements many of the details of Ibn Luṭf's account from the perspective of another hard-pressed minority community. Moreen brings the strands of her diverse sources together with an impressive combination of linguistic and philological skills coupled with acute historical insight. Furthermore, she interprets the events narrated by Ibn Luṭf in the context of both Islamic and Jewish historical studies, and, in each instance, she demonstrates her command of the historiographical literature in each of these fields and her awareness of their different concerns. By the way, she does not fail to see—and to take note of—the historical roots of certain aspects of contemporary Iran under Khomeini and the mullahs.

In addition to the numerous quotations from the text that are interspersed throughout the five chapters, there are six lengthy excerpts in the appendixes. Three of these translations (appendixes A, E, and F) are accompanied by the Judeo-Persian text and a transcription in the standard Arabo-Persian script.

Moreen's monograph is a valuable contribution that will be of great interest to students of both Jewish and Iranian history.

NORMAN A. STILLMAN  
State University of New York,  
Binghamton

NORMAN N. LEWIS. *Nomads and Settlers in Syria and Jordan, 1800–1980*. (Cambridge Middle East Library.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. xvii, 249. \$44.50.

The period 1800 to 1980 has been an era of prodigious change in the Middle East as elsewhere. Historians differ over the causes of such change. Some trace its roots chiefly to Europe—to the ideas of the French revolution, for example, or to the material changes ushered in by the Industrial Revolution—others find the roots of change chiefly in the Middle East itself. Norman N. Lewis falls firmly in the latter category.

This book is concerned with the change in the relationship of the desert to the sown in the last two centuries. Against the backdrop of a historically shifting relationship, where at times the desert and its distinctive social geography gained ground and power at the expense of the sown and at times the reverse was true, Lewis charts the virtually one-directional movement toward the expansion of settlement that began around 1800 and continues today. Although his work is descriptive rather than ascriptive, it is not difficult to see why movement has been uniquely toward expanding settlement in modern times: it has to do with the growth of state power.

From the Egyptian conquest in the 1830s through the Ottoman Tanzimat, Hamidian, and Young Turk periods to the imposition of European mandatory regimes and the emergence of independent Arab regimes, the people of Syria and Jordan have experienced a dramatic increase of governmental attention, for both good and ill. One of the consequences of this has been a dramatic growth of population; another has been increased interference in economic life. Together they spell one thing: expanding areas of settlement and cultivation at the expense of free forage for the herders of the area. This has been achieved at times by force. But in the main it has been achieved by the thrust of nineteenth- and twentieth-century economic changes supplemented by government incentives that have made land more valuable than herds.

Lewis does not pretend to discuss all groups, nomadic and settled, in Syria and Jordan. Rather, he is concerned with more or less discrete groups—Alawites, Ismailis, Druze, Circassians, Chechens, and various formerly nomadic tribes—who have settled in the steppe or semidesert of the interior and the transitional zone between the well-watered lands toward the coast and that interior. Alawites, Ismailis, Druze, Circassians, and Chechens were able to settle in the grazing areas of nomadic tribes as these tribes increasingly came under government control and as they too began to settle in response to similar historical pressures.

Lewis bases his account of migration and settlement on his own experience in the area since the 1940s, the many conversations he has had with local notables and common people alike, travelers' accounts, British archives, and various published sources. The result of his efforts is a very readable account of an important but largely unstudied topic. Although historians have generally made proper obeisance toward the modern trend of settlement and sedentarization, no one has bothered to fill in the details behind this general understanding across the whole period 1800–1980. Lewis succeeds admirably in doing so, bringing new information and new insights to the general understanding. In par-

ticular he pushes back the beginnings of the trend to the early nineteenth century. One very minor historical slip is his use of the epithet Young Turk to describe an oppositional figure in 1876, three decades before the Young Turks emerged (p. 32).

Implicit in his work are other important lessons. First, the interrelationships of groups within Middle Eastern societies and economies both now and in the past have been distorted by the twentieth-century obsession with borders and national identity. Second, sedentarization, which has universally been seen as change for the better, has its drawbacks both in terms of economic efficiency and in human terms and may in future cause severe problems for Middle Eastern peoples. Third, tribal structure, which has conventionally been viewed by scholars as fixed in kinship patterns, is very much more flexible.

MARY C. WILSON  
New York University

PHILIP S. KHOURY. *Syria and the French Mandate: The Politics of Arab Nationalism*. (Princeton Studies on the Near East.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1987. Pp. xix, 698. \$55.00.

Crushed by a French army that did not honor its own ultimatum, the nationalist government of Faysal ibn al-Husayn quickly collapsed in 1920, succeeded in Damascus by French rule justified as a mandate. In this thoroughly documented work, Philip S. Khoury relates the failed French attempts to establish a legitimate regime and the resulting misery for Syria.

Khoury concentrates on the fate of the urban class of absentee landlords, religious leaders, and former Ottoman officials, the focus of his earlier *Urban Notables and Arab Nationalism: The Politics of Damascus, 1860–1920* (1983). Threatened but not broken by French agrarian reforms, such men dominated Syrian responses to French attempts to divide Syria, to favor particular sects, and to subvert treaties and elections. The opposition was hardly passive: initial local uprisings, the Great Revolt of 1925–27 that involved two French bombardments of Damascus, a general strike in 1936 that led to a treaty, and agitation when France flouted it. Against this dramatic background, the nationalists fought and compromised, organized and fractured.

Nevertheless, Khoury emphasizes class interests over nationalist ideology. He portrays a fairly cohesive class retaining its monopoly over politics despite substantial changes in society (p. 619). Other writers discern a nationalist crusade; Khoury sees an elite attempting to restore its traditional mediating role between distant authorities and local inhabitants. Nationalism thus becomes a crude weapon, the cohesive force used by the elite to compel French



recognition: "the short-run goal of the Syrian elite was old. It was to achieve a monopoly of political power in the local arena" (p. 219). The author even denies that the Damascene leaders of the Great Revolt desired revolution. Rather, "they sought something less, the modification of the existing system and the relaxation of French control . . . so as to restore their traditional influence over local politics" (pp. 165–66). Those who, like Abd al-Rahman Shahbandar, risked execution would find this claim somewhat surprising. It rests on an interpretation of actions rather than proclamations. However, Khoury elsewhere sees the revolt as a turning point, leading the nationalists to reject violence; he also discredits accounts of the revolt that deny its nationalist component.

This volume presents an unrivaled detail of Damascene politics during the mandate as well as extensive biographical data, even about less prominent individuals. Khoury's interviews illuminate particular city quarters and the role of the *gabadayat* or strongmen. He shows that the division of Greater Syria injured Muslim merchants more than Christians, thus reinforcing sectarian politics, and discusses the impact of the Great Depression and the later Palestinian revolt. This raised disturbing questions about the alternative pan-Arab or territorial Syrian focus of the nationalist movement; moreover, popular support for Palestinians conflicted sharply with the benefits the elite—including nationalists—gained from trade with the Zionists. Clearly, this carefully printed work will become the standard treatment of Syrian politics under the mandate.

Though very readable, the book is long. The first one hundred pages treat the imposition of the French mandate, without substantial innovation. The weakest aspect of the book is its treatment of economic issues. It repeats the argument that French rule meant insufficient tariffs for Syrian industry and handicrafts, without discussing the costs of protectionism. Insufficient attention is paid to the encouragement of Syrian exports by the weak, franc-linked currency and to the probably disproportionate share of customs revenues designated for Syria. "Terms of trade" technically means the ratio of export prices to import prices, not the ratio of exports to imports (p. 49). Finally, the phrase "as France prepared to enter the long, harsh years of world depression" (p. 343) needs replacement, especially in the context of French criticism of the high commissioner in 1928. Such points, however, are minor. Khoury's masterly study is a very welcome addition to the history of twentieth-century Syria.

MALCOLM B. RUSSELL  
Andrews University

## AFRICA

WILL D. SWEARINGEN. *Moroccan Mirages: Agrarian Dreams and Deceptions, 1912–1986*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1987. Pp. xvii, 217. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$14.95.

The premise of Will D. Swearingen's engagingly written study of Moroccan agriculture is that the French, largely for irrational reasons, set Moroccan agrarian economy on a pattern that its present rulers have been unable and even unwilling to reverse despite the palpably poor results to date. Swearingen's surprise at the chimerical quality of French agricultural planning may seem forced in light of other well-known European project disasters (witness the infamous British groundnut scheme introduced into Tanganyika after World War II). But Swearingen leaves his reader in no doubt that the French have had their share of economic failures.

The author commences by pointing out that the French knew little about Moroccan economic and social reality at the time of conquest. They based their economic schemes on vague historical recollections (North Africa as the granary of the Roman empire) and well-conceived analogies (Morocco as a North African California). The resultant efforts to expand wheat production (a failure because of the precarious nature of rainfall) and to introduce fruit cultivation based on vast irrigation schemes did not yield the productivity and monetary gains expected by their advocates. The latter project fell short of its goals because the French did not follow through on irrigation schemes and then deflected resources into Arab agriculture in the 1930s.

More depressing than even this story is the record of a declining agricultural sector since independence. This tale is one of lessons unlearned, for Morocco's present rulers have simply taken up where the old colonial administrators left off. Their vision has been transfixed to grandiose hydraulic efforts and the appeasement of the large landowners (increasingly now the Moroccan elite who have supplanted the Europeans) and limited by insufficient dedication to resolving the problems of small-scale Moroccan cultivation.

The story told here is a familiar one that has been repeated in many colonial and postcolonial territories. What makes this account stand out from so many others (in addition to the verve of the writing and the sense of shock and outrage on the part of the author) is the wealth of interesting detail the author has uncovered. Swearingen has had the good fortune to discover a cache of French agrarian colonial archives stashed away in Morocco. To this rich body of source material he adds an abundance



While Swearingen is at his best poking holes in the economic logic of the French agrarian experts and their World Bank and Moroccan successors, the reader cannot help but ask, given the sometimes sardonic treatment of these chapters, what indeed should have been done differently. The summary chapter, with a few of the author's proposals, is abbreviated and unconvincing. Morocco's present agriculture impasse (rising agricultural imports and an impoverished peasantry) is Africa's dilemma. Most states have arrived at this terrible juncture although their routes have varied. Swearingen gives us the Moroccan pathway without, however, offering much of a way out.

CHRIS PROUTY. *Empress Taytu and Menilek II: Ethiopia, 1883-1910*. Trenton, N.J.: Red Sea or Ravens Educational and Development Services, London. 1986. Pp. xix, 409. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$11.95.

The book does not present itself as revisionist, but it may well have that effect. The book reflects Prouty's longstanding interest in women in Ethiopian society and tells the story of Empress Taytu, wife of Menilek II, the architect of the modern Ethiopian empire-state. The book presents its evidence and implicit thesis in eighteen narrative chapters and an epilogue. Although she covers the period 1844–1913, she makes a strong argument that the proper periodization for the “Menilek era” should be 1883–1910, that is, from the time of Taytu's marriage to Menilek to the palace coup of 1910 that deposed her.

ing a parallel history of women but by placing women into the narrative as an integral part of the story. To support her political narrative, Prouty offers classic social history rather than the more contemporary *Annales* version. Nevertheless, an effective context for court life and imperial decisions emerges in which Taytu's influence on national politics and international relations at this critical historical juncture appears quite natural. Additional informative sections on marriage, sex, and gender relations appear *en passant* in the narrative and enhance her implicit argument that women cannot be excluded from Ethiopian political history.

Her skillful use of these sources accounts for the readability and humor of her narrative. At the same time, the extensive dependence on European accounts of events and personalities at court lends an exaggerated sense of their importance to decisions. We do not learn as much as we might like about Taytu when she was away from the formalized setting of greeting European visitors. There is little evidence from the oral sources that still existed in the late 1960s. Indeed, her only consistent oral source appears to have been Zewde Gabre Selassie, a historian in his own right but also a scion of the Tigrayan nobility. She appears not to have questioned his assertions about the relations of his father, Dejazmach Gabre Selassie, with the Italians, which were murky at best.

Perhaps to preserve the lively narrative, footnotes and references have been kept to a minimum. The result is a text that flows beautifully, but in which it is often difficult to trace the source of a comment or quotation. This flaw makes the book less useful as a research tool than it might have been given Prouty's erudition in using European sources. Further, the few accounts of events outside of the capital do not convey an accurate sense of the economic context or national import of court intrigues. The book is a social history of court life; by itself it provides almost no sense of the dynamic and violent expansion of the *southern frontier*, which provided the gold, servants, and coffee found on and around the royal

table. In fairness to the author, had she attempted to do so it might have watered down her basic thesis.

All in all this is a fascinating story effectively told and well worth the wait. This will be one of the first books I will offer to friends interested in Ethiopia since it is sure to cause them to want to read more. For "professional" historians Prouty has succeeded in making it clear that political histories of Ethiopia can no longer exclude women from their narratives. She effectively demonstrates that women must appear in Ethiopian history not merely to redress the concerns of feminists of the 1980s but because they were critical to events.

JAMES C. MCCANN  
Boston University

HAROLD G. MARCUS. *Haile Selassie I: The Formative Years, 1892–1936*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1987. Pp. xvii, 242. \$25.00.

This is the first of a three-volume biography of the emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia characterized by meticulous research in the archives of Great Britain, the United States, the Sudan, Italy, and France, a comprehensive and sensitive command of the secondary works, but little material either written or oral from Ethiopia. Given the controversy within and without Ethiopia concerning the former emperor and the emotion his myth and reality engender, this is not surprising, nor would such research be possible. The result is a discreet and judicious portrayal of a man grappling with a country in transition from feudality to modernity in which the diminutive but courageous figure of a man is torn between his past traditions and new, often hostile, international forces. This is not an unfamiliar theme in African biography.

The past becomes apparent when Ras Tafari Makonnen becomes Emperor Haile Selassie on November 2, 1930, and envelops himself in all the mysticism, aloofness, and dignity of his imperial predecessors. The future is visible in his determined and sometimes ruthless policies of centralization, modernization, and internationalism. He dragged Ethiopia into the world, promoting education and the "Young Ethiopians" who became the loyal shock troops of change. The beginnings of an infrastructure were pushed out from Addis Ababa, a shantytown transformed into a capital. Taxation was centralized around a national bank whose purpose was to provide the cash for development at home and embassies abroad but in the more traditional fashion to provide a steady and lucrative income for the emperor himself and the new oligarchy who owed their position and wealth to him. They differed from the old feudal barons whom they re-

placed not so much in personal acquisitiveness as in respect for technology.

The independence of Ethiopia, however, was Haile Selassie's all-consuming passion, which committed him to a misplaced belief in the rhetoric of the collective security of the League of Nations. Without the technological counterparts of his adversaries' weapons, Haile Selassie probably had no other choice, and, in the curious ways of history, he chose the honorable course, which in the end regained his country's independence and restored him to the throne of the Lion of Judah.

This is high drama, from the subtle and dangerous days as regent to his defeat and flight into exile before the Italian onslaught in 1936 to carry on the struggle for Ethiopian independence. The book is well written with classic vignettes that raise the story from the turgid prose of diplomacy to the dilemmas of a man always between past and present. Haile Selassie was a secretive, elusive, enigmatic figure, whom Harold G. Marcus has made believable, purposeful, and rational. Perhaps there is another Haile Selassie, but the one who emerges from these pages explains why the leader of one of the world's most beautiful but wretched countries could command the respect of the international community. To decipher this extraordinary man from peripheral sources with sympathy, to be sure, but not without judgment is no small achievement.

ROBERT O. COLLINS  
University of California,  
Santa Barbara

## ASIA AND THE EAST

FRANZ MICHAEL. *China through the Ages: History of a Civilization*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1986. Pp. xviii, 278.

In traditional Chinese painting, there is an artistic style known as *po-mo* or, literally, "splashing the ink." An accomplished *po-mo* style artist is capable of finishing a painting in a matter of minutes by using a very limited number of bold but refined strokes. Franz Michael's book may be likened to a painting of this school, for in less than two hundred fifty printed pages he has succeeded in highlighting the history of China from paleolithic times to the post-Mao era. Few have attempted a Sinological undertaking of this scope, and fewer have met with his degree of success.

The book has seventeen chapters, preceded by a foreword, a preface, and an introductory note, respectively by Frederick W. Mote, the author himself, and Robert A. Scalapino. Beginning with a chapter on the geographical setting, the main text

follows the commonly accepted dynastic chronology, from the legendary Hsia through the Shang and Chou to the present. For each major period, the author has made use of pithy headings to denote its historical significance; for example, the Chou dynasty is called the age of reason, the Sung is labeled as a Chinese renaissance, and so on, the only exception being the chapter on the coming of Buddhism, which is sandwiched between the Han and T'ang dynasties.

Notwithstanding the brevity of the chapters, the major events and principal actors on the Chinese historical stage are made to stand out in sharp contours, showing the alternate pattern of political unity and disunity, economic prosperity and destitution, social cohesion and disintegration, hegemony and subjugation, and, in short, order and disorder that accompanied the rise and fall of dynasties during the many premodern centuries. This dynastic approach, however, unlike so many others, is not what some Chinese historiographers have derisively referred to as "itemized entries in the historical ledger," for the topics and issues selected for treatment and analysis reflect the author's judiciousness in historical judgment.

The foundation stone position of Confucian humanism from the Han time onward is given prominence, but not to the exclusion of incisive discussion of Taoist philosophical and Buddhist religious speculations. Similarly, the crucial role of the scholar-gentry in Chinese state and society is stressed throughout, but not without first explaining the vital difference between the English gentry, based on land ownership, and the Chinese, who acquired that status by means of education and examinations. Nor is the power of the military, the imperial consorts, and, at times, the eunuchs neglected, so that there is proper perspective for understanding the complexity of the Confucian state.

While most of the general histories of China tend to focus on the Han Chinese in China proper, Michael treats his subject in the larger spatial and intercultural context, emphasizing China's interaction with its neighbors far and near, especially in relation earlier to the steppes people and later to the modern West. The unique features of Chinese civilization are thus woven into the fabric of world history. Another feature, as Mote points out in his foreword, is the author's attention to artistic expression in all periods, with thirty illustrations to help demonstrate both the variety and creativeness that characterize the Chinese perception of, and their search for unity with, nature.

It is in the last few chapters on contemporary China that a reader might occasionally raise a quizzical eyebrow as, for example, when the author states that "the National Government was overthrown on the mainland not by popular revolution,

but by military defeat" (p. 204). His very sparing use of footnotes, while enhancing the pleasure of reading his Ruskinian prose, nonetheless makes one wonder where the figures of one million Tibetan genocide victims or three thousand or more destroyed temples and monasteries come from (p. 237). There is, perhaps, a distinction between history and current events.

This book, like a *po-mo* style painting, presents the reader with a panoramic historical view with all the essential landmarks clearly outlined. It provides an excellent introduction for the general public and much food for thought for those in the field of Chinese studies.

C. T. HU  
Teachers College  
Columbia University

ROBERT P. HYMES. *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-Hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung*. (Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature, and Institutions.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1986. Pp. xv, 379. \$44.50.

Robert P. Hymes's work is a study of local history in the Sung period (960–1127). Using a variety of primary sources, mainly local gazetteers and biographies in collected works, Hymes has produced an excellent research tracing changes in elites in Fu-chou (present day Lin-ch'uan, Chiang-hsi) from the Northern Sung (960–1127) to the Southern Sung (1127–1279). In the aspects of social mobility, marriage patterns, local defense, social welfare, religions, and bureaucracy, Hymes meticulously analyzes the changes that marked essential differences between the Northern Sung and the Southern Sung in Fu-chou. Central to the author's arguments are themes of elite interests in national and local affairs, of state control and elite autonomy.

The author begins with a criticism of mobility studies of premodern China. In particular, he proves empirically that E. A. Kracke, Jr.'s, classic studies of Sung social mobility are overestimations. (Of Kracke's eight "new men" from Fu-chou on the two lists of *chin-shih* degree holders, at least five actually had kinsmen who had held office.) According to Hymes, studies of social mobility, if at all possible, should not only concentrate on the successful *chin-shih* candidate's grandfather's and father's background but also take into consideration the collateral lines of the candidate's family members and his wife's family background. The author's extensive study of the Fu-chou elite, therefore, is based on data from the reconstruction of a number of elite families in that locality. With the help of a number of well-drawn maps, the author's analyses are interesting and convincing, showing soundness

in his methodology. One of his important findings regarding these families is their ability to continuously maintain their family fortunes throughout the Sung period; a few of them were found to be flourishing down to the Yuan era. Moreover, family fortunes depended not only on the acquisition of the *chin-shih* degree and office but also on the building of a strong political, economic, and social base in the locality. The author demonstrates that in Southern Sung times one of the significant departures from Northern Sung elite family strategies was the establishment of local marriage ties instead of long-range marriage alliances. In many other aspects, the author shows a similar tendency toward the growing importance of local affairs in elite social life. In local defense, in social welfare, in temple building, and in localized religious beliefs, there is much evidence to support his thesis that in Southern Sung times the focus of Fu-chou elite families' strategies shifted from being on central office to being on the locality.

In this exemplary study in traditional Chinese local history, probably the most important finding is the separation of the elite from the state. The weakening of state control in Southern Sung times and the increasing local autonomy were nothing but the beginning of a trend that became obvious in later dynasties. Generalizing from the study of just one locality, the author provides strong evidence and convincing arguments, although some readers probably would still wonder whether more empirical studies of other localities are needed to validate some of the author's points. Also, one important factor in the contrast in Wang An-shih's and Lu Chiu-yuan's attitudes toward the central government might be found in their different careers. Lu never held important national office and therefore was not involved in national affairs.

JING-SHEN TAO  
University of Arizona

ANDREW D. W. FORBES. *Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia: A Political History of Republican Sinkiang, 1911-1949*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1986. Pp. xvi, 376. \$59.50.

The central theme of this study, according to Andrew D. W. Forbes, is the development and nature of the warlord government and Muslim dissidence in Sinkiang during the years 1911-49. A related theme is the consistent effort of Russia to extend its influence into the province and the response of the local administration and population to the Soviet challenge. The book satisfies the long-felt need of scholars for a history of the region that pays equal attention to international and domestic relations and discusses the aspirations and movements

of the Muslim dissidents with objectivity and understanding.

Chinese Turkistan was incorporated into the Ch'ing empire during the eighteenth century. The Manchu court established a policy that set the region apart from China proper. It brought the local elite into the regional administration, placed only banner officials in viceregal positions, respected the local social and religious customs, and restricted the immigration of Han Chinese. The policy worked reasonably well until the late nineteenth century, when dynastic decline brought about Tungan and Turkic Muslim rebellions and the incursion of British and Russian power into the region. The Ch'ing government responded by suppressing the rebellions and establishing a provincial government that imposed the direct authority of Chinese civil and military officials over a population that was hitherto ruled largely by the local elites. An appreciable number of Chinese soldiers and civilians were also settled among the non-Chinese inhabitants. The stage was thus set for the emergence of autonomous warlord governments in Sinkiang when the Ch'ing dynasty collapsed in 1911.

The history of the following decades was characterized by provincial misrule and ethnic conflicts creating opportunities for the injection of Soviet power into a region that had long been the target of Russian expansionism. The story of Soviet penetration as detailed in the book is a fascinating study of how a Communist nation engaged in blatant imperialistic designs over a neighboring country. The reputation of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, who came to power in 1933, suffered greatly as this ambitious and devious man maneuvered to enlist Russian help to consolidate his hold over the province and found himself reduced to the status of a puppet.

The end of Sheng's rule in 1944 and the assertion of Kuomintang authority in Sinkiang coincided with the creation of the Soviet-supported Eastern Turkistan Republic in the Ili valley, which dominated the northwestern corner of Sinkiang and threatened the security of the entire province. Efforts by the Kuomintang authority to resolve the conflict were hampered by the developing civil war in China proper and the determination of Stalin to establish Soviet hegemony from one end of the Eurasian heartland to another. Ironically, the triumph of the Chinese Communists also meant the eventual expulsion of Russian influence from Sinkiang.

This scholarly study is not for casual readers, who will probably be intimidated by the description of the many forgettable men with unpronounceable names and a confusing succession of civil wars and political intrigues. Specialists, however, will find it indispensable for many years to come as a reliable account of the history of a region whose strategic



location and rich resources will render it ever more important in the arena of world politics. The usefulness of the book is enhanced by an excellent bibliography and several appendixes.

ROBERT H. G. LEE  
State University of New York,  
Stony Brook

*Mao Zedong: Biography, Assessment, Reminiscences.* Compiled by ZHONG WENXIAN. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press. 1986. Pp. ii, 238. Paper \$9.95.

Reading this selection of writings "in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the death of Mao Zedong," one understands how far from the Western stereotypes of both "Maoism" and "Dengism" China has traveled. On the one hand, Mao is accused of certain errors, notably of "overreactions," as in the late 1930 campaign against the "anti-Bolshevik Group" in Giangxi, then, especially "in his later years," in the antirightist struggle of late 1957, in the 1959 "criticism" of Peng Dehuai, and of course, above all, in unleashing the "cultural revolution, which became an unbridled political turmoil . . . thereby severely crippling socialist construction" (pp. 12-14). But, as Deng Xiaoping, in August 1980, assured Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci, "we will not do to Chairman Mao, what Khrushchov did to Stalin" (pp. 93, 95).

Indeed, this collection of writings intends to show that Mao was "a great man" whose "thought has been the banner of the Chinese Revolution," even if, as Deng added, "like any other man, he had his defects and made errors." Deng credits Mao's thought, also developed by "other revolutionaries of the older generation," with the fundamental contribution of helping the "Chinese people . . . to find the correct road . . . What we have achieved cannot be separated from the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Zedong. It is precisely this point that many of our young people don't sufficiently appreciate" (pp. 89, 91, 94). Other more humble contributors and specialists in various fields credit Mao with advances in most spheres of Chinese life: farming, medicine, science, philosophy, sports, and even with "brilliance" in economics (pp. 197, 200).

The economic question, to be sure, is one of the two most crucial problems, and it is considered from diverse perspectives. At one point, Deng Xiaoping states, "The basic expression of the superiority of our socialist system is that it allows the productive forces of our society to grow at a rapid rate unknown in old China . . . [but] if the rate of growth of the productive forces in a socialist country lags behind that in capitalist countries over an extended historic period, how can we talk about the superior-

ity of the socialist system?" (p. 88). A later contributor cites Mao's startling statement that "Marxism also has its emergence development, and extinction . . . after its extinction, more progressive things will replace it" (p. 211).

The other most crucial question raised is that of conceptions of "democracy" and the "dictatorship of the proletariat." On the one hand, Zhou Enlai's 1949 "Learn from Mao Zedong" claims that Mao's "principles always take the majority of the people into consideration and are in their interests" (p. 79). But Deng Xiaoping's denunciation of those who allegedly go against Mao's basic principle of "seeking truth from facts," shows little understanding of the pluralistic key to a truly open society. He states, "The basic problem is still . . . that these people," the "whatever" and "democratic" factions, "violate Comrade Mao Zedong's principle of seeking truth from facts and the principles of dialectical and historical materialism" (p. 87). The problem, of course, is who is to determine the correct interpretation of those principles. Deng leaves no doubt that the standing committee of the political bureau does so, and, as recent events show, the party line may change to give little room for basic human rights.

Beyond the ambiguities that emerge from this latest official evaluation in English of Mao's intended legacy, which basically adheres to the Central Committee resolution of June 1981 on party history, the book's main value lies in its diverse reminiscences of the late chairman. Some, notably Edgar Snow's biographical chapter in *Red Star over China*, have appeared elsewhere in English, and others in Chinese collections such as *Hungqi Piaopiao* (Red Flag Flying). Anna Louise Strong recalls the famous "paper tiger" talks she held with Mao in Yunnan in the winter of 1946-47. There also are reminiscences by one of his orderlies on the Long March, by a peasant, by various intellectuals and activists, and by a soldier, who, oddly enough, stresses Mao's study of "a foreign language" (p. 184).

Most interesting are the recollections of family members, such as Li Chongde, the sister-in-law of Yang Kaihui, Mao's wife, captured and executed by the Guomindang in late 1930. Li relates how she took Mao's three sons from Hunan to Shanghai in the early spring of 1931 and how the party attempted to nurture their hatred, to the end of "avenging" the martyrs of the revolution. One of those sons, Mao Anqing, recalls "our father," who "particularly adored brother Anying," one of "thousands of the best sons and daughters of the Chinese nation," killed by U.S. imperialists in the Korean War (p. 229). Two brothers of Mao also died violently in the revolution, Mao Zetan in Giangxi in 1935 and Mao Zemin in Xingiang in 1943, as did a cousin and a grandson. The book concludes with a



report of the June 1959 visit by Mao and other high officials to his hometown of Shaoshan, Xiangtan, Hunan, including a moving poem by Mao written on that occasion (p. 236).

But most revealing for the purposes of the volume are Zhou Enlai's "Learn from Mao Zedong" from 1949 and Deng Xiaoping's "On Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong's Thought," composed of three statements from 1978 to 1981. Clearly linking Deng's recent efforts to Zhou's work, there is stress on Zhou's singling out Mao's "motto to seek truth from facts" and on Mao's "greatness" in learning from his mistakes and "daring to face up to the past" for the pursuit of the revolution (pp. 74, 83). Deng similarly, but with even more emphasis, underlines the necessity, while appreciating the great contributions of Mao, to understand the need for flexibility in the interpretation of Mao's thought. Deng, reminded by Fallaci, corrects the astonishing statement by the book's editor, Zhong Wenxian, in his brief biography, that "Mao led the struggle to smash Lin Biao's counter-revolutionary clique, and exposed and denounced the 'gang of four'" (pp. 14, 90, 92). Yet, there is no explanation of the contradictory statement of Zhong Wenxian that Mao was both elected to the Political Bureau in 1933 and in the same year "excluded from the central leadership" (p. 4).

In short this book is revealing both for what it includes and for what it obscures.

JAMES P. HARRISON  
Hunter College  
City University of New York

MARCIA R. RISTAINO. *China's Art of Revolution: The Mobilization of Discontent, 1927 and 1928*. Durham: Duke University Press. 1987. Pp. xv, 274. \$45.00.

The one-year span from mid-1927 to mid-1928 was indeed a momentous and critical period in the history of the Chinese Communist party (CCP) and for the revolutionary movement it sought to advance. The party and its policies had just suffered calamitous blows at the hands of its erstwhile Guomindang ally, with most party members and activist leftists killed or in flight or hiding. Similarly, the impressive Communist-led urban labor and rural peasant movements built during the high tide of the Guomindang-Communist united front of 1923-27 had also been smashed. The immediate aftermath of these disasters led to desperate Communist efforts to recoup their fortunes through a series of failed armed uprisings, in the wake of which remnant Communist forces found refuge by establishing base areas in the rural hinterland. At the same time, the CCP, operating under the dual and often conflicting pressures of its Moscow-based

Comintern mentors and the daunting realities the party faced in China, attempted to chart the political, strategic, and organizational framework for the new Communist-led phase of the Chinese revolution.

In this new study, Marcia R. Ristaino recounts this oft-told story in arguing that China's rural-oriented "art of revolution" emerged from the developments of this crucial year. In making this case, she adds to her account of the major political-revolutionary events of this period a detailed examination of CCP political-organizational materials of that time. It was largely on the early "hands-on" armed revolutionary experiences of China-centered leaders such as Peng Pai, Mao Zedong, and others, she states, that an effective revolutionary strategy and political system were ultimately built. Using the indispensable revolutionary potential of China's vast and poverty-stricken countryside, these indigenous leaders undertook the task of building rural soviet bases through armed struggle and the development of effective mass mobilizational techniques and structures. This led to the "mass line" operational style and the peasant-based guerrilla strategy of Chinese Communism and solved "the central problem" of the Chinese revolution: "the successful implementation of the Party's Marxist-Leninist political program in a rural context" (p. 9). In essence, she says, the mass line was "added on" to the more orthodox ("class line") party structure and program, enhancing the overall effectiveness of the revolutionary movement.

Thus, (exhibiting a penchant for schematic formulas) she depicts the emergence of a "bipolar" structure in which a centralized and guiding Leninist party was balanced by "horizontally defined" mass organizations, with the party's leaders responsible for maintaining "a stable and creative relationship" between the two. This, she concludes, is the key to the Chinese Communist system and to the interacting and irregular process of change that has marked its history down to the present and was "the conception of revolutionary change . . . carried out by Party leaders as early as 1928" (p. 221).

These formulations, however, greatly minimize the complexities of the issues (class strategies, economic construction policies, nationalism versus "internationalism," wartime united front issues, and so on) that arose between the rural peasant-oriented party forces and the "class line" faction. Rather than the bipolar concept advanced by the author, it would seem that the intense and protracted intraparty struggles and vastly changing circumstances of the decades of revolution and war after 1928 resulted in a restructured party and program operating through and in direct control of its mass organizational base.

Nevertheless, in focusing on this earlier period, Ristaino reinforces our appreciation of the role played by indigenous rural-based Communist forces in beginning to fashion an effective revolutionary strategy and movement, although the road ahead was still to be a complex and lengthy one.

S. BERNARD THOMAS  
Oakland University

JOSHUA A. FOGEL. *Ai Ssu-chi's Contribution to the Development of Chinese Marxism*. (Harvard Contemporary China Series, number 4.) Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University; distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1987. Pp. vi, 145. \$14.00.

Western knowledge was accepted in China either as a solution to the crisis in its political, social, and economic orders or as new light on its existential situation. This may be what Joshua A. Fogel calls the "intellectual reasons" for the Chinese to do so. And it is for unraveling the attractiveness of Marxism-Leninism that he has chosen to study Ai Ssu-Ch'i. A popularizer *par excellence* whose *Philosophy for the Masses* went through thirty-two printings between January 1936 and December 1946, Ai inherited the totalist iconoclasm of the May 4th generation and the collectivist tradition of Stalin's Communism. The former enabled him to ignore Chinese philosophers' discourse on the human condition; the latter eradicated all the spiritual needs of humanity. Since the beginning of the intellectual intercourse between China and the West, very few Chinese thinkers have made any original contribution while ignoring the former and eradicating the latter. Iconoclasm and collectivism provide the theoretical foundation for the institutional arrangement of teaching and research in Marxism-Leninism in Communist countries "in such a way as to discourage original contributions," as Fogel points out (p. 55). The fountainhead of creativity flows only from Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. To find a seat in the pantheon of four, one has to amass a great amount of power and authority through one's action and performance and thus lay the ground for one's claim to doctrinal autonomy. Such a man in China was Mao Tse-tung. Ai was wise enough to choose the popularization of the doctrine as his calling. Fogel's discussion on this point is full of insights.

In September 1937, when Mao engaged in diligent study of Marxist philosophy, Ai was directed to join him in Yen-an. Soon, Mao delivered his famous lectures on practice, contradiction, and dialectical materialism. Japanese and Western scholars have debated the origins of these lectures. Now Fogel sums up the debate and carries the textual research

a step further to show that Ai's input in Mao's lectures was indeed considerable.

All this and other interesting topics (such as alienation) are strung together with the vicissitudes in Ai's personal history, which is here thoroughly documented. Perhaps this aspect of the monograph should be compared with Su Che-ying's biography of Ai in *Chung-kung Tang-shih Jen-wu-chuan* (Biographies in the History of the Chinese Communist Party) edited by Hu Hua (vol. 21, 1985). Ai probably disagreed with Mao on the policy of the Great Leap Forward and so was "sent down" to Honan, where he published two significant articles: "Do away with Superstition, Establish Science, and Then Be Ever-Victorious" and "Limited and Unlimited Dialectics." In his own words, "We must have faith in the unlimited potentials of the masses without losing sight of their limited capacities."

JEROME CH'EN  
York University

LOWELL DITTMER. *China's Continuous Revolution: The Post-Liberation Epoch, 1949-1981*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1987. Pp. xv, 320. \$35.00.

Taking as an epistemological framework the attempts after 1949 of ruling groups in the People's Republic of China to continue the social revolution after the political revolution had won state power, Lowell Dittmer comprehends the vicissitudes of politics in China as the consequences of competition between two revolutionary projects, one, a storming approach, the other, an engineering approach. Dittmer finds that the catastrophe caused by the storming approach in the Great Leap Forward of 1958 to 1960, which brought on the most murderous famine in human history, permanently discredited the storming approach in the economic sphere.

He shows that there was an inherent and unresolvable contradiction during the Cultural Revolution attack on authority as corrupt between the attempt of the leaders of the storming approach to hold on to corrupt state power and their project of storming the citadels to purify power. Dittmer finds "an anarchic cultural revolution against bureaucracy that was protected by an even more stringently disciplined military organization [that] was rather artificial, taking on certain aspects of 'queen for a day'" (p. 75). In addition the engineering approach was discredited by the charismatic authority of Mao, who targeted revisionism as the obstacle to revolution in a way that made the notion of engineering revolution too similar to revisionism. The revolution could not be continued. All Mao could do was balance the representatives of the two approaches,

who continued an all-out struggle to win power in the succession to the charismatic leader.

Within this broad and illuminating framework, Dittmer explores China's Leninist system as an instance of neofeudal power. He insightfully analyzes traditional aspects and rooted structures of the political culture that act as obstacles to the modernization project of post-Mao reformers, which would undermine this inherited conservative neofeudalism. In a lively and fast-paced style, Dittmer shows how that deep culture reinforced aspects of Mao's neofeudal, barracks Communism in which the people were invited to be boundlessly loyal and unconditionally submissive to a rulership that was militaristic, Draconian, regimenting, austere, arbitrary, destructive, and fanatic.

Hence, the Cultural Revolution, in defying traditional notions of harmony, respect for authority, and fear of chaos, unleashed not a liberating project but a reactionary rejection of modernity. Given Mao's virtually "fascist" (p. 155) project, whose fundamentalist traditionalism seems more akin to the anti-Enlightenment project of Khomeini than to the Enlightenment project of Marx, it is not obvious to me what is gained by conceiving of Mao's feudal system as revolutionary, other than emptying the notion "revolution" of meaning.

In his brilliant penultimate section, titled "Revolution Discontinued?" Dittmer shows that the post-Mao project of law, development, and rational reform is more in harmony with Marx's notion in the *Communist Manifesto* of a revolutionized production system that wins the cause of civilization by attacking the barbarism of feudal patriarchy. Dittmer's concluding section, "Beyond Revolution," shows that it is the conservative military that, in the post-Mao era, has continued the war on the Enlightenment project, denouncing it as cultural pollution. Neotraditional forces of a regenerated, despotic charisma could return China to the bleak reality of the Mao era, a prospect of "cultural essentialism and xenophobia" (p. 267). Neotraditionalists continue to limit the prospects of a modernized, market socialism based on legal due process and expanded elements of political democracy.

Dittmer's command of historical particulars and theoretical universals (taken eclectically from approaches as diverse as psychoanalysis and structural symbolism) is so sure that both specialist and generalist will learn much from his rich and wise volume. As no other scholar writing in English, he uniquely makes great use of the powerful analyses of numerous German scholars whose works remain untranslated into English. Perhaps the most systemic, persuasive, and innovative section of Dittmer's multifaceted contribution is his explanation of the enormous mobilizing power of Mao's charisma—people would thrill to touch the hand of a hand that

touched Mao's a hundred hands removed (p. 119)—and the political realities that made it impossible to pass on such charisma. Although specialists will cavil at some particulars of Dittmer's views and even disagree with certain of his facts, it should be difficult for any scholar not to admire Dittmer's book. It is a marvelously exciting and wonderfully illuminating work of mature scholarship.

EDWARD FRIEDMAN  
University of Wisconsin

FRANÇOIS GIPOULOUX. *Les Cents Fleurs à l'Usine: Agitation ouvrière et crise du modèle soviétique en Chine 1956–1957*. (Materiaux pour l'étude de l'Asie orientale moderne et contemporaine; Cahiers du Centre Chine, number 6.) Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales. 1986. Pp. vi, 373. 280 fr.

Conventional treatments of the Hundred Flowers period in China focus on the fate of intellectuals and virtually ignore workers. François Gipouloux's valuable historical monograph redirects our attention to workers and trade unions during the period of the First Five Year Plan (1953–57), when Soviet-style industrialization produced the foundation of China's modern economic sector. His thesis is that, far from being the masters of the factory in control of the means of production, Chinese workers were subjected to the brutal discipline of early industrial life, made to work very hard under dangerous conditions, paid inadequate wages, and left without any means to assert control over their own lives. In sum, in the self-proclaimed workers' state industrialization was carried out on the backs of the workers themselves.

Making excellent use of materials culled largely from the Chinese press, Gipouloux presents a careful and detailed sociological profile of the Chinese working class in the mid-1950s. The growth of the working class during this period exacerbated cleavages between old and young, skilled and unskilled, permanent and temporary, and male and female workers. By far the largest growth, however, was in the category of nonproductive employees resulting from the imposition of state bureaucratic control over private industry in 1956. By then the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) had grown accustomed to squeezing production increases out of a divided and dominated working class that was already soured on the rhetoric of socialism.

Gipouloux's second theme is the emasculation of the Chinese trade union movement as an instrument capable of protecting the economic and political rights of the workers. In accordance with Leninist theory, CCP leaders transformed unions from workers' organizations into "transmission belts" for

party policies. In practice they denied the legitimacy of workers' demands and resorted to coercive persuasion or outright repression in dealing with those few bold souls who insisted on making themselves heard.

During the Hundred Flowers period, an upward curve of strikes, petitions, work stoppages, and slowdowns provided evidence of worker discontent. The trade unions, the CCP, and the Communist Youth League joined together to suppress these outbreaks. During the notorious antirightist campaign of the second half of 1957, rebellious workers were crushed along with the liberal intellectuals who had aroused the ire of the Communist bureaucracy.

Gipouloux's study is the best book we now have on the condition of the Chinese working class after 1949. It is an important contribution to the task of reevaluating the 1950s that the field of Chinese studies faces. By his sensitivity to the broader issues of social history generally, Gipouloux greatly facilitates comparative study of labor history in postwar Asia and in Communist systems in Europe as well as China.

STEVEN I. LEVINE  
Duke University

ELLIS JOFFE. *The Chinese Army after Mao*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1987. Pp. ix, 210. \$20.00.

In view of the pivotal role of the military during recent times, the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) is a fitting subject for scholarly examination. However, reliable information relating to China's military developments is hard to come by, notwithstanding its "open" policy following the death of Mao Zedong in 1976. Ellis Joffe's treatise truly renders a major contribution in bringing up to date our knowledge of many aspects of the Chinese armed forces, including the Maoist legacy, leadership politics and perceptions, a new military policy, people's war under modern conditions, weapons and equipment, reforming the PLA, and civil-military relations.

Joffe's assessment of Chinese military modernization, albeit the least prominent of the Four Modernizations, is founded on painstaking research both into Chinese official sources such as the Beijing domestic service, *Honggi* journal, and Xinhua news dispatches and into Western intelligence journals such as *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, and *Jane's Defense Weekly*.

If we may cavil at his seeming shortcomings, Joffe does not appear to have placed his military appraisal in the perspective of China's overall political and social milieu. He does not seem to have taken into consideration the fact that, after Mao's death, the Communist party civilian hierarchy today is far

more influential than its military counterpart was during the Cultural Revolution. Squabbles between bureaucrats and generals and rivalries between the different military regions and the various armed forces are indeed no less rampant in China than elsewhere. What were, for example, the military issues confronting, as well as the resolutions made at, several of the major national conferences? The list includes the All-Army Political Work Conference (April-June 1978), when three sets of the draft regulations of political work were approved; the National Militia Work Conference (July-August 1978), when Nie Rongzhen stressed the strategic role of the militia in modern warfare; the Enlarged Meeting of the Politburo of the Communist party (November 1980), when Deng Xiaoping was first named chairman of the Military Affairs Commission; the Discussion Meeting of the Military Affairs Commission (July 1982), which endorsed the Four Guarantees (structural reform, spiritual civilization, punishment of economic crimes, and reshaping of the party's organization and work style); and the Enlarged Meeting of the Military Affairs Commission (December 1986), which sanctioned the political work of the armed forces during the new age. There are also a few minor inaccuracies. For example, military ranks were not reinstated until almost twenty years later (p. 19); the Cultural Revolution was terminated in April 1969 (p. 20); until May 1984 China had no formal reserve system (p. 135).

Nevertheless, Joffe is to be commended for his logical reasoning and discerning conclusions in breaking through the almost impenetrable wall of contemporary Chinese military history.

J. CHESTER CHENG  
San Francisco State University

J. VICTOR KOSCHMANN. *The Mito Ideology: Discourse, Reform, and Insurrection in Late Tokugawa Japan, 1790-1864*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1987. Pp. ix, 190.

The subject of this work is the "Mito school," a school of thought dating from 1657, when Tokugawa Mitsukuni founded the historical institute Shōkōkan, and more specifically the "late Mito school," which attempted to alleviate the crisis in the social order at the close of Japan's isolation by returning to the central philosophical tenets of the Tokugawa period. Because of its position as a historical pivot between premodern and modern Japan, the Mito school is a profitable field of study for the Japan scholar, and in this regard one must welcome J. Victor Koschmann's addition to the literature.

Unfortunately, this most recent monograph ignores all but five of the more than forty articles,



books, and translations pertaining to the Mito school that have appeared in Western languages since 1889. Much of the most outstanding Japanese secondary literature is equally absent, including the journal *Mito Shigaku* ("The Study of Mito History"), which—although it tirelessly champions the "Mito spirit"—often publishes solidly researched studies on special subjects (as well as a bibliography of all relevant literature in Western languages through 1978, in volume 9 [1978]: 45–50). The author is similarly relaxed with regard to the selection of primary materials. The collected works of the founder of the late Mito school, Fujita Yūkoku, for instance, and the *Ibarakiken shiryō* ("Materials on the History of Ibaraki Prefecture") are not mentioned at all.

Such texts as are mentioned suffer frequently in translation because of idiosyncratic deviations from the original. Let us take for example the introduction to the *Kôdôkanki*, one of the most revered texts of the school (p. 115): "Kôdô to wa nani zo" ("What does *kôdô* mean?"). The answer given in the text is, "Hito yoku michi wo hironuru nari." Koschmann translates this sentence, "It means that people spread the Way." The correct translation is, "It means that man is able to spread the Way." The idea is not that people do spread the Way—as a general rule they do not—but that they are in principle capable of spreading "this way" (*shidô*, Chinese, *ssu-tao*) with just as much ease as they tend to leave their houses by walking out the door and not by jumping out of the window (*Lun-yü*, 6.15).

Three hundred years ago, the scholars of the *Shôkôkan* were not only well-versed in the Chinese classics but also highly adept in the precepts of philological-historical work. It is unfortunate—if not necessarily untypical—that many modern observers of Japanese intellectual history lag so far behind in both regards, even if they occasionally attempt to compensate by reading a good deal of Heidegger and Goldmann, Marx and Mannheim (in English translation). Given the significance of the Mito school, Japanologists have reason to welcome serious studies on the subject. It may be questionable to what extent this book can be included in this category, but we should also recognize that Koschmann has had the courage, as the first Western author, to give a general survey of the entire late Mito school. This is certainly one laudable accomplishment of this study.

KLAUS KRACHT  
University of Tübingen

SHARON H. NOLTE. *Liberalism in Modern Japan: Ishibashi Tanzan and His Teachers, 1905–1960*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1987. Pp. xii, 378. \$34.50.

This work raises important questions about what should be in a book, for actually it is several books in one. In it Sharon H. Nolte proves herself an indefatigable researcher with impressive knowledge about Japan. Her subject is liberal thinkers of the Taishō period (1912–26) and the era's legacy, and she has provided her readers a wealth of information ranging from the twentieth-century women's movement to postwar purge policy. But, for me, the overall result of this approach is a lack of focus and confusion as to the author's direction (even within some chapters). Ultimately, the parts prove more coherent—and interesting—than the whole.

This is not to discount the considerable merits of Nolte's work, for she addresses directly and indirectly a most practicable and timely question. For her the central historical problem is to what extent Japan itself has been responsible for postwar liberal-democratic, capitalistic trends vis-à-vis the Occupation's spawning of and direction for those trends. To explore this, she has focused mainly on the political economist Ishibashi Tanzan, as well as his mentors—the philosopher Tanaka Ōdō, and the dramatist-critic Shimamura Hōgetsu. For Nolte Ishibashi "is the most prominent test case for the central historical question of whether or not the Taishō democratic movement had a postwar legacy" (p. 5). She concludes that her subjects and the early twentieth-century urban new middle class with whom they interacted ultimately defined postwar Japanese society more than the Occupation. "During the Pacific War, liberalism and voluntary associations were suppressed, but they survived to become forces in postwar politics" (p. 339).

This raises the issue of Nolte's meaning of liberalism, for she does not attempt a universal definition. Rather, she suggests that liberalism in Japan was a "cluster of ideas," including "dignity of the individual, freedom of expression, the equality of the sexes, the legitimacy of popular participation in cultural creation and in politics, progressive social engineering, and decolonization" (p. vii). Still, can we separate liberalism in prewar Japan—or, for that matter, in Japan in general—from a more transcendent meaning of liberalism? Moreover, is it possible to lump Taishō liberals together? The range was wide indeed.

For me Nolte is at her strongest in her chapter "History as Postwar Politics." Here she deftly ties together several themes introduced earlier. One of these is the liberals' "attention to a cleavage between [Western] institutional 'form' and [Japanese] cultural 'spirit'" (p. ix). And she concludes that "during the fifties and sixties, Ishibashi periodically renewed the complaint that Japan had the form but not the spirit of democracy. His old friends would have been pleased" (p. 332). In this same chapter, she gives a deep and insightful analysis of the purge of



Ishibashi by the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP). Although one may not agree fully with her overall indictment of SCAP, one cannot but appreciate this significant case study she has presented in purge politics.

In recent years there has been a boom in Japanese scholarship on Ishibashi, centering on this man's significant role in twentieth-century Japanese history—as journalist, politician, Keynesian economist, cabinet minister, and prime minister (briefly from late 1956 to early 1957). Nolte certainly has made a contribution by giving him a wider exposure than he has had before in the English-language literature. It is surprising that the editors did not encourage her to select a photo of Ishibashi rather than Odô for the jacket, for it is with Ishibashi and his career that this work makes its most powerful statement.

SHARON MINICHELLO  
University of Hawaii

ROSIE LLEWELLYN-JONES. *A Fatal Friendship: The Nawabs, the British, and the City of Lucknow*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1985. Pp. xii, 284. Rs. 150.

Rosie Llewellyn-Jones has presented us with an impeccable little monograph that is gracefully written and based to a great extent on the resources of the British Library, the India Office Library, the National Archives in New Delhi, and many contemporary English accounts. Essentially a portrait of Lucknow before 1856, it is mostly about the architecture of nawabi society, complete with colonial officials, soldiers, merchants, and corruption.

Before the influence of European architectural ideas, the buildings of the city were typically in the Muslim style. This style dictated two courtyards: the men's quarter, which opened to the street, and the women's quarter, which could only be entered from the men's quarter. The European-style house had no interior courtyards and presented one with a solid block of masonry. A synthesis between the European and Muslim style house appeared, which displayed the comfort of the English with the splendor of the Asian mode. But most of the residences were bungalows, small single-story houses with thatch roofs. The majority of the inhabitants of eighteenth-century Lucknow lived in such houses. Most early European settlers seem to have ignored indigenous building. The result was a house with small doors and windows, making it exceedingly hot. They built so probably because of a feeling of superiority engendered by the European style and the yearning for the familiar of a people immersed in an alien culture.

There are chapters on grand buildings erected for the British, the Residence, the Cantonment, and

Claude Martin's buildings. The author is something of an apologist for nawabi architecture. Much abusive criticism was written in English about nawabi building design, but the author points out that it was far easier for a European to condemn a structure because of its overly thin Corinthian columns or imperfect cornices than to criticize a wholly Hindu or Muslim building. Buildings were evaluated as though they were situated in Europe instead of India. Of course, none of the nawabs had ever been outside India, and their knowledge of European architecture had to come from books or pictures. Still, their constructions were criticized not on aesthetic grounds but on whether or not they were like English buildings. The nawabi preference for Palladian style was influenced by the fascination of the exotic, just as Europeans might like chinoiserie. Llewellyn-Jones contends that until Lucknow's architecture is looked on as interpretation of the mysterious West it cannot be fully understood. To criticize it as not being an exact representation of British building is not really relevant. Comparison with the great Mogul buildings of Agra and Delhi is also unfair because the builders there had access to sandstone and marble, while the Lucknow architects had to make do with brick and stucco. The result of using European standards of judgment was to denigrate Indian fine art. Generally, this meant that what was not European could not be good. So runs the author's argument.

The last chapter touches peripherally on drains and ventilation and public health. The question of public health in modern India has been too little investigated and could provide a good doctoral thesis. All told, this volume is a polished job and should be recommended to all professionals as well as tyros entering the field of British Indian history.

MARK NAIDIS  
Northridge, California

K. M. DE SILVA. *Managing Ethnic Tensions in Multi-Ethnic Societies: Sri Lanka, 1880–1985*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1986. Pp. xix, 429. Cloth \$36.50; paper \$19.75.

In the long recorded history of Sri Lanka, the current ethnic conflict is a tragedy of unprecedented magnitude. In the short period of a decade, an island that had justly earned the reputation of being one of the most tolerant and peaceful in the world became the scene of vicious and relentless killings. How could this possibly happen? Is there some way we can make sense of recent events? These are questions that not only people living in Sri Lanka but the informed public abroad and scholars studying South Asia have been asking for some time. K. M. de Silva's book is by far the most

comprehensive and thoughtful attempt to provide answers and to place current events in historical perspective.

De Silva's narrative is divided into three chronological phases. The first covers the period from the beginnings of the nationalist movement in the 1870s up to the death of the island's first prime minister, D. S. Senanayake, in 1952. The author deals with the significant themes of the period such as religious revivalism, political and educational changes, and the emergence of a new ethnic consciousness resulting from the representative system introduced by the British. The author points out that Senanayake had "a deep conviction that generous concessions to the minorities, ethnic and religious, would ensure political stability in a plural society" such as Sri Lanka (p. 152). His United National party (UNP), which inherited power from the British, was in essence a multiethnic coalition. It was a propitious beginning but one that was not to last. In the second section the author tells the reader why. The period 1951-72 saw the "triumph of linguistic nationalism" (p. 159). De Silva gives an excellent account of developments in this period. He rightly points out that Solomon Bandaranaike's Sinhalese-Buddhist populism that brought the Sri Lanka Freedom party (SLFP) to power in 1956 "represented the rejection of the concept of a Sri Lanka nationalism, based on pluralism, which Senanayake had striven to nurture" (p. 162). De Silva shows how Tamil attempts to achieve negotiated solutions to their grievances were undermined by both the SLFP and UNP governments when, under pressure from Sinhalese extremists, they refused to honor several agreements. The third phase covered by the book is the post-1972 period, which after 1977 became the era of violence. The decade of the 1970s saw a rapid deterioration of Sinhalese-Tamil relations, which was exacerbated by the SLFP-led government's attempt to improve educational opportunities for the Sinhalese masses. The language standardization scheme and the district quota system that was introduced for university admissions were a thinly veiled attempt to change the preponderance of Tamil students in the scientific faculties. This fueled Tamil fears of discrimination and helped radicalize politics in Tamil areas.

The author is a distinguished historian who has exceptional knowledge of modern Sri Lankan history. He is also a prominent member of the UNP, and this gives the discussion of the post-1977 period the feel of a firsthand account. Unfortunately, de Silva sometimes permits his politics to influence his scholarly judgment. For example he criticizes the previous SLFP government for having acted against the spirit of parliamentary democracy by giving itself an extended term of office through the device of creating a new constitution (1972). But he is not at

all critical of the present government for violating the same spirit when it used its huge majority obtained through a first-past-the-post Westminster model to destroy that very constitution. Nor is he critical of the dangerous precedent created by the government's unilateral decision, opposed by all the other political parties, to replace the general election of 1983 with a referendum. The author tends also to gloss over the serious human rights implications of measures such as the Prevention of Terrorism Act. In general de Silva's account of the post-1970s period, though perceptive and interesting, lacks the balance and objectivity so striking in his discussion of the earlier periods. Despite these limitations, this is the most comprehensive and scholarly treatise available on the island's ethnic conflict.

The title of the book is misleading. This is not really a book on managing ethnic tensions in multiethnic societies. The Sri Lankan case study is well done, but there is no systematic attempt to explore its relevance for understanding multiethnic societies. Also missing is a sociological analysis that points to the broader significance of the book's rich historical detail.

TISSA FERNANDO

*University of British Columbia*

HILARY L. RUBINSTEIN. *Chosen: The Jews in Australia*. Boston: Allen and Unwin. 1987. Pp. xxii, 308. \$37.95.

Nineteen eighty-eight marks the bicentenary of the establishment of a white settlement in Australia. Although never numbering more than 0.6 percent of the population, Jews have made a disproportionately large contribution to the development of that nation. The first Jewish settlers were chosen people in the sense of being selected by British judges as convicts for the various penal colonies established around the fringes of the continent. Probably one of the most famous of those Jewish convicts was the notorious fence Isaac Solomons, who was the model used by Charles Dickens for Fagin in *Oliver Twist*. Solomons ended his days as a pillar of the Jewish community in Hobart. Other Jewish convicts, after serving their sentences, took the opportunity of setting up as farmers, traders, artists, writers, and business people.

As in many frontier societies, the first substantial building constructed in any settlement was the tavern. A significant number of the innkeepers were Jewish, allegedly because of their abstemious habits. In any event, as the only building available, the tavern became the center of political and civic life in the Australian colonial settlements, and Jews became prominent politicians and lawyers. Indeed, the first Jewish magistrate, judge, member of Parlia-

ment, and cabinet minister anywhere in the British empire were Australian Jews.

In the 1850s a number of Jews arrived in Australia to join in the gold rushes of those years and to escape the contemporaneous religious persecutions in Prussia and Eastern Europe. Among those settlers were the parents of Sir John Monash, the first Jew to be appointed a field marshal in a British army and, in 1918, the first British commander to be knighted on the field of battle for six hundred years.

In 1931 the Labour government of John Scullin decided to recommend the appointment of the first native-born Australian as governor-general. Hitherto, the appointees had all been minor British peers. Scullin's short list comprised two Jews: Monash and Sir Isaac Isaacs. The latter was the chief justice of the High Court of Australia, having served as attorney general for the Colony of Victoria and played an important role in the drafting of the Australian constitution, which came into effect in 1900 when the country was granted Dominion status. Isaacs was the ultimate choice as governor-general. Coincidentally, his biographer, Sir Zelman Cowen, became the second Jewish governor-general in 1976.

By the accession to power of Adolf Hitler in 1933, the population of Australia was only about seven million. As an underpopulated nation, Australia was potentially the major haven for the refugees from Nazism. The significant contribution that Jews had made to the development of Australia, their ostensible acceptance in an otherwise gentile community, the complete absence of any civil disabilities, and the almost complete absence of anti-Semitism in the country precipitated suggestions that Jewish colonies of refugees be established in the unpopulated north of the country. At this critical time, however, the leadership of the Australian Jewish community encouraged and connived at a national policy of exclusion and hostility to the refugees, so that by the beginning of the war only about seven thousand people had been able to reach the country. After the war Australia did indeed become a haven for Jewish refugees.

Australian Zionists claim an influential role in Australian Herbert Evatt's presidency of the General Assembly at the time of the creation of Israel. Today Australia is a significant refuge for Jews from the Soviet Union and South Africa, and Jews continue to play a significant role in all aspects of Australian society.

The historiography of Jews in Australia has been quite thin until recently. The first significant study was P. Y. Medding's *From Assimilation to Group Survival* (1968), a political and sociological study of Jews in Australia. The role of Australia in the refugee crisis of the 1980s and beyond was examined in my *Australia and the Jewish Refugees, 1933-1948* (1985).

Other than these works, the principal writings on Jews in Australia have appeared as articles in the *Australian Historical Society Journal*. Most of these articles have concerned the colonial period, and a selection of them was published in J. S. Levi and G. F. J. Bergman's *Australian Genesis: Jewish Convicts and Settlers, 1788-1850* (1974). A number of regional studies of Jews in Australia have been published, but, with the exception of Hilary L. Rubinstein's *The Jews in Victoria, 1835-1985* (1985), these have tended to be histories of local synagogues.

Rubinstein's new book is the first that contains a comprehensive examination of the social, political, religious, and organizational history of Jews in Australia. Although intended primarily for the high-school reader, the level of scholarship of her study, combined with the absence of any alternative text, will guarantee it an extensive readership. The work contains a detailed exposition of the role of Jews in the development of Australia and builds on Rubinstein's own studies of the cultural impact of Jews in Australia at the time of the pogroms in Russia at the turn of the century. The book examines the establishment of the various religious communities in each of the colonies and the impact of their frontier circumstances on the manner and form of religious observances. The book is engagingly written, avoiding being a sterile list of names, which such histories have a tendency of becoming, and it is amply illustrated. A useful bibliography of further readings is included.

MICHAEL BLAKENEY  
University of London

#### UNITED STATES

DERRICK BELL. *And We Are Not Saved: The Elusive Quest for Racial Justice*. New York: Basic. 1987. Pp. xii, 288. \$19.95.

Derrick Bell presents a series of "chronicles"—allegories or didactic dialogues—to explore the problems of achieving racial justice in the United States. The topics he discusses range from affirmative action and proportional representation to such social consequences of racism as its effects on relations between black women and men. Each chronicle details what policy analysts might call the dilemmas, and what historians might call the ambiguities, of the search for racial justice. (Readers will differ on the success of his use of the allegory-chronicle as a stylistic device. I can report only that, although I found the device more distracting than helpful, other readers whose judgment I respect have found the device extraordinarily illuminating.)

Bell begins with the question, "How have we failed—and why?" (p. 7). Despite the evident accom-

pishments of the civil rights movement, "nothing has changed" (p. 22). His chronicles explore the opportunities afforded by and the limitations of civil rights litigation strategies, and his conclusions tend to support the claim that "the common thread in all civil rights strategies is eventual failure" (p. 248). Drawing on summaries of historical experience in a variety of areas, Bell supports this conclusion by two arguments. First, black gains "are almost always the gratuitous dividends of policies favored by a controlling white interest or group" for reasons other than the securing of racial justice (p. 96). Second, the ambiguities of the legal doctrines used to justify black gains allow the same doctrines to be deployed to limit black accomplishments, and the pervasive racism revealed in U.S. history suggests that such deployment will routinely occur just when civil rights strategies appear to be on the verge of succeeding. These two arguments are supported, in turn, by Bell's inclination in favor of an economic explanation for the basis of racism.

Bell structures his consideration of the policy problems by counterposing civil rights strategies to emigration, on the one hand, and to armed rebellion, on the other. His perceptive and necessarily convoluted analysis leads him to conclude that civil rights strategies retain some promise, at least when they are considered as efforts to educate and organize the community, and if they are defined to encompass strategies to overcome poverty as well as racial discrimination. In the end he regards the Constitution as a document akin to the Bible: an important cultural heritage that licenses claims for racial justice without ensuring that such justice will ever be accomplished.

Bell's analysis is acute and thought-provoking. Historians may hear more than a few echoes of W. E. B. Du Bois in what Bell has to say. Indeed, both in the perceptiveness of his analyses and in his sensitivity to the complexities of the problem of race in the United States, Bell is a worthy successor to Du Bois.

MARK V. TUSHNET  
Georgetown University Law Center

PATRICIA NELSON LIMERICK. *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1987. Pp. 396. \$17.95.

In *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* (Summer 1987) Patricia Nelson Limerick queried, where "is the chronological line between the frontier and the modern West?" (p. 81). She then challenged scholars to boldly search for new "big ideas and ambitious models" for future work in western American history. The present book demonstrates

that Limerick takes her own advice and attempts to answer her own question.

The book is an extended essay rather than a traditional monograph, and Limerick begins by declaring that, despite nearly a century of work in frontier and western history, many Americans (indeed, many scholars who are not specialists in western American studies) still imperfectly understand this aspect of our past. She rightly argues that myths about the West crowd out perceptions of its true complexity.

Limerick proposes that the "history of the West is a study of a place undergoing conquest and never fully escaping its consequences" (p. 26) and that concomitant with conquest was an "ongoing competition for legitimacy—for the right to claim for oneself and sometimes for one's group the status of legitimate beneficiary of Western resources. This intersection of ethnic diversity with property allocation unifies Western history" (p. 27). Limerick then employs select examples from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to build her case. Her study is based on her interpretation of the pertinent secondary works in the areas that she addresses. Limerick is an engaging writer and, for the most part, argues her case well.

The book gives the distinct impression that Limerick is surest of herself when dealing with twentieth-century topics. There her prose is sharper, her reasoning more cogent, and she reveals more confidence. Specialists in western studies will find little new here in the way of facts, but some should find this book intriguing because of its arguments. It will be most useful for scholars outside of western studies, for introductory courses at the graduate and undergraduate level, and for intelligent lay readers.

I was struck by the fact that Limerick paid so little attention to the fur trade, a classic example that supports her main thesis. The fur trade would extend her argument back to the sixteenth century, and it involved geopolitical contests for empire, a rampant search for resources and profits, and ruthless business practices. It touched the cultures of many tribes of Indians and stimulated European exploration and settlement along the frontier for several centuries.

JOSEPH C. PORTER  
Center for Western Studies  
Joslyn Art Museum  
Omaha, Nebraska

CLIFFORD E. TRAFZER and RICHARD D. SCHEUERMAN. *Renegade Tribe: The Palouse Indians and the Invasion of the Inland Pacific Northwest*. Pullman: Washington State University Press. 1986. Pp. xv, 224.



An impressive bibliography comprising standard sources supports a typical story of a fairly small tribe that suffered gravely because of intrusions by non-Indians during the nineteenth century. Cordial relations established by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark gave way to increasing intercultural suspicion through the fur trade era then changed to open conflict soon after the opening of the Oregon Trail. Indian-white relations deteriorated steadily because of smallpox or measles epidemics, infringements of Christian beliefs and institutions on traditional philosophies and practices, and secular education introduced by U.S. officials. Then came federal negotiators, gold seekers, railroad builders, and white settlers. An experiment with homesteading for tribal members was largely unsuccessful. There was war and the temporary removal of Palouse people from their aboriginal land before they finally agreed to blend into non-Indian society. At the recommendation of the U.S. Indian Claims Commission after World War II, they received some financial remuneration for the unconscionable treatment they had received. Cash payments could not compensate for the loss of land, however, or for the cultural change and social abuse they had endured.

The experience of Palouse people has been similar to that of many smaller tribes. Accordingly, Clifford E. Trafzer and Richard D. Scheuerman's text reads like that of most "tribal histories" published in the past. Information drawn from manuscript collections, published documents, newspapers, sighting reports, books and articles on related subjects, and a bit of oral history draws attention mainly to tribal relations with successive groups of white intruders. Not all non-Indians were "dirty dogs," say the authors, but white society was mainly callous and sometimes brutal in its treatment of these people.

Their story is a substantial contribution to regional literature in the readable style of Trafzer. It ought to be well received by all readers in the Pacific Northwest. Tribal members especially should appreciate it. The authors have recognized hardships endured by Palouse people in the past without fixing excessive blame on the non-Indians who have moved in around them. With maps they have supplied geographic orientation; with bibliography they have extended guidance for further investigation.

The book is not so great a contribution, however, to literature on the national history of Indian-white relations, because it does not provide new insights that tribal histories are now expected to supply. Its text fails to tie Palouse experience to successive changes in federal Indian policy. It does not deal with the nature or change of non-Indian society around the tribe because of protracted contact. After mention of cultural conservatism in the early chapters, there is no attempt to trace cultural adap-

tation and survival in the tribe. There is no mention of accommodation to mainstream institutions: cross-cultural marriages, Christian satellite churches, retail stores, tourist bureaus, and so on. Missing are many elements that must be included in a volume that may attract national readers with general interest in the history of ethnic experience or race relations.

Two dedicated authors deserve no particular criticism for this. The scope of their text is entirely in their purview, and it contains information similar to that included in most tribal histories published in the past. Their text is readable and clear. It will enlighten people of the Pacific Northwest about one aspect of their past. It should interest anyone with an occupational specialty related to tribal experience. Surely, it is a volume that belongs on a shelf of any library in the Pacific Northwest and in the special collections of major libraries across the United States.

HERBERT T. HOOVER  
*University of South Dakota*

RODGER CUNNINGHAM. *Apples on the Flood: The Southern Mountain Experience*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1987. Pp. xxxi, 214. \$21.50.

As in the case of blacks, women, and native Americans, a strong new revisionist analysis of the Appalachian region and its people has emerged during the past fifteen years, characterized by new critical perspectives and paradigms. The present book is part of what might be called a "second wave" of that process, which both builds on and in some ways goes promisingly beyond my own earlier work and that of such scholars as John Gaventa, Helen Lewis, and Ronald Eller.

Rodger Cunningham picks up and reexamines with remarkably fresh critical insight one of the oldest platitudes about the region: the Celtic or Scotch-Irish origins of its people. "If there is in fact a historical connection between the 'Celtic' peoples and the Appalachian Mountain people," he asks, "then might not an examination of that history add a further dimension to the study of the Appalachian region?" Prior to Cunningham's book, the answer to that question has been hardly more than a "Well, yes, but not much." As he himself handles it, however, the answer becomes "Yes, most emphatically, and to much else besides."

Drawing imaginatively on the critical approaches of comparative literature, social and symbolic anthropology, Freudian and existential psychology, and (especially important) economic peripheralization and world systems theory, Cunningham probes far more deeply and illuminatingly than anyone has before the historical and cultural bases and implica-



tions of those origins. He follows through many centuries both in Europe and the Appalachian region itself (at times with an overabundance of detail) the process through which economic, cultural, and political peripheralization has interacted perniciously with individual and collective identity.

Cunningham's book is not an easy one to read, and it may provoke turf-conscious specialists in some of the many fields whose theories and methodologies he draws on. But it is a very important one and a major contribution to the conceptual and analytical refinement of available paradigms and approaches to the understanding of, as he phrases it, "lands and peoples which appear on most historical maps in pale italics stretching across wastes of dismissive off-white" (p. 2). The task he set for himself was to reinvest one such land and people with "the color, detail and centrality that belong to them as real participants in history." Patient and attentive readers are likely to agree that he has gone a long way toward doing so, at once illuminating his chosen topic and suggesting promising analytical possibilities for those working on analogous problems.

DAVID E. WHISNANT  
University of North Carolina

MICHAEL B. KATZ. *Reconstructing American Education*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1987. Pp. viii, 212. \$22.50.

There is much to be admired in Michael B. Katz's book, and there are questions that need to be raised. Historians of American education will welcome the republication and updating of Katz's incisive essays on the alternative models that were available in nineteenth-century America for organizing educational institutions and on the growth of an educational bureaucracy in the city of Boston. These essays have become minor classics, and their original appearance marked an important turning point in our understanding of the development of American education. They will remain required reading for graduate students in the field.

Historians will also appreciate the lucid analysis and presentation of some of the very basic themes that have come to undergird much of our monographic work in the history of American education. Katz reviews the relationship of educational institutions to crime and poverty, social and ethnic diversity, problems of families and youths, and the needs of industry for discipline and training. He makes clear that parental pressure on schools to shape behavior and attitudes of the young has always been more effective than the desire of educators to transmit cognitive skills and intellectual abilities. He reminds us that it was the creation of formal systems

of schools that shaped the educational world we know today. He illuminates the role of capitalism and the appearance of a working class, and he differentiates them carefully from the associated forms of industrialism and urbanization.

Questions may be raised about the continuation of Katz's debate with conservative historians over the issue of revisionism. Revisionists have often been accused of arguing in *post hoc ergo propter hoc* fashion that educational failure has been the result of deliberate planning. On his part Katz charges his critics with seeking to detach the study of education from class analysis. This detachment, he implies, makes them prone to lose their capacity for critical moral judgment and to become voices for the interests of the marketplace and of government. Such exchanges by now are dated and rather pointless, and one wonders whether Katz really means to say that for criticism to be sound and effective it must be based on class analysis.

That query becomes all the more pertinent when one considers the reform proposals Katz offers in his book. Some of them are bland, as when he expresses a preference for competence over excellence and for equity over toughness as goals for our schools, or when he thinks we can rely on tenure, academic freedom, and the moral integrity of administrators, faculty members, and students to keep the university from further entanglements in marketplace and government. Others touch the heart of the matter when, for example, he suggests that instead of succumbing over and over again to the reification or rigidification of our reform proposals we view them as responses to specific situations that need to be modified once the original conditions begin to change. He urges that we develop reforms on a school-by-school basis, decentralize as much as possible, and keep an eye on the ever-building contradictions between schools and the social order.

Whether bland or incisive, these suggestions are the insights a working historian has gleaned from his studies, and I have no quarrel with them. I accept them gladly as fruits of a dialectical view of history that allows for the interplay of reform and tradition in an ever-changing society. I am not sure, however, that they need to be pressed once more into battle over the old chestnut called revisionism.

JURGEN HERBST  
University of Wisconsin

HELEN LEFKOWITZ HOROWITZ. *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1987. Pp. xviii, 330. \$24.95.

Like many of us who have been observing the college scene of the last decade, Helen Lefkowitz

Horowitz is distressed by the obsessive materialism of college culture and the narrow range of ambitions of college students. Worshipful of hot-dog Wall Street manipulators and hotshot corporate lawyers, students appear to have lost the activist social idealism so dominant on campus twenty years ago. In order to understand the present phenomenon, Horowitz looks to the campus life of the past and attempts to trace the unsteady trajectory of three different student value systems, or cultures as she calls them, as these have moved through the long history of American colleges.

The result is an odd book, neither a real history of college culture nor a rich sociocultural analysis of the present student generation. The book is organized around a mechanical thesis about the constancy of three cultural types among students—the collegiate, the outsiders, and the rebels—and the traditions these have generated. These three types, which can be roughly equated with the fraternity crowd, ethnic strivers, and bohemian-political radicals, dominate the tone of college life at different times, according to Horowitz, one group coming to the fore while the others recede into the background. This tripartite division serves the author as an organizing device and a form of explanation, although it tends to simplify rather than to explain and enables Horowitz to enter rather than to engage the historical record. Despite the apparent amplitude of this book, going back to the students of the early republic, it is in some respects narrow. Since it looks primarily at students at select (usually Ivy League) colleges, it misses the real extent and diversity of college settings and college life, especially in the twentieth century. (David O. Levine has recently told this story nicely in its full complexity and socioeconomic significance in *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915–1940* [1986].) Based largely on impressionistic sources such as autobiographies and on secondary works, Horowitz's book gives very little attention to what students thought and did while they were students. Moreover, by emphasizing the cyclical nature of college life and student types, Horowitz tends to ignore the critical ways in which college traditions interact with the social and political environment in which students and their parents live. As a result, Horowitz overlooks the continuities, the ways in which, for example, college students from all cultures have throughout the twentieth century been influenced by the evermore importunate manipulations of consumerism and the media. Cycles of style notwithstanding, the history of education in the twentieth century has moved steadily within the mainstream of commercial culture, and even in the apparently antimaterialist 1960s and early 1970s students dressed for success. It is especially odd at a time when historians of education have moved their

studies securely into the larger historical issues of society and culture that Horowitz should be moving in the opposite direction. It is also odd that a book that purports to deal with youth culture should have so little to say about students' lived experiences, their fads, language, fashions, music, sports, and so on. Finally, this book is odd in the light of Horowitz's previous work. I yield to no one in my respect for *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from the Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (1984), a book rich in detail and probing in the reconstruction of the organization of women's colleges. Although apparently narrower in focus, that book is never narrow in interpretation. Broadly innovative in its approach and attentive to the variations among schools, it provides a considerable contrast to *Campus Life* in its refusal to stand by easy explanations or facile categories.

*Campus Life* has certain real merits. It is written in Horowitz's usual clear and graceful prose, and it reminds us both of the range of students who have gone to college and of how their ambitions and objectives have varied. It is also effective in detaching students from the concerns and dogmas of their institutions, making them active participants rather than passive receptors of college life. Horowitz cares passionately about today's students, and her best chapters, on the present and immediate past, are vividly engaging. But, in the end, the book is not really interesting to historians who seek out richer and more complex fare. Instead, it seems written from and for the deanery (and this is true of its tone as well as its use of categories), where educational administrators and policy makers may need to be reminded that students, like institutions, live in the shadow of their own pasts.

PAULA S. FASS  
University of California,  
Berkeley

LLOYD P. JORGENSEN. *The State and the Non-Public School, 1825–1925*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1987. Pp. ix, 235. \$29.00.

Lloyd P. Jorgenson asks two fundamental questions about American education. Why are church-related schools denied public money? Why are religious activities prohibited in public schools? Both questions can be answered only by understanding the evolution of state policies toward education from the colonial period to the mid-nineteenth century. Until the 1860s the lines between public and private schools remained blurred, since individual states often provided financial aid to religious groups, including Catholics, to operate schools. Hostile to a burgeoning Catholic population, militant Protestants sponsored state legislation that separated

schools into public and private realms, with state monies restricted to public schools that often allowed or required Protestant prayer or Bible reading. Traditional state support for religious schools receded in the wake of Protestant crusades against private, mostly Catholic, schools. In this context the separation of church and state in education reflected ethnic and religious bigotries rather than lofty constitutional principles.

Sympathetic to the academic and religious traditions of private schools, Jorgenson presents a thoughtful and comprehensive interpretation of the evolution of public and private schools in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His research builds on the scholarship of leading scholars in American educational history, and his writing often covers familiar, though important, terrain: how Protestant reformers actively promoted an emerging public school system, eliminated public subsidies to private schools, and thus undermined traditional church and familial control over education. Familiar, too, are the analyses of anti-parochial-school legislation in Wisconsin and Illinois in the late nineteenth century and the Ku Klux Klan's futile attempts to eliminate Oregon's private schools in the 1920s.

Jorgenson's volume is nonetheless the best available history of church-state relations in nineteenth-century American education. Synthesizing an array of primary sources and secondary materials, his book is beautifully written, passionate, and provocative. His defense of religious education and apparent sympathy for public aid to private schools may offend some liberal scholars. More intriguing, his central thesis that bigoted Protestants—and not secular or humanist bogeymen of the twentieth century—were the real enemies of religious education in America's modern schools may enlighten contemporary evangelical Protestants uncertain of whether to support public or private schools. Early Protestant support for a state monopoly over schooling had twin results: religious practices in public schools gradually eroded as ministerial influence declined, and religious schools of all denominations struggled to survive under the doctrine of church-state separation.

The history of twentieth-century church-state relations in education awaits its author. How Protestants formed a holy alliance to eliminate church and family control over education in favor of state control of compulsory schools is now well known; how this Protestant policy disguised as public policy produced unholy practices during this century remains a major task for social historians.

WILLIAM J. REESE  
Indiana University

MARGARET HOPE BACON. *Mothers of Feminism: The Story of Quaker Women in America*. San Francisco: Harper and Row. 1986. Pp. x, 273. \$16.95.

This is a history of the development of feminist conscience, shaped by Quaker experience and moral insight. Although American Quakers represented a small portion of the American population by the mid-nineteenth century, numbers cannot measure the weight of Quaker influence in women's reform. Quaker tactics, strategy, and goals guided the nonviolent means, consensus politics, and peace-directed measures of the women's movement. Quaker belief in divine illumination of all souls presumed gender equality and supported women as preachers and prophets. Such faith nourished a tradition of spirited female preachers who traveled widely, frequently leaving husband and family behind, dedicated men and women who believed marriage an equal partnership, and capable women who managed their own meetings, offering pastoral services.

The Revolutionary War and the Hicksite controversy intensified women's activism and initiated the most important of women's reforms, abolition, in addition to prison reform and Indian rights. Hicksite Quaker belief in the Divine Light's revelation of male and female quality proved strong in affirming women's rights. The author argues conclusively that Hicksite conviction, the traveling ministry, separate business meetings, and equal educational opportunities laid the basis for the women's reform movement.

The women's rights movement fell securely into a well-established network of Quaker women responsive to its message. Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony, and Abby Kelly Foster contributed their remarkable talent for friendship and exhortation to gathering a women's movement. The gathering integrated all the reform strands—temperance, the settlement movement, prison reform, and, later, peace. Thus, "feminism, properly understood," according to the author, assumes Quaker values of integration, cooperation, equality, and peace (p. 229).

Margaret Hope Bacon proves that one can write a history of feminism by writing Quaker history. Attentive to harmony and conflict within and outside the Quaker community, she provides a balanced account of a complex social movement. While Evangelical women provided mass support and cultural impetus for reform, Quaker women contributed ideology and method.

The plain style of the author's prose makes all the more clear the simple moral statements and purposeful action of her inspired subjects. As a history of conscience, however, the work neglects Quaker consciousness. The reader gains little insight into

what moved so many Quaker women to this good work. Such a consideration may explain why Quaker women dropped out of the feminist movement once it veered toward politics. On its own, however, this work is literally the standard work on Quaker women, a standard of writing and research unequalled in its field.

JEAN E. FRIEDMAN  
University of Georgia

MICHAEL PAUL ROGIN. *Ronald Reagan, the Movie, and Other Episodes in Political Demonology*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1987. Pp. xx, 366. \$25.00.

Michael Paul Rogin's analysis of President Ronald Reagan is but one of nine essays that explore what the author calls political demonology or the countersubversive tradition in America. Underlying much of this provocative book is the argument Rogin first leveled against pluralists in *The Intellectuals and McCarthy* (1967) that the stigmatization of political enemies as subversives is a product more of America's liberal center than of political extremists or mass hysteria. Outbursts of fear and repression of Indians, blacks, workers, immigrants, or Communists are generated by institutions and elites, including Hollywood and the political leadership on which Rogin focuses his attention.

From Jacksonian portrayals of Indians as savage children to D. W. Griffith's sexually charged assault on blacks as rapists and the postwar consensus on Communism as a red menace, Rogin argues that demonological rhetoric invokes social-psychological anxieties for politically repressive purposes. By displacing forbidden desires onto a subversive enemy, "Countersubversive politics . . . imitates the subversion it attacks" (p. 284). Thus, Reagan fights terrorism by supporting freedom fighters to "murder and terrorize the civilian population of Nicaragua" (p. 284). Similarly, the obviousness of white actors in blackface in *Birth of a Nation* collapses Griffith's intended distinction between races and reveals instead white Klansmen "chasing their own negative identities" (p. 224).

By virtue of blurring the line between fantasy and reality, motion pictures, according to Rogin, became a major countersubversive force that, in the case of Reagan's films, produced today's presidential image. Of the three chapters dealing with film, that bearing the book's main title is actually the least convincing. Rogin relies heavily on Reagan's coauthored autobiography, *Where's the Rest of Me?* (1965), to suggest that the actor discovered his identity through the roles he played on screen. Unfortunately, there is little in either *Where's the Rest of Me?* or in Reagan's film roles to support such contentions as Reagan

shedding his family past by acting out the loss of his legs in *King's Row* or Reagan leaving Warner Brothers because his postwar film roles betrayed his real-life difficulties. Rogin is more credible in a later chapter when he examines how cold-war films of the 1950s helped shape the political consciousness from which Reagan emerged as a political force. Even here, as in his frequently incisive linking of *Birth of a Nation* with Progressive-era phobias, Rogin does not always provide adequate support for his reading of male sexual anxieties in films. More is needed to suggest paternal incest in *Birth* than juxtaposing a scene of Elsie fondling her father with a prior scene of the father being embraced by his mulatto mistress. Likewise, Rogin weakens an otherwise compelling interpretation of cold-war films with exaggerated claims for such images as that of a man (frightened by a queen ant) clutching his pants in *Them* or that of an advertisement display of the deadly kiss in *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*.

If Rogin sometimes overreaches the limits of his evidence, he amply demonstrates the highly evocative nature of countersubversive imagery and develops an elaborate account of its repressive implications. He also makes a good case for locating political demonology at the core of American politics, although it could be argued that the political process has also served from time to time to check countersubversive excesses.

JOHN H. LENIHAN  
Texas A&M University

THOMAS BENDER. *New York Intellect: A History of Intellectual Life in New York City, from 1750 to the Beginnings of Our Own Time*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1987. Pp. xix, 422. \$25.00.

Thomas Bender's new book should elicit widespread attention, if for no other reason than its subject: New York's intellectual life since the 1750s. Bender deploys what might be dubbed a left-revisionist Tocquevillian framework for writing cultural history: elites versus masses. Unlike de Tocqueville, however, Bender is a radical democrat. He believes that democracy and cultural excellence can coexist. In writing this book, his purposes have been twofold. As historian, he argues that New York's intellectual life has constantly repeated the victories, such as they were, of the elites over the masses. Important too in these struggles have been certain social realities, notably the city's character as the center of the nation's commerce and the bridge between European and American culture, that in turn have eroded many cultural campaigns. As activist concerned about New York's cultural fragmentation and its intellectual elites' failure to propose general solutions for Gotham's revitalization,



Bender wants his history to teach New York's intellectuals that they have failed in the past to reconcile democracy and culture. In that failure, Bender believes, may be found the roots of New York's current troubles. New York's intelligentsia must assist in the creation of a shared public culture, from which New York's salvation as a city will crystallize. And, thus, "the work of a historian might forward the cause of civic revitalization" (p. xviii).

Bender wishes to contribute to historical method too. He wants to go beyond that old chestnut, social versus intellectual history. It is insufficient to trace ideas, he argues. Ideas must be placed in social as well as intellectual contexts—in social institutions and discourses, that is—and, ultimately, in distinctive "cultures" (Bender's term), which remain, nevertheless, specific social matrices. Thus he wishes to combine social and intellectual history.

Bender argues that there have been three "cultures" in New York's intellectual life. Each was patterned after a European city, a culture (or social matrix) in and of itself. First arose the Edinburgh of the Enlightenment with its "civic" culture. Its patrician character and commitment to general, as distinct from utilitarian, knowledge doomed it to dissolution in the rising democratic and practical tides of the early nineteenth century. Next came the midcentury literary culture of Paris, reincarnated as American, and, in the later nineteenth century, the American version of Berlin's academic culture, both of which have coexisted, none too happily, ever since. There were tensions, conflicts, and struggles within each and between both, all within the larger elite-mass context. Many conflicts boiled down to issues of authority, legitimacy, standards—turf management, as it were—precisely as Bender's framework would lead us to expect. Bender carries his narrative to the 1940s. By then history's lesson was clear. Elitism and special privilege had always won out over democracy in Gotham's past. Its intellectual elites always undercut or flattened democratic attempts to create a shared public culture. In the conclusion Bender addresses the contemporary malaise and outlines his plans for reform. The latter can be accomplished, he insists, if the city's intellectuals can provide public leadership by outlining general ideas of a shared public culture for all New Yorkers—and this from a self-professed democrat!

The book brings together much that was scattered. It is well written and often entertaining. Yet as a whole it disappoints. Bender's sincere regard for New York's welfare is admirable; perhaps this would be more effectively worked out in a book on social policy. The Tocquevillian framework for cultural history and its not-too-subtle endorsement of traditional elite canons of high culture at the expense of democratic (or, more precisely, alternate) culture compromise much of his argument. Bender's

design here seems baffling, given his egalitarian intentions. As history, it creates problems too. Thanks to much excellent work by students of social history, we know a good deal about the cultural life of many nonelite groups. Yet such material, or extrapolations from it toward a framework more in line with Bender's ultimate preferences, is largely missing. What is discussed is material often quite familiar, so much so that it has generated its own secondary literature, sometimes through more than one cycle of revisionism. Thus, we learn far more, for instance, about Columbia than City College, about the *Partisan Review* crowd than the Harlem Renaissance, and so on. The result is a narrative whole more familiar than not. It might be refreshing to write cultural history, whether of literature or science or whatever, without so presentist a framework as the highly judgmental Tocquevillian one. Furthermore, the Tocquevillian model of confrontation and victory blinds us to such important issues as the structures and processes of innovation and diffusion and reduces inquiry to a narrow history of the intellectuals. Furthermore, Bender devotes so much energy and attention to establishing a basis in "events" in the social life of each of the three "cultures" that he never really discusses any of the ideas save in the most telegraphic fashion. The result is largely disappointing because the promise of unifying social and intellectual history is not accomplished. Instead, we have a book that ricochets between history and social policy, whose assumptions seem a bit blurred, and that does not tell us a lot of "social history of the intellectuals" that was not already reasonably well known in the secondary literature.

HAMILTON CRAVENS  
Iowa State University

LAWRENCE J. MCCAFFREY *et al.* *The Irish in Chicago.* (Ethnic History of Chicago.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1987. Pp. xii, 171. \$19.95.

In recent years the field of Irish immigration and Irish-American history has enjoyed a resurgence of scholarly activity. Inspired by the concepts and techniques of the new social and labor history and informed by the increasing volume and sophistication of modern Irish history, a number of young scholars have produced many fine monographs and dissertations on the Irish in various American cities and on the creative interactions between Irish ethnicity and American working-class culture during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Unfortunately, this book is not representative of these advances in Irish-American studies. Indeed, in some respects it marks a regression to a celebratory,



"contributions to the making of America" style that has plagued ethnic history since its inception.

The four essays, plus conclusion, that constitute this volume are extremely uneven in quality. Charles Fanning's essay on Irish-American Chicago as portrayed in contemporary fiction is excellent, and Ellen Skerrett's study of the Catholic church and the Irish is solid and original, albeit somewhat limited in its emphasis on institutional development. By contrast, Michael F. Funchion's piece on Chicago politics and Irish-American nationalism is merely a textbook-like summary, almost devoid of analysis, and in his introductory and concluding essays Lawrence J. McCaffrey provides only impressionistic evidence to support his argument that, in terms of economic and political success, the experience of the Chicago Irish fell midway between that of the Irish in Boston and in San Francisco.

The best thing about this volume is its attempt to survey the entire history of Irish-American Chicago from the 1830s to the present. The flaw in that approach, however, is an ahistorical overemphasis on the ultimate suburbanization and embourgeoisement of the Chicago Irish that trivializes the immigrant and even the second-generation experiences. For McCaffrey, Funchion, and Skerrett, "Irish-America is an urban ethnic success story" (p. 146) in which the transplanted peasants of the nineteenth century, such as those whom the Donegal *spailpín* Michael MacGowan described as consumed with "only one wish and that was to get back to the old country," have little place. Perhaps most important, these essays totally ignore the crucial relationships between the Chicago Irish and the labor movement. The Knights of Labor, the great strikes that convulsed Chicago in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, even the American Federation of Labor are rarely or never mentioned, despite the prominent roles often played by the Irish in these movements. Even the photographs in this volume seem selected to illustrate only the themes of success, piety, and bourgeois assimilation, and the sole pictorial reference to labor is a 1976 photograph of Mayor Richard J. Daley unveiling a heroic statue honoring the Irish-American policemen who preserved "law and order" during the "great upheaval" of 1886.

The only exception to the neoliberal, consensual thesis that dominates this book is Fanning's eloquent and incisive essay, which focuses primarily on the realistic fiction of Finley Peter Dunne and James T. Farrell. Fanning demonstrates how Dunne, the critical journalist, and Farrell, the radical novelist, portrayed the "inner life" of Irish-American Chicago and thereby illuminates realms of experience neglected or avoided by the other contributors to this volume: the pain of exile; poverty, exploitation, and conflict (both inter- and intraethnic); the strains and

disappointments of assimilation; and what Farrell called the "tragedy of the worker." Unfortunately, however, neither Fanning's minimasterpiece nor Skerrett's solid research can fully rescue this book. The history of the Irish in Chicago still waits to be written.

KERBY A. MILLER  
University of Missouri

JAMES W. BRADLEY. *Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois: Accommodating Change, 1500-1655*. (An Iroquois Book.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1987. Pp. xv, 252. \$24.95.

In this pathbreaking study, James W. Bradley examines subsistence, settlement patterns, and material culture as revealed in the archaeological record of the Onondaga Iroquois. Combining his findings with the fragmentary evidence of European documents and native oral traditions, he offers a compelling interpretation of the rise of the Five Nations Iroquois during the pivotal sixteenth century, before they were observed directly by Europeans.

Bradley largely follows James Tuck's explanation of Onondaga formation *in situ* between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries and marks the emergence of the Iroquois confederacy by the sudden increase in exotic lithics and shells near the end of this interval. During the sixteenth century, Onondaga pottery incorporated northern Iroquoian stylistic influences while the presence of objects manufactured by Susquehannock Indians and by Europeans, as well as large amounts of shell from the mid-Atlantic coast, suggests even greater influence from the Susquehannocks to the south. In this world of escalating change and exchange, the Iroquois directed hostilities at neighbors who controlled the flow of sacred materials, indigenous and European. They acted not out of commercial motives, Bradley avers, but out of a desire to restore health and peace to a world ravaged by lethal new diseases and intensified warfare.

In the seventeenth century, the increased adoption of captives and the establishment of New Netherland brought still greater heterogeneity to Onondaga material culture. Bradley demonstrates that the Onondagas continued to incorporate new materials, styles, and objects according to traditional norms rather than passively succumbing to the allure of European goods. But the Dutch location on the Hudson, favoring the Mohawks over the Onondagas, finally led to a breakdown of the confederacy's ability to maintain peace between its autonomous members. Even then, Bradley argues, the recasting of the confederacy as a unified diplomatic entity in the late seventeenth century enabled it to continue as a powerful force in colonial politics.

The importance of Bradley's approach and findings is undermined by some weak spots in his argument. There is simply no sure way to correlate the material evidence of heightened interaction between the Iroquois in the late fifteenth century with the consciousness that established their confederacy. His assertions that the Onondagas fought with the Jefferson County Iroquoians and the Susquehannocks in the sixteenth century are based on inference rather than direct evidence. And his weak account of Iroquois politics in the seventeenth century overlooks the recent work of Daniel Richter and others.

In spite of these problems, Bradley's study demonstrates the interpretive utility for historians of archaeological evidence. He has underscored the importance and complexity of the sixteenth century for the Iroquois in particular and for Indian and colonial history more generally. In these respects, he has charted important new directions for future scholarship.

NEAL SALISBURY  
*Smith College*

JAMES TRAPIER LOWE. *Our Colonial Heritage: Diplomatic and Military*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1987. Pp. x, 326. Cloth \$32.50, paper \$19.75.

Alexis de Tocqueville, the most astute observer of democracy in America, noted a tendency among Americans to ignore the past, denying its claim on the present. Even recollections of the past become wrenched from their historical context. Thus, celebrations of the founding of the American republic sometimes treat it as the creation of something from nothing.

James Trapiér Lowe's study of the diplomatic and strategic heritage of colonial America is meant to check this prejudice. His thesis is that by the time of independence the American colonists had had substantial experience in the management of foreign affairs. In separate chapters he describes the development of diplomacy between colonies and king through agents sent to the court to protect the colonies' interests, the growth of intercolonial diplomacy, which created alliances and led ultimately to the adoption of the Constitution, and the problems of relations with the Indians, who until the 1770s held the balance of power in the contest between New France, New England, and New York. By 1776 the Americans had dealt with problems of war and peace, trade, disputed boundaries, alliances, arbitration, neutral rights, hostage taking, overt and covert traffic in arms, and "nearly every other problem that confronts (or confounds) us today" (p. 21).

To make his case, Lowe takes issue with a common view of the colonies as mere pawns in the larger contest for preeminence among the European powers. "Contrariwise, the New World had its own wars to protect vital interests" (p. 227), and American colonists did all in their power to drag the British crown into conflicts with their French, Dutch, Spanish, and Indian neighbors. Colonial blood and treasure were freely and lavishly spent pursuing a continental empire, first as part of the British empire, then as an American one.

Lowe has not uncovered any new materials here but has used older accounts of this period to weave together a strong case. Certainly, the oft-noted realism of the framers reflects the lessons of practical political and diplomatic experience. Nevertheless, the author goes too far in playing down a certain idealism or reforming spirit that led many Americans to believe that the shots fired at Lexington and Concord would eventually produce a safer and more just international order. Lowe is also forthright in arguing that sovereignty "passed from the Crown in England to each of the American colonies, now States" where it remained under the Articles of Confederation (p. 103). Although this helps establish that the states were practicing diplomacy properly understood, it is problematic as history, constitutional law, and even international law. One has only to refer to Justice George Sutherland's opinion in *United States v. Curtiss Wright Export Corporation* for a powerfully argued alternative view. These reservations aside, this volume serves as a useful summary of an often ignored colonial legacy.

DANIEL G. LANG  
*Lynchburg College*

GAY WILSON ALLEN and ROGER ASSELINEAU. *St. John de Crèvecoeur: The Life of an American Farmer*. New York: Viking. 1987. Pp. xxii, 266. \$19.95.

This biography is a promising venture. The Franco-American Crèvecoeur is a richly complex figure, of interest both to literary scholars and to historians. His newest pair of biographers form a distinguished Franco-American team: Gay Wilson Allen is the author of substantial lives of Emerson, Whitman, and William James, and Roger Asselineau has produced important studies of Whitman and other American writers. Their collaboration results, as we might expect, in a fluent narrative of a life-and-times variety. It makes full use of existing biographies and adds some fresh material on Crèvecoeur's French background and milieu.

Crèvecoeur's life, however, presents problems that these esteemed scholars have not been able to overcome. His activities in early life and in prerevolutionary America, as well as during the war

years, are often shadowy. Allen and Asselineau are forced into discussions of the social and cultural setting in which the main figure dwindles or even disappears from view. Or they slide from might-have conjecture into undocumented and perhaps undocumentable must-have assertion.

Still more regrettably, despite some biographical spadework the authors give no clear guide to the extent of Crèvecoeur source material or to their own involvement in searching for it. There is no reference to the provenance of the Crèvecoeur manuscripts recently acquired by the Library of Congress, on which the current labors of Everett Emerson (and no doubt others) may be counted on to yield new knowledge and interpretive insights. A probable explanation is that Allen and Asselineau have seen their task as essentially biographical. In other words they seem to have concentrated on what their subject was doing at any given moment rather than on what impulses prompted him to write his various essays and travel accounts.

Even so, their record is unduly thin. They make little of Crèvecoeur's loyalist connections and neutralist leanings. They provide no evidence for the statement that he had acquired American citizenship (as distinct from British citizenship), nor do they clearly reconcile his resumption of French citizenship with his American naturalization in 1787 (p. 177). They do analyze some of the differences between the English and French editions of the *Letters/Lettres*. They cite a 1984 article by Bernard Chevignard on the *Letters* (*Early American Literature* 19) but misprint it as 1934 and seem not to have followed up the other articles listed by Chevignard. One must conclude that their focus is too narrow and that they are insufficiently in touch with today's research on Crèvecoeur and his era. Despite its sundry merits, their portrait is in the main conventional and blurred. What a pity: *quel dommage*.

MARCUS CUNLIFFE

*George Washington University*

PETER S. ONUF. *Statehood and Union: A History of the Northwest Ordinance*. (Midwestern History and Culture.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1987. Pp. xxi, 197. \$27.50.

Although there has been much detailed discussion in article form of the framing of the Northwest Ordinance, there has long been need for a comprehensive, book-length study of its shaping and implementation. This book by Peter S. Onuf partly meets this need.

The first three chapters of the book are concerned with the aims of congressional policy makers. Onuf states that in the years from 1784 to 1787 Congress attempted "to create a legal and political

framework conducive to both regional and national economic development" (p. 3). He argues that congressmen and others who were vitally concerned with raising revenue through land sales and economic growth had little sympathy with notions of a pastoral republicanism in the Mississippi Valley. The supporters of westward expansion wished to use the commercial development of the frontier to enhance national economic and population growth. Mutual economic interest was promoted as a means of welding together an expanding union.

In the second part of his book, Onuf deals with selected aspects of the ordinance's history as a constitutional document. Chapters 4 through 7 are "a series of connected essays on various controversies over Ordinance provisions" (p. xvii). In turn Onuf discusses the controversy regarding Ohio statehood, boundary problems in the Old Northwest, and the arguments within the Old Northwest regarding the prohibition of slavery. The recurring themes in these chapters are the controversy regarding the extent of congressional authority in the territories and the extent to which the Northwest Ordinance had force as a constitutional document. In a final chapter, Onuf describes the ways in which the Northwest Ordinance became revered as a regional symbol in the Old Northwest in the years before the Civil War.

In covering so much in relatively few pages, Onuf has had to be highly selective. His theme of national unity through economic growth as a congressional motive in the 1780s is a compelling one, but he pays scant attention to other compelling themes such as the perceived need for security in the Mississippi Valley. The compression of material also does not allow sufficient discussion of the precise way in which a Congress depicted as antispeculator became so involved with speculation in the sale and settlement of the land northwest of the Ohio. The distinction Onuf draws between the "unchecked privatism" (p. 42) of unsavory speculators and the more acceptable speculation of the Ohio Company is not completely convincing.

This is not the last word on the framing or the implementation of the Northwest Ordinance, but it offers a thoughtful analysis of its origins in the 1780s and a generally perceptive discussion of its interpretation in the first half of the nineteenth century.

REGINALD HORSMAN

*University of Wisconsin,  
Milwaukee*

ROBIN W. DOUGHTY. *At Home in Texas: Early Views of the Land*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1987. Pp. viii, 164. \$17.95.

This study covers a forty-year period of Texas history from the time of the first Anglo settlement to the outbreak of the Civil War. Using both published and unpublished accounts in the United States and abroad, Robin W. Doughty accounts for perceptions—real or imagined—about what is referred to as the Texas-to-be: what travelers and settlers wanted it to be, found it to be, and made it be.

Several factors came to play a part in the settlement and development of the new region. It occurred early enough that the Jeffersonian ideal of the yeoman farmer was still strong. The Protestant work ethic was another force, accentuated, perhaps, on the early Texas frontier, where there was not only wilderness as nature to be conquered and subdued but also the other perceived wildernesses of an Indian population less docile than further east and the alien Spanish Catholic culture.

Manifest Destiny, though not yet a coined phrase, was already at work among those who colonized Mexican Texas. The stronger sense of commitment, the more materialistic attitude, and the progressive outlook of the majority of the colonists and subsequent settlers may well explain why the Texas of today is looked on as a state where everything has to be bigger and better.

Yet, the experiences of the people who came early were not dissimilar to the ones of those venturing onto any other frontier. The same tasks awaited them: clearing, sowing, and harvesting—actions that in Doughty's book are also used in a figurative sense. The degree of success depended on expectations and willingness to adapt to a new environment while at the same time molding it to fit old, familiar needs. The importance of place and home is strong everywhere and greatly affects the well-being and peace of mind of the settlers.

Although there are a few minor criticisms, such as the overuse of quotation marks around words and expressions, an occasional first-person reference, and quite often an inclusion of the reader as "we," Doughty's writing style flows easily. The book should appeal to nonscholars as well, particularly Texans, who through this work will come to understand themselves better.

KRISTINE FREDRIKSSON  
*Traditional Concepts*  
New Milford, Connecticut

ROBERT WOOSTER. *Soldiers, Sutlers, and Settlers: Garrison Life on the Texas Frontier*. (Clayton Wheat Williams Texas Life Series, number 2.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1987. Pp. xv, 240. \$22.95.

"If we didn't actually kill many Indians," one veteran of service in Texas wrote, no one could say that

the army in its frontier forts was not "a potent factor in 'settling up the frontier'" (p. 205). His claim was just. Many of the army's 146 armed encounters with the Indians of Texas between 1846 and 1890 amounted to little more than skirmishes, and only fifty-two regulars died in these fights. The more warlike tribes of the Lone Star state, especially the Comanche, could not be destroyed at such a small price. Nevertheless, the army, from its line of forts between the Red River and the Rio Grande, always discouraged Indian attacks and finally, with the aid of the Southern Pacific Railroad and increasing numbers of settlers on the frontier during the 1880s, put an end to resistance.

Perhaps, then, the most important thing about the army on the nineteenth-century Texas frontier was simply its presence. Thus, the present book, in describing everyday life at frontier posts in the Lone Star state, deals with a subject of considerable significance. Robert Wooster discusses all aspects of garrison life, from the physical setting of the forts to the social and cultural activities of those who manned them. Service in western Texas often meant isolation in a land of severe weather; poor housing, clothing, and equipment courtesy of a parsimonious Congress; and days of tedious routine duty broken only by forays against the Indians that generally ended in frustration. Yet, most soldiers and their families, in Wooster's words, "made the best of their situation" (p. 216), and many chose to stay in Texas when their service ended.

This book, the second in Texas A&M University Press's Texas Life Series, is intended for "the general reading public as well as the interested scholar" (p. xiv). Its format, especially the inclusion of many attractive illustrations by Jack Jackson, is not typical of scholarly studies, but it is thoroughly grounded in the sources and judiciously written. The account is essentially descriptive rather than analytical, making the book a good companion for Wooster's study of the military's role in formulating U.S. Indian policy in the years following the Civil War.

RANDOLPH B. CAMPBELL  
*University of North Texas*

STERLING STUCKEY. *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1987. Pp. x, 425. \$27.50.

Sterling Stuckey's thesis is that the culture and the political consciousness of black Americans in the nineteenth century, and probably in the twentieth century, as well, have been basically African. In his preface he asks the questions, "How was a single people formed out of the many African ethnic groups on the plantations of the South?" and "How was a single culture formed out of the interaction of



African ethnic groups in North American slavery?" (p. viii).

Stuckey finds the answers in religious ritual, particularly in the tradition of the "ring shout," a widespread West African practice, in which the participants form a ring and move in a counter-clockwise circle, until they are possessed by frenzy and shouting as the spirit moves among them. Stuckey is aware that the ring shout was often condemned by black nationalist theorists in the nineteenth century. Thus, he describes his book as largely "a study in irony because the depths of African culture in America have been underestimated by most nationalist theorists in America" (p. ix).

Stuckey's research has led him "to the inescapable conclusion that the nationalism of the slave community was essentially African nationalism" (p. ix). He is convinced that the retention of African cultural traits was a weapon of supreme importance in the arsenal of slave resistance. He presents massive documentation in support of his contention that the ring shout symbolized nationalism and resistance to slavery at the grass-roots level. He outlines the reactions of nineteenth-century black nationalists to the culture of the slave. Most of the nationalists treated in this study are drawn to heroic scale, and Stuckey does not hide his admiration for leaders who expressed an appreciation for the African cultural heritage and folk tradition.

One-third of this study (its final two chapters) is devoted to appraisals of W. E. B. Du Bois and Paul Robeson. Stuckey correctly observes Du Bois's admiration for the frenzied power of Afro-American religious ritual. He does not miss the irony of Du Bois's posture, however, as he recalls Du Bois's description of himself on his first trip to Africa, "riding on the singing heads of black boys swinging in a hammock" (p. 283). Nor is Stuckey oblivious to Robeson's compromise with Hollywood by performing in such movies as *Song of Freedom*, in which negative images of Africa are "painfully evident" (p. 345). Stuckey is determined to accentuate the positive, however, and he is successful in demonstrating that all the major black nationalists, with the possible exception of Booker T. Washington, were genuinely sympathetic to mass political culture.

Even those who do not agree with Stuckey's thesis will have great respect for the scope of his undertaking, the freshness of his approach, and the depth of his research. His text merits continuing discussion and should be required reading in every course that seeks to explore continuities between black intellectual life and the experiences of the masses. Stuckey presents the most sophisticated and convincing demonstration so far of the undeniable

convergence of literary culture and folk culture in the evolution of black American ideology.

WILSON J. MOSES  
Brown University

ELLIOTT J. GORN. *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1986. Pp. 316. \$24.95.

Probably the only reference to bare-knuckle fighting in most labor history courses comes when instructors recount the famous punch with which John L. Lewis decked Big Bill Hutchinson at the 1935 AFL convention. But, if Elliott J. Gorn's study of nineteenth-century boxing has its intended effect, historians of the working class may begin to devote to prize fighters some of the attention that they now lavish on union leaders. And, why not? After all, as Gorn argues, "most workers did not spend their free time reading the *Rights of Man*, toasting Tom Paine, and struggling to resist oppression" (p. 13). Debates over the merits of different fighters raged more intensely in working-class communities than debates over the merits of different strike strategies.

Gorn makes his case for the importance of prize fighting to understanding working-class culture (and American culture in general) by providing both a fast-paced narrative of boxing's rise, fall, and transformation in nineteenth-century America and a thoughtful analysis of the changing meanings of the sport for fighters and fans. As a working-class pastime, prize fighting reached its peak at midcentury. Legal authorities pursued and prosecuted the leading fighters of the day, and the voices of middle- and upper-class respectability denounced fights such as the famous Tom Hyer-Yankee Sullivan bout of 1849 as "disgusting" spectacles that aroused "the worst passions of the community" (pp. 96, 94). But denizens of big-city saloons and working-class neighborhoods celebrated Hyer and Sullivan as heroes. Along with other institutions of a burgeoning working-class "street culture" (saloons, fire companies, and street gangs, for example), prize fighting crystallized and expressed a distinctive working-class ethos that inverted the dominant Victorian middle-class assumptions about money, gender, and violence.

In the postbellum years, corruption overtook boxing and undercut the ring's appeal. But, just as boxing seemed to be down for the count, it was revived in the late nineteenth century with the unexpected help of male white-collar workers fearful that they were being "feminized" by a seemingly sterile corporate society and of emerging entrepreneurs of leisure time, who reorganized the sport under new rules and auspices. As boxing became a business, it gained a modicum of respectability but



lost its close ties to working-class life and its aggressively antibourgeois inflections.

Gorn has done a splendid job of colorfully sketching the development of nineteenth-century prize fighting; the book is beautifully written, extensively researched, and rooted in a sophisticated understanding of American social and cultural history. He demonstrates that a single work can combine engaging narrative and incisive analysis. The only disappointment is that Gorn does not explicitly connect his perceptive analysis of working-class culture to questions of working-class economic and political power. Did the working-class inversion of middle-class values affect how workers related to employers or whom they supported at election time? How, more generally, does the working-class passion for boxing help us understand better the balance of class forces in nineteenth-century America? Although such questions step outside the frame of Gorn's delightful and pathbreaking book, scholars inclined to take them on will want to have this study in their corner.

ROY ROSENZWEIG  
George Mason University

TAMARA MINER HAYGOOD. *Henry William Ravenel, 1814–1887: South Carolina Scientist in the Civil War*. (History of American Science and Technology Series.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1987. Pp. xii, 204. \$22.95.

Historians of the South have often used the diary of Henry William Ravenel to represent opinions of southern aristocrats during the Civil War era, but none of them have examined his life as a planter, avid botanist, and agricultural experimentalist. Historians of science usually note isolated taxonomists only in passing, as a backdrop for institutional and twentieth-century topics. The neglect of natural history, arguably the most widespread scientific activity of the nineteenth century, is now being remedied by younger scholars and through a series of books on American science and technology by the University of Alabama Press, edited by Lester Stephens.

Tamara Miner Haygood's well-researched biography of Ravenel is the second volume in what promises to become an important series; it provides an engaging and illuminating view of the culture of the South and the study of natural history. She shows through a layered description of his leisured but carefully ordered life that the methods and issues among nineteenth-century taxonomists also influenced their individual activities and their correspondence networks. Ravenel's efforts are measured by daily routine and self-evaluation rather than institutional affiliations, although he was an

active member of such varied organizations as the Clariosophic Society (a college debating society), the Pineville Police Association, the Black Oak Agricultural Society, the Elliott Natural History Society of Charleston, and the Southern Rights Association. In all of these Ravenel reflected a "fair-minded conservatism," and his biographer maintains a sympathetic yet not totally uncritical outlook on the sometimes dyspeptic naturalist.

Moreover, she uses the life of Ravenel to probe another important question: did the outlook, environment, and circumstances of the slaveholding South inhibit scientific inquiry? Ravenel's experiences and companions from the Pineville Academy and South Carolina College to his plantations and eventual settlement in the small town of Aiken provided often informal opportunities for the study of natural history. Teachers such as Thomas Cooper, visitors such as Moses Ashley Curtis, and neighbors such as William Porcher and Isabella Porcher presented opportunities to learn through their private collections and field exploration. In time Ravenel became a regional expert on fungi, exchanging specimens and information with botanists Edward Tuckerman and later Asa Gray in New England, with mycologist Miles Berkeley in England, as well as with other southerners. Ravenel's place in the intricate process of collecting, identifying, naming, and publishing new discoveries changed over time, eventually earning a kind of immortality as peers named new species after him. Ravenel's achievements, Haygood argues, refute Clement Eaton's contention that slavery stifled creative thought; they also modify the more extravagant claim for southern equality with northern science made in Thomas Cary Johnson's *Scientific Interests in the Old South* (1936). She cautiously asserts that, as historians learn more about the history of science in the period, the production of individual naturalists such as Ravenel will, in fact, be at a parity with comparable northern naturalists, while the overall pattern of scientific activity will vary by region in nineteenth-century America.

For Ravenel, what began as a way to fill his leisure and exercise his intelligence became an important source of income. In the years after the Civil War, his casual interest in experimenting with fruits and grapevines led the impoverished planter into a nursery business. His contributions to science came through assistance to younger naturalists, none of whom were (or stayed) in the South. The debate about southern science ends with the Civil War. After that, as Ravenel's career indicates, even well-established naturalists could not find the practical and intellectual resources to keep up with the rapid advances to the north.

SALLY GREGORY KOHLSTEDT  
Syracuse University

JAMES B. ALLEN. *Trials of Discipleship: The Story of William Clayton, a Mormon*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1987. Pp. xi, 383. \$22.95.

First a caveat: although this prize-winning book perforce is a biography, it is vastly more important. Most Mormons, and non-Mormons especially, are advised not to read this book as life writing. Aside from several salient facts, the life of this Mormon of tertiary importance would make quite dull, uninformative reading and would hardly have been worth the years of effort expended by James B. Allen.

The four facts that make this book compelling reading for anyone interested in the early Mormon scene are that William Clayton was a compulsive and candid journal keeper, that most of his journals have to now been only slightly known, that he was a polygamist with ten wives and forty-two children, and, most important, that he was Joseph Smith's clerk, intimate friend, and confidant for crucial years in the development of early Mormon theology. Clayton was a sort of Dr. Watson; he generated no light himself but absorbed and preserved light emanating from others. He was a follower, a supporter, a mirror, not a leader.

Clayton (1814–79) was an English bookkeeper who joined the Mormon Church in 1838, emigrated to Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1840, becoming a church clerk and Smith's private secretary in 1842. In these positions he found himself involved in nearly every important activity in Nauvoo, especially in the private concerns of The Prophet for some thirty months until Smith's death in June 1844. Subsequently, he remained close to the center of power in the Mormon Church until the resettling in Utah in 1847. Thereafter, however, he was never again close to the leadership, and the Utah years, the remainder of his life to 1879, were rather routine.

The heart of this book is a detailed analysis and presentation of Clayton's intimate relations with Smith and his recording of much of the "sacred history" and development of early Mormon doctrine. It is a most sobering fact to realize that so much of our knowledge of Smith comes to us only through the journals of this "ordinary" man of "inexorable faith," "scribe and confidant of Joseph Smith," "tireless and uncompromising defender," who exhibited an intensely "self-conscious paranoia" and had a tendency to "exaggerate," a fact not ignored by Allen.

This deeply researched, definitive study is based largely on primary sources, including some never before examined by historians. Allen is a believing Mormon, but his objectivity is such that he has forthrightly presented all of the passages in the "secret" Clayton journals that created such a recent wrangle in Mormondom. The unauthorized release

of these passages, the full story of which might yet eventuate in a book, caused some to cry, "This could ruin the church!" and generated one spectacular lawsuit. For those readers who have not yet waded through the publications of the "Mormon Underground Press" on this titillating subject, ignore them. Allen has presented the passages fully and responsibly.

Although in recent years Lawrence Foster, Daniel W. Bachman, and I have added much to the understanding of domestic life under polygamy, Allen's account of polygamous family life may be the best in print. Above and beyond Allen's scholarship is his readability; like a good storyteller he puts the reader into the picture (for example, in his description of Preston, England). This is not only history but, as the best history always is, literature.

Clayton's life and this book divided into five unequal parts: his life in England, Nauvoo at the time of Joseph Smith, Nauvoo after the martyrdom, the Exodus, and the Utah period. The England portion is interesting at best. Allen's account of the famous Exodus of 1846–48 is a disappointingly brief twenty-nine pages. Clayton is one of our best sources for this civil anabasis. The story, of course, has been told and retold many times, and Allen obviously has decided to plow new ground. In discussing the early Utah period, Allen faces the same problems many others have wrestled with: making that period as interesting as the New York, Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, and emigrant phases. It is not easy to do, and Allen has found no solution. The author does, however, place Clayton's personal affairs against the bigger background of church and territorial history and successfully uses Clayton as an example of the ordinary Saints who made and make up the Mormon Church. The most interesting chapter in this part of the book is titled "The Esoteric Tendency" and details Clayton's brushes with phrenology, astrology, and alchemy.

This handsome book includes thirteen photographs, no maps, and no bibliography of any sort and is remarkably free from typographical errors. If you read but one "Mormon book" this year, I recommend this.

STANLEY B. KIMBALL  
Southern Illinois University,  
Edwardsville

HAROLD B. RASER. *Phoebe Palmer: Her Life and Thought*. (Studies in Women and Religion, number 22.) Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen. 1987. Pp. 389. \$59.95.

Harold E. Raser argues convincingly that Phoebe Palmer has been unduly neglected. From 1837 to her death in 1874, Palmer was renowned for her

"Tuesday Meetings for the Promotion of Holiness." She was arguably America's first widely respected woman religious leader and theologian. And she was so successful as a traveling evangelist as plausibly to be tagged a "female Finney" (p. 118).

Palmer was reared in pious Methodism and long sought a Wesleyan experience of "entire sanctification." This quest became extraordinarily painful when she lost three children in infancy and concluded that God was punishing her. Finally, following the lead of her sister, Sarah Lankford, who organized the Tuesday Meetings in 1835, Phoebe gained assurance of entire sanctification in 1837 and launched her public career.

Raser's account of Palmer's life is based largely on her own testimony and is only adequate. The strength of his work is a sophisticated analysis of her thought and theology. Raser does a fine job of placing Palmer in theological context.

Palmer was much like Charles Grandison Finney in being a skilled analyst of spiritual technique. Her leading contributions were "new measures" or simple steps by which any Christian could gain holiness. Her central move, says Raser, was to reject John Wesley's emphasis on emotion as a sign of perfect sanctification and to emphasize what the believer might do as a sheer act of will. One needed simply to "lay on the altar" all one's worldly loves and vices and keep one's resolve to live spiritually and morally. Such Pelagianism, Raser shows, was typical of the departures from Wesley in Methodist theologies of the era. Raser does not explain why Palmer's less emotional, almost mechanical, approach flourished at the height of the romantic era in America, although it fitted with other self-help ideologies.

Palmer championed women's leadership in the churches but was too spiritual and straightlaced to please many modern feminists. She vigorously defended women preaching but declined to call it preaching or to seek ordination for women. She was not interested in politics or women's rights. Rather, she saw women as spiritual leaders whose verbal testimony was a biblically sanctioned form of prophecy. Her own practice opened the door for widespread women's ordination in the holiness groups that split from Methodism after her death.

GEORGE M. MARSDEN  
Duke University

SUSAN E. CAYLEFF. *Wash and Be Healed: The Water-Cure Movement and Women's Health*. (Health, Society, and Policy.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1987. Pp. x, 247. \$29.95.

In this book Susan E. Cayleff offers a fascinating exposition of the water-cure movement in nineteenth-century America. Hydropathy, that is, the

internal and external application of cold water to cure disease and preserve health, was one of several sects that tapped mid-nineteenth-century discontent with conventional medical practice, particularly the overreliance on bleeding and purging. Introduced from Europe in the 1840s, the water-cure movement reached its height in the 1860s. Hydropathy offered its predominantly middle-class clientele both guidance in domestic hygiene and health care, through its popular manuals and periodicals, and a more intense healing experience at water-cure establishments, which existed throughout the United States. Hydropathy's special appeal stemmed from its philosophy of healing: the water-cure simultaneously provided its practitioners a sense of individual autonomy and self-reliance, while involving them in a communal healing experience. "It offered a group context in which personal improvement could serve as a model for societal reformation," Cayleff writes (p. 17). The water-cure proved especially appealing to the reform-minded; hydropathists forged alliances with a variety of other nineteenth-century reform movements, including vegetarianism, temperance, and dress reform.

Although hydropathy apparently drew equal numbers of male and female converts, Cayleff is particularly interested in its appeal to women. Challenging the dominant medical tradition of the time, which tended to view women's physiology as a series of potentially dangerous reproductive crises, hydropathy promulgated a much more optimistic view of the female constitution. With better hygiene and sensible dress, its leadership argued, women could and should play a wider role in modern society. To reinforce its "emancipationist" message, the water-cure movement itself offered women a variety of appealing roles: as patients, they were directed to take charge of their own and their family's health; as practitioners, they were encouraged to choose hydropathy as a career. Water-cure establishments and hydropathic medical colleges welcomed female doctors at a time when regular medical institutions often refused them entrance. In her last chapter, "Women at the Cures," Cayleff examines the social and sensual needs that water-cure establishments may have served for their female patients, among them such well-known reformers as Catharine Beecher and Susan B. Anthony.

As the perfectionist spirit of nineteenth-century reform waned after the Civil War, hydropathy lost ground to new, more fashionable forms of vacationing. Cayleff shows that internal squabbles among the movement's leaders, their ideological opposition to professionalism, and the renewed strength of mainstream medicine contributed to its decline in the late nineteenth century. But the influence of hydropathy persisted in the guise of hydrotherapy,

which became an accepted part of medical practice, and in the continued popular interest in bathing, hygiene, and diet.

Cayleff has written a lively, thought-provoking account of the water-cure movement and its special meaning for mid-nineteenth-century women. Yet, at times, her interpretation seems too dependent on "internalist" accounts of hydropathy. For example, the "conversion narratives" she analyzes as clues to the movement's appeal to women all appeared in the published water-cure literature; one has to wonder how free they were of editorial direction. Her arguments would have been stronger had they been buttressed by additional unpublished sources giving a more personal view of the "cure." Despite this flaw, Cayleff has provided a valuable new perspective on a fascinating epoch in American health reform. Her book will be of interest to historians of medicine, women, and reform in the nineteenth century.

NANCY J. TOMES  
State University of New York,  
Stony Brook

PAUL H. BERGERON. *The Presidency of James K. Polk*. (American Presidency Series.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1987. Pp. xv, 310. \$25.00.

James K. Polk's reputation as a political leader has declined a great deal. Although Polk was once ranked among the "near great" presidents for his diplomatic accomplishments, more recent assessments have been much more ambivalent, sometimes accusatory, even denigrating. He was a second-string politician who came to power because of a serious party fissure, one line of argument runs, and his limitations, short-sightedness, and commitment to, and manipulation of, an unsavory manifest design brought out the worst in American life and opened a vast political chasm that Polk only worsened by his inept actions.

Paul H. Bergeron is more sympathetic and understanding. Written from the perspective of the president's office (and rarely leaving there), this succinct but thorough study extensively draws on the extraordinary wealth of relevant scholarship about the 1840s and uses Polk's diary to flavor, detail, and sharpen understanding, all to make a well-mannered argument for the defense. There are few surprises here. Seeing in Polk a tactician of some skill, less manipulative than political, beset by multiple pressures that few could control, limited, perhaps, but in ways shared by others of his time, Bergeron argues that Polk ably "achieved remarkable things" (p. 260). Further, he did not manipulate events outrageously as a leader. He was not John Tyler, James Buchanan, or Franklin Pierce as a schemer, defender of slavery's expansion, or bun-

gler. Although Bergeron is always genial toward other scholars, he clearly believes that those who have argued for a darker Polk have been reflecting other agendas, not his times.

This is old-fashioned political history, topically organized, moving from original election to cabinet making and operations, to diplomacy (the largest portion), to domestic policy and political concerns, to relations with press, public, and Congress and finishing up with a view of life in the White House and thereafter. Bergeron's presentation of his viewpoint is clear cut, although sometimes repetitious and awkward because of the topical arrangement. His vision of Polk does restore a balance to the record and a concern to understand limited yet intelligent leadership and effective political instincts even when the cause leaves something to be desired from a later perspective. The story might have been textured further by more attention to structural elements, the nature of partisan commitments, and the ideological shaping of behavior in an age dominated by the legislature, not the executive. Also, it is not meant to challenge Bergeron's main thrust to suggest that, although Polk was an adroit state and congressional leader, on the larger canvas of national politics, his historical critics do have elements of a case. Polk's instincts were not always the best, and a great deal of what was unleashed proved beyond his ability to cope. Still, although scholars will still turn to Charles G. Sellers, Jr., for the full story (at least through 1846) and to the many others who have written on this era to understand specific parts of the whole, Bergeron has provided a useful survey and introduction as well as a case worth considering.

JOEL H. SILBEY  
Cornell University

WILLIAM E. GIENAPP. *The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852-1856*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1987. Pp. xi, 564. \$35.00.

This book is an extraordinary accomplishment, an account that is both original and synthetic, sure to become a central work in the historiography of the antebellum period. William E. Gienapp's achievement rests on extensive statistical analyses of local, state, and national elections, but he also offers an exhaustive analysis of traditional source materials, most especially the private correspondence of party leaders. The whole is a virtuoso performance, a book challenging because of its complexity, but constantly engaging.

Gienapp's major contentions are straightforward. The realignment that created the third two-party system took place in two complementary phases. In the first both the Democratic and Whig parties were



fundamentally disrupted by an upswelling of popular opinion that began before 1854 and focused on state and local issues. Ethnocultural conflicts such as temperance and anti-Catholicism eroded old partisan loyalties. The destructive phase gained momentum with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, but the party that benefited was the Know Nothing party, the "effective solvent of past party identities" (p. 446). In the second phase of realignment, opponents of the act sensed that opposition to slavery's extension could create a majority party. Gienapp carefully details the precarious process of coalition building that produced in 1856 the "victorious defeat" (his title for the concluding chapter) through which the Republicans replaced the Know Nothings as the major anti-Democratic party and became the largest party in the northern states.

The breadth of Gienapp's work is remarkable. He treats with equal facility the actions and ideas of party leaders and the roles of newly formed organizations, competing ideological positions, and voting patterns in the electorate. At the same time, he moves back and forth from national to state history (closely treating nine states) without losing continuity or control of the material. Moreover, the book is studded with insightful—sometimes humorous—biographical sketches that enliven and enrich the story.

Many of his claims will provoke further testing by quantifiers, and Gienapp freely suggests areas other scholars will want to explore. The interpretation that may be most generally controversial, however, is his emphasis on the negative character of Republican ideology before 1856. It was, he insists, frankly antisouthern, exploiting popular fears of a conspiratorial Slave Power, conveniently linking similar anxieties about the foreign-controlled Catholic church within the framework of persistent republicanism. Although this assertion is developed most fully in a chapter devoted largely to ideology (chap. 11), it is sustained by his analysis of voting behavior, particularly that in the presidential election of 1856. Historians who see the conflicts of the 1850s in moral terms have a large argument to counter.

The richness of Gienapp's contribution cannot be conveyed in a brief review. This is not a book any serious student of American political history should postpone reading. A sequel (which will take the party through the election of 1860) will be eagerly awaited.

JOHANNA NICOL SHIELDS  
University of Alabama,  
Huntsville

HELEN P. TRIMPI. *Melville's Confidence Men and American Politics in the 1850s*. (Archon; Transactions, number 49.) Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String, for The

Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences. 1987. Pp. xviii, 339. \$39.50.

*The Confidence-Man: His Masquerade*, Herman Melville's final and least well received novel, was completed during the bitter presidential contest of 1856. A puzzle to contemporaries and little-read because of the failure of Melville's publisher in 1857, the novel deals with the April Fool's Day journey of a steamer down the Mississippi River, alternately stopping at ports in slave state Missouri and free state Illinois. During the journey the chief character, the Deaf-Mute, assumes a number of masques or disguises to seek the "confidence" or trust of his fellow travelers. A series of elaborate debates ensues involving more than two dozen minutely described characters with odd names such as the Dried-Up Man and the Invalid Titan. Drawing on historical sources, Helen P. Trimpi seeks to prove in the work under review that in this novel Melville was satirizing particular political and literary figures of his day and offering a commentary on the newly formed Republican party.

To demonstrate her thesis, Trimpi uses graphic political prints of the period (twenty-eight of which are reproduced in the book) to identify both how behavior was symbolized (a wooden leg for a "stumping" candidate, for instance) and how particular men were recognizable from dress and demeanor (for example, shabby clothes for Horace Greeley). She has also consulted biographies and secondary works for details of personality and literary style to enable her to identify likely candidates for Melville's satire. Although admitting to numerous loose ends and points requiring further investigation, Trimpi claims (with reasonable justification) to have positively identified all the major characters and most of the minor ones.

Once characters are identified, Trimpi believes, Melville's political commentary can emerge. The nonvoting but politically aware writer saw in 1856, she asserts, a battle for the trust of the American people between the antislavery movement in its various political guises and its northern, western, and southern opponents. Neither side could really be trusted, however, since both manipulated opinion with propaganda, and the self-righteous, sectional abolitionists and Republicans were equally as dangerous as the self-seeking, racist, and misanthropic Democrats and Know Nothings who made up their foes. The trust of the Founding Fathers in popular self-government, in Trimpi's vision of Melville, was being tested and found wanting.

Although Trimpi's work is largely aimed at Melville scholars, it should prove of interest to historians as well. Novels are often useful as sources of contemporary social analysis by sensitive, sophisticated observers. To have ignored the insights of



one of America's most talented authors because of an inability to understand his caricatures is tragic. Trimp's work offers a fresh opportunity to review political reality as seen by an astute observer unaware of the approaching Civil War.

PHYLLIS F. FIELD  
Ohio University

DON E. FEHRENBACHER. *Lincoln in Text and Context: Collected Essays*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1987. Pp. x, 364. \$37.50.

Among the myopic, however capable otherwise, the individual of history matters little or nought. Yet, as Don E. Fehrenbacher suggests, the work of individuals together with "events" (as he goes on explicitly to state) "are, in a sense, the building blocks of social structure." "Who is to say that against the background of the ages a critical moment counts for less than a stagnant century?" One must not therefore unthinkingly accept "the invidious distinction between structure and event" and the work of the individual (p. 91). The nineteenth century was anything but stagnant, yet the Civil War of the United States illustrates the point. So does Abraham Lincoln, the central figure of American mythology and—so far as historians can admit to such—of American history.

Over the past century Lincoln has captured, among others, such students as William H. Herndon, John G. Nicolay and John Hay, Lord Charnwood, Albert J. Beveridge, J. G. Randall, Dennis Brogan, Jürgen Kuczynski in Germany, Richard Current, David Herbert Donald, Robert V. Bruce, and a host of lesser mortals. Although the emphases of historical studies change unfailingly, Lincoln continues to attract able students. Today the best evidence for this is Fehrenbacher's work. His collected essays, written over more than three decades, are a joy to the mind and the ear.

The book is divided into three parts. The first is titled "The Years of Crisis." It covers the antebellum period and contains seven pieces, which, like the essays in the rest of the book, differ more in length than in thoughtfulness. They approach from varied vantage points the Mexican War, Lincoln's view of the Supreme Court, the political uses of the post office, Chicago's mayoral politics, Lincoln's nomination, and his election. The most interesting and most controversial contribution in this section is a sharply critical evaluation of how the "new political history" bears on the classic question of Civil War causation. The essay reaffirms the importance of a problem that had deeply engaged American historians in the 1940s and 1950s and, incidentally, makes clear that Fehrenbacher's interpretation of the Lincoln theme encompasses "the cultural tradition . . . bound up

with his name" (p. vi). Still, for the antebellum years, this historian's best work is in book-length studies, in *Prelude to Greatness* (1962), *The Dred Scott Case* (1978), and the work he so carefully completed for David Potter, *The Impending Crisis, 1848–1861* (1976)—both the latter volumes winners of the Pulitzer Prize.

Four of the six essays of "The War Years," part 2, investigate Lincoln's attitudes toward blacks ("Only His Stepchildren"), Arkansas reconstruction, and the meanings of Lincoln's love of Shakespeare and of his death. Two of the most challenging contributions of the book are also in this middle portion: analyses of the president's ambiguous record on civil liberties and the Constitution.

Part 3, "Images of Lincoln," surveys historiography through the late 1960s and then into the 1980s, the "anti-Lincoln tradition," psychohistorical forays, fiction's Lincoln, and a forger's. The final, and one of the most recently written, pieces tests the reliability of various Lincoln texts within their proper context. Fehrenbacher is at his finest at such documentary criticism—a mainstay of his work. The essay should be made required reading in graduate schools for the essential skills it displays are not shared even to a modest degree by many historians.

There are of course ways other than Fehrenbacher's through which to conceive issues. He is not always fully convincing in criticizing the work of colleagues, although it is a treat to watch him match wits with a gifted psychohistorian such as Charles B. Strozier, for example. On some questions Fehrenbacher's findings have been partly superseded, as illustrated by the work of LaWanda Cox. All the same, he always remains eminently worth reading.

The book catches as catch can: it is not a systematic attempt to deal with Lincoln. It covers, however, a large amount of important material. And Fehrenbacher's penetrating power places him with the best historians of America today and establishes him as one of the finest ever to study Lincoln.

GABOR S. BORITT  
Darwin College  
University of Cambridge  
Gettysburg College

FREDERICK J. BLUE. *Salmon P. Chase: A Life in Politics*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1987. Pp. xiii, 420. \$28.00.

Salmon P. Chase was one of the most important political figures of the Civil War era. He was a founder of the Republican party, governor of Ohio, U.S. senator, member of Abraham Lincoln's cabinet, chief justice of the Supreme Court, and four-time presidential aspirant. Yet until now no histo-

rian had written a modern biography of him. Frederick J. Blue's able study has met this need.

Although Blue emphasizes Chase's life in politics, he includes chapters summarizing Chase's role as secretary of the treasury during the Civil War and as chief justice during Reconstruction. Blue also discusses Chase's private life, which was marked by the loss of three wives and four children. Blue suggests that these personal disasters led Chase to devote himself almost entirely to his political career.

Blue's study of Chase is well balanced. The man he portrays was a loner in politics whose vanity and ambition, plus his generally advanced position on issues, cost him the political and popular support necessary to make him a major presidential candidate. The eagerness with which Chase pursued political office has led to charges that his ambition outweighed his dedication to principle. Blue, although acknowledging that Chase was inordinately ambitious, nevertheless argues that the Ohioan sought political power in order to eradicate slavery and achieve equal rights for blacks. For Chase political parties were simply the means to gain those ends. He moved from the Whig party through the Liberty and Free Soil organizations to the Republicans, seeking always to form an antislavery coalition that would separate the federal government from any responsibility for slavery. Chase was never an abolitionist, and when the war broke out he was reluctant to push for immediate emancipation. By 1862, however, he was the leading exponent within the cabinet of that goal. He also was one of the first important Republicans to call for black suffrage.

Although Blue develops a clear analysis of Chase's policy on slavery, he is less successful in explaining his views on Reconstruction. Once the Civil War ended, Chase endorsed not only universal suffrage but universal amnesty and became critical of military government in the South. These opinions drew him closer to the Democrats, but Blue fails to make a convincing defense of Chase's bid for a Democratic presidential nomination in 1868, nor does he explain why former Copperheads such as Clement Vallandigham encouraged Chase in this regard. Although Chase had some affinity for Democratic hard-money doctrines, on questions of emancipation and equal rights for blacks, issues that Chase made central to his career, he and the Democrats were far apart. It would seem that by 1868 his commitment to black equality had taken a back seat to an ambition that was verging on desperation.

A longer book, which certainly would have been justified in view of Chase's historical significance, might have enabled Blue to examine such questions in more detail. Nevertheless, this is a fine biography that covers well the major stages of Chase's life in politics. It is well written, thoroughly researched,

and thoughtfully presented. Chase has finally received the modern biography that he deserves.

RICHARD H. ABBOTT  
Eastern Michigan University

LEWIS NICHOLAS WYNNE. *The Continuity of Cotton: Planter Politics in Georgia, 1865-1892*. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press. 1986. Pp. viii, 200. \$22.50.

In the debate over continuity and change in the postbellum South, Lewis Nicholas Wynne eschews the middle ground. His study, using Georgia as a test case, argues vigorously for the persisting social, economic, and political power of antebellum planters and their descendants. Temporarily weakened by military defeat and emancipation, the planters regrouped, fended off challenges from freed slaves, white Republicans, Independents, New South industrialists, and Populists, and, taking Georgians down the "Prussian Road" of modernization, maintained their hegemony well into the twentieth century.

With the exception of a brief chapter on the rise of tenancy and sharecropping, Wynne's book is concerned chiefly with state politics. Their control of land and labor left intact by the Reconstruction settlement and the failures of the Freedmen's Bureau and the Republican party, the planters used their now-secured power base in the black belt as a launching pad to reclaim their command of the state. In the constitutional convention of 1877, they stole the initiative from merchants in the rapidly developing southwest and probusiness elements based in Atlanta, tailored the political system to their interests, put the brakes on industrialization, and then entered into an *entente cordiale* with New South industrialists (symbolized by the Bourbon Triumvirate) in which they retained the upper hand. Skirmishes during the 1880s served to demonstrate that the planters' power rested on a stable foundation, and, with the advent of the Farmers' Alliance, in which the planters assumed leadership, they finally drove their New South allies from office and forged a new partnership with businessmen from smaller towns of the midstate plantation belt. This partnership kept Georgia on the "Prussian Road" of limited industrialization under planter auspices and held sway in the state until the 1960s.

Making sense of Georgia's postbellum political economy is no easy task, and Wynne should be commended for his efforts, which are often sharp and insightful. Neither skeptics nor sympathizers will, however, find the argument very persuasive. Wynne's portrait of persisting planters and antebellum economic patterns is too static and is supported by evidence that is rather schematic. The election data he brings to bear are subject to more complex

interpretation, and he does not explore in much detail either the relation between local and state power or the ways in which state policies decisively strengthened one social class (and indeed one fraction within that class) at the expense of others. The "Prussian Road" analogy, moreover, is wrong-headed. Wynne notes in passing that planter power did not persist at the national level, but, whatever its analytic shortcomings, the "Prussian Road" is meant to characterize the balance of power between contending elites nationally. And the United States saw no version of Germany's "marriage of iron and rye." It is, in fact, arguable that the fall of the South and the planters from national power (that is, the absence of a "Prussian Road") was a critical factor in undermining the aspirations of New South industrialists and bolstering retrograde elements in the countryside and that political struggles in Georgia must be viewed fundamentally in this context.

Nevertheless, Wynne's is a brisk and thought-provoking study that adds to the scholarly debate and provides an agenda for future research.

STEVEN HAHN  
University of California,  
San Diego

HOMER E. SOCOLOFSKY and ALLAN B. SPETTER. *The Presidency of Benjamin Harrison*. (American Presidency Series.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1987. Pp. xi, 261. \$25.00.

Homer E. Socolofsky and Allan B. Spetter depict Benjamin Harrison as a typical Gilded Age politician who, during his first one and one-half years as president, dealt with office seekers and related patronage matters for four to six hours per day. Yet this tedious activity failed to please powerful state Republican bosses because the self-confident Harrison believed his opinions and choices to be superior to those of his Republican rivals. As one commentator concluded, "Among all of his talents, Benjamin Harrison was least effective as a party leader" (p. 44).

James G. Blaine continued to loom as a serious problem even after Harrison reluctantly named the perennial presidential candidate to head the State Department. Although many contemporaries and historians believed that the egotistical Maine politician actually ran Harrison's administration, Socolofsky and Spetter demonstrate the limited impact Blaine's ideas and initiatives had. In this book Harrison definitely emerges as the dominant force in the executive branch, although certainly not in the federal government as a whole.

The authors describe Harrison as Whiggish because he allowed others such as "Czar" Thomas B. Reed in the House and the Senate bosses to dictate

the legislative agenda. Two bills Harrison signed continue to influence American life: the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 and the Land Revision Act of 1891, which established the National Forest system. As a conservative president, however, Harrison made little use of them. His administration instituted no antitrust actions and designated a scant 22 million acres as forest reserves. Other memorable legislation such as the McKinley Tariff Act and the Sherman Silver Purchase Act suffered significant revision or cancellation after Democrat Grover Cleveland defeated Harrison's unenthusiastic reelection bid in 1892.

With Secretary of State Blaine either ill or sulking most of the time, the president had to handle many details of foreign policy. He expended enormous amounts of time on uninspiring projects such as attacking European tariffs on American pork and attempting to control pelagic sealing in the Bering Sea. Given his temperament, it was probably just as well that no major international crises arose. Harrison's overreaction to the *Baltimore* affair in Chile nearly triggered a war, and he rashly endorsed Hawaiian annexation after a controversial revolutionary coup in 1893.

Like all the books in the American Presidency Series, this is a handsome volume containing extensive endnotes and bibliographies. But Harrison was never a compelling figure, and his biography is bound to be somewhat dull. The authors enhance that tendency by devoting twenty-eight pages to cabinet making and patronage questions and another twenty-eight pages to Harrison's unexciting travels as president. The book is, moreover, primarily descriptive rather than analytical. The concluding pages, for example, contain only five brief paragraphs that attempt an overall assessment of Harrison. One is left with the impression that the low to average rating historians have accorded Harrison's presidency is well deserved.

JOHN M. DOBSON  
Iowa State University

VINCENT P. CAROSSO. *The Morgans: Private International Bankers, 1845-1913*. Assisted by ROSE C. CAROSSO. (Harvard Studies in Business History, number 38.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1987. Pp. xvi, 888. \$65.00.

This long-awaited work may disappoint casual readers for what it is not, but it will satisfy scholars for what it is. Instead of yet another breezy biography of J. P. Morgan, Vincent P. Carosso has written a careful study of the Morgan firms in the United States and abroad. It is not a fast-paced book; bankers are rarely exciting people, and their work is often too technical and complex to be the stuff of

popular history except as caricature or in the art deco style of the Robber Baron school of history.

What Carosso has produced is an inside account of the Morgan houses as banking operations. The first scholar to gain full access to the surviving records of the firm in New York, London, and Paris, he has also uncovered a wealth of untapped material from other archives. This treasure of new information enables him to move past old, stale generalizations about the Morgans to a full description of what they did and how they did it. The result is less a parade of revelations than a fleshing out of generalizations long bare of hard evidence.

No brief summary can do justice to the rich texture of this book. With meticulous care Carosso traces the rise of Junius S. Morgan to eminence in London banking circles, thanks in large measure to his partnership with George Peabody in 1854, and then of J. P. Morgan to a position of dominance among international bankers. The continuity from father to son was strong and direct: the difference in their measure of accomplishment less one of ability than of timing and scale. The son may have outstripped the father in wealth and power, but he never outgrew the elder's values.

As Carosso emphasizes, the Morgans were merchant bankers with conservative Victorian beliefs who lived in a tight, closed community of their peers. This was no less true of J. P. Morgan in 1913 than it had been of his father in 1850, even though the world about them had changed radically. Until the New Deal forced them to change, the Morgan firms remained privately owned international banks "providing a multiplicity of financial and investment services to a select clientele" (p. 2). Outsiders tended to be ignorant of the codes and customs that governed the behavior of bankers and over time grew increasingly critical of and hostile to what they did not understand.

Carosso has chosen to concentrate on depicting at length the inner workings of the bankers' operations. Some readers may resent the amount of detail lavished on a lengthy string of transactions, and there are points where judicious summary might have avoided repetition. For his purpose, however, Carosso has made entirely the right decision. Although the detail may occasionally overwhelm, it also builds in convincing fashion a full and revealing portrait not only of the Morgans and the relationships among their firms but also of the intensely private world in which they moved.

There are shortcomings. The breadth of detail is not matched by depth of analysis. Carosso discusses fairly the many controversies in J. P. Morgan's career but does not always probe to the heart of them. The space devoted to the Morgans' activities tends to overwhelm the background information, but in careers so crowded with major episodes this

disparity can hardly be avoided. The research is massive—121 of the 870 pages are footnotes, many of them chock-full of useful information—yet there are a few curious lapses. Carosso seems not to have consulted the James Stillman and Frank A. Vanderlip papers, which have much to say about the Morgans and the inner life of the banking community in general.

But these objections pale before the achievements of this work. Whatever one thinks of J. P. Morgan, there is something poignant and noble in the image of him standing like a colossus of tradition against the harsh, unfathomable winds of change that were fast blowing his world into oblivion. When he died in 1913, "almost everything he valued and represented was being questioned, changed, or replaced" (p. 647).

Carosso has done with characteristic grace and care some valuable spadework for which whole generations of scholars will be grateful. His study deserves the much overused term definitive, and its sequel will be eagerly awaited.

MAURY KLEIN

*University of Rhode Island*

JACOB ADLER and ROBERT M. KAMINS. *The Fantastic Life of Walter Murray Gibson: Hawaii's Minister of Everything*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1986. Pp. xiv, 243. \$24.95.

This biography reminds historians that not all nineteenth-century American émigrés to Hawaii were antimonarchists and annexationists. Walter Murray Gibson was an American-Hawaiian who in the 1880s became prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, Hawaii's "minister of everything." Opposing the rising planter-missionary party's efforts to curtail King David Kalakaua's authority, Gibson advocated Hawaii-for-the-Hawaiians policies.

According to Jacob Adler and Robert M. Kamins, writers divide over what motivated Gibson. Some describe him as a scoundrel for whom selfish interests governed personal actions. Others say that he was a compassionate and altruistic leader. Adler and Kamins's intent is to present a balanced view grounded in historical evidence. They conclude that Gibson was both a "visionary and conniver . . . the outer man of many talents . . . and, always, a dreamer who dared to reach for the sun" (p. xii). Among Gibson's dreams as "minister of everything" was the building of a Hawaiian empire in the Pacific Basin.

In twelve brief chapters the authors describe Gibson's life from his birth in England to his death in San Francisco. The first chapter concludes with his experiences as a schoolteacher in South Carolina and the death of his young wife. The authors devote



almost two chapters to Gibson's activities as a sea captain and international merchant, especially those related to his imprisonment by Dutch authorities for alleged subversive behavior in the East Indies. In the remainder of the book they describe Gibson's rise and fall in Hawaiian society with emphasis on political matters.

Though marred by an abundance of lengthy quotations, the text is interesting and readable. Adler and Kamins demonstrate that Gibson was a talented and complex individual. They focus on his character not on how knowledge of his actions is crucial to understanding Hawaii's socioeconomic development. Their analysis does not provide new insights into U.S.-Hawaiian relations.

This biography is recommended for those interested in learning more about a man who, though briefly, held important political positions during a pivotal period in Hawaii's history.

JAMES A. ZIMMERMAN  
Tri-State University

BESS BEATTY. *A Revolution Gone Backward: The Black Response to National Politics, 1876-1896*. (Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, number 105.) New York: Greenwood. 1987. Pp. xii, 235. \$35.00.

The purpose of this study "is to view the aftermath of Reconstruction through the eyes of blacks" (p. ix). Using numerous personal papers, newspapers, convention proceedings, and other sources, Bess Beatty observes that blacks were active participants in the debate about their "political future but . . . were largely powerless" (p. xi). Consisting of eight chapters, the book analyzes the divided loyalty of blacks between Democratic and Republican presidents from 1877 until 1896. Their feelings ranged from high expectations to strong independent movements. For instance, Chester Arthur's reduction of black appointments caused some sentiment in the black community for Democrat Grover Cleveland. Traditional black leaders such as Frederick Douglass supported the Republican presidential ticket. Once elected, however, Cleveland provoked mixed emotions from blacks, reaching temporary popularity with the appointment of James M. Trotter and support for the Blair bill aiding education. Sadly, however, Cleveland "had little interest in launching a major federal offensive to insure racial equality" (p. 91).

In the 1888 election blacks supported Benjamin Harrison, but other candidates received black press support. More important than this support was the overall decline in black political participation from 87 to 64 percent, and many of these votes were counted for the Democrats. In many areas of the

South, violence was directed against blacks. Also, "almost all of Harrison's advisors advocated excluding blacks from office" (pp. 106, 107). The few black appointments were "vitiated by his naming lily-white Republicans to positions in the South" (p. 109).

Harrison was followed by Cleveland. Although some blacks supported the Populist alternative, survival was the greatest objective of many blacks. Their political and economic bases were eroded by disfranchisement efforts, violence, and economic oppression. A few black Democrats were appointed, but, basically, "the Cleveland Democrats never extended recognition to blacks," while Populism "proved too racist and too ineffective to offer recognition or protection" (p. 160). By the election of 1896 the "setting sun" of the black political revolution was evident. Disfranchisement had eliminated many black voters. Coupled with the death of Douglass and the rise of Booker T. Washington, the Reconstruction revolution had gone backward.

This is a concise and well-documented volume. There are shortcomings: the bibliography is incomplete, and the book needs charts and graphs to illustrate the decline of the voting strength of blacks. All in all, however, this is a recommended supplement to Rayford W. Logan's seminal work, *The Betrayal of the Negro* (1965).

CHARLES VINCENT  
Southern University

CHARLES A. LOFGREN. *The Plessy Case: A Legal-Historical Interpretation*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1987. Pp. ix, 269. \$29.95.

The small number of high-quality works dealing with significant U.S. Supreme Court decisions has just increased by one. Charles A. Lofgren's richly documented, well-written analysis of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, that alleged fount of the infamous "separate but equal" doctrine, traces the decision from its origins through its twentieth-century legacy. In so doing, he successfully achieves the twin goals of his work: increased understanding of "the constitutional-legal context of southern race relations and American racism" from 1865 to 1900 and an examination of the *Plessy* case "within what might be called the legal-racial matrix . . . with an eye toward explaining why it turned out as it did" (p. 5).

After introductory chapters on the transportation situation in the postbellum South and the development of the *Plessy* case in the Louisiana courts, Lofgren analyzes the ominous constitutional, racist intellectual, and segregationist transportation law environments of the 1890s. It is in his treatment of the latter that his "modest recasting" of the controversy over de facto versus de jure segregation emerges. He argues that the common law of public



carriers created another basis for de jure segregation, thus contradicting the assumption of many historians that it had to be based on statutory law preceded by varying degrees of de facto segregation. His efforts suggest the need for a more precise understanding of the boundaries and relationships between the two types of segregation.

One criticism seems worthwhile. The author's assertion that the bulk of the Supreme Court's application of Fourteenth Amendment vested rights doctrine as a restriction on state police power legislation occurred some years after *Plessy* does not adequately explain the Court's refusal to use that potent judicial doctrine to protect black civil rights. The Court had already developed and applied that doctrine to protect business enterprise in *Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Co. v. Minnesota* in 1890 and in *Reagan v. Farmers Loan and Trust Co.* in 1894. Its refusal to extend substantive due process protections to blacks in the same period resulted from a failure of will rather than from a lack of experience or power.

Discussion in the work of recent judicial decisions upholding the use of "reasonable" racial classifications as one of the bases for modern affirmative action plans reminds us that the long constitutionally suspect doctrine has not disappeared from American constitutional law, although its uses have been critically altered. The book further underscores the critical relationship between dominant judicial opinion and prevailing attitudes about race in American society.

Constitutional scholars will most certainly accept Lofgren's work as the definitive study of the *Plessy* case, one created by a historian who understands the value of examining the symbiotic relationship between law and other aspects of American culture.

JAMES C. DURAM  
Wichita State University

SUCHENG CHAN. *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1986. Pp. xxv, 503. \$40.00.

Sucheng Chan continues two recent trends by examining rural Chinese-American settlements (as have Lucy Cohen, James Loewen, Shih-Shan H. Tsai, and Clarence Glick) and focusing on one aspect (for example, Ping Chui on labor, Ling Chi Wang on education, and so on). Is a fifty-year period of Chinese involvement in California agriculture worth 422 pages? Probably only Chan could make it so. Trained in political economy, she uses more sophisticated statistical analysis than that of predecessors. When adequate data are not available, she cautiously stipulates this but is not deterred

from extrapolating from limited evidence with impressive logic. A self-confessed "closet historian," she has mastered that craft well without giving up the social scientist's analytical tools. Her astute comparison of power and status relationships among rural Chinese with those of their urban counterparts is good historical political sociology. She writes well, avoiding either antiquarianism, with exciting interpretations, or dull statistical reporting, with interesting human illustrative material. One hesitates to use the word definitive, but I cannot imagine future improvement on this exhaustively researched study, so loaded with tables that it can be used as a resource book. The numerous photographs are exquisite, and the publisher is to be commended for a handsome package.

Chan details myriad Chinese roles as levee builders, truck gardeners, fruit pickers and packers, tree pruners, commission merchants, labor contractors, big and small tenants and landowners, and even shepherds and cowboys. She challenges the thesis of agricultural economists that cheap Chinese labor made possible land monopoly and huge agribusinesses in California. The heavy costs of reclamation and irrigation, the state's isolation, and technological gains in transportation, food processing, and refrigeration had more to do with it, she argues convincingly. Chan seems here to have accepted the "agrarian myth" that American farmers practiced the Jeffersonian yeoman ideal before reaching California. In fact many had already become rural capitalists.

Chan also effectively attacks the persistent notion that Chinese laborers were "docile," and she rejects the "sojourner" label that categorically excludes the first generation from immigration history. I also believe that this label is used too exclusively on the Chinese. Probably most immigrants arriving for economic opportunity initially dreamed of returning to invest savings in a farm in Italy, Ireland, and so on.

Chan argues less convincingly that the origin of hostility to overseas Chinese was created by European colonizers, since Thailand, free of such influence, welcomed Chinese until the nineteenth century. Is this a corollary to the myth that racism is exclusively a Caucasian disease? She overlooks one cause of anti-Chinese hostility: native jealousy when Chinese entrepreneurial skills and ethos of hard work and thrift paid off. This, and access to credit in China, allowed the Chinese to exploit the more liberal Spanish economic policies in the Philippines after 1850, which revived anti-Chinese sentiment. Filipino testimony before the Schurman Commission in 1898 reflected this bias, and American colonizers had to intervene to prevent anti-Chinese riots in 1924 and 1931 from becoming massacres. Ethnic hostility has many complex causes, but, as with Jews

in Europe and America, Chinese economic successes helped trigger violent reactions in Africa, the Caribbean, and Southeast Asia.

The few flaws are minor in this magnificent book that should strongly contend for the Commonwealth Club of California's gold medal.

STUART CREIGHTON MILLER  
San Francisco State University

JUNE GRANATIR ALEXANDER. *The Immigrant Church and Community: Pittsburgh's Slovak Catholics and Lutherans, 1880–1915*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1987. Pp. xxii, 198. \$28.95.

Inhabitants of sixteen counties on the Hungarian plains south of the Carpathian Mountains, Slovaks have never had a nation-state of their own. Polish wits called them Poles who came down the wrong side of the mountains. Hungarian government authorities tried to Magyarize them, and the neighboring Czechs made them junior partners in a successor state to the Austro-Hungarian empire. When Slovaks emigrated to the United States, few Americans could tell the difference between a Slovak, a Slovene, or any other Slav. Most just called them "Hunkies." Even today, educated people who should know better apply the meaningless term "Czechoslovak" to them.

June Granatir Alexander gives the Slovaks who settled in Pittsburgh due respect in this extensively researched and closely reasoned book. Although she disavows any intention of writing a comprehensive history, the only area omitted from her study of church and community life is the workplace. Even so, she is well aware of the working-class nature of the Slovak community. She provides, for instance, an occupational analysis of church committee members, showing that they were predominantly laborers, not a business elite as might be expected.

The author examines the Slovaks' Old World background, their patterns of chain migration to Pittsburgh, the process of founding mutual aid societies and national parishes, marriage patterns, and the "assertive deference" of lay leaders in the national parishes. Because of the small size of the community (five thousand people in 1910, organized in four Catholic parishes and one Lutheran congregation), she is able to examine Slovak community life microscopically, and she shows a fine eye for significant details and telling examples. She quotes one Slovak, for example, on the importance of mutual benefit societies: "Do you think that on this foreign soil anyone besides your close family and the undertaker would come to your funeral if you did not belong to a fraternal society?" (p. 19).

The author is well versed in the recent historiography of immigration and ethnicity, particularly the

work of John Bodnar and his colleagues, and she performs the obligatory ritual of rejecting Oscar Handlin's interpretations in *The Uprooted* (1951). Yet she has few ideological axes to grind and generally follows her data wherever they lead. Perhaps her most interesting finding is that Slovak Lutherans experienced greater difficulties with rigid church authorities than Slovak Catholics did.

This book is the best microanalysis of immigrant church communities since Jay P. Dolan's *The Immigrant Church* (1975). Whereas Dolan analyzed two different nationalities, the Irish and the Germans, within one denomination, Alexander examines two denominations within one nationality. Her book deserves respect.

EDWARD R. KANTOWICZ  
Chicago, Illinois

PETER J. COLEMAN. *Progressivism and the World of Reform: New Zealand and the Origins of the American Welfare State*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1987. Pp. xv, 247. \$29.95.

Most monographic studies of the Progressive era, mine included, tend to treat reform in a particularistic vein: as a peculiarly American phenomenon with few connections to the outside world. There are exceptions, of course, and Peter J. Coleman in this interesting if deceptive book seeks to join those few who attempt "to broaden the framework of analysis by putting more emphasis than before on the external forces shaping Progressivism" (p. 11). The peculiar external force in this case is Australasia, specifically New Zealand.

New Zealand reform antedated the Progressive movement in America, for, in fact, the Liberal government of Richard J. Seddon (1893–1906) put in place its advanced program by the turn of the twentieth century. With emphases on land and tax reform, mine and safety legislation, regulation of female and child labor, minimum-wage standards, old-age pensions, and other reforms, Seddon's government, together with its successor regime headed by Sir Joseph G. Ward (1906–12), laid the foundations of the modern welfare state. These innovations captured the attention of American reformers such as Henry D. Lloyd, Frank Parsons, William E. Smythe, and Julius Wayland, all of whom wrote enthusiastically about New Zealand being the "birth place of the 20th Century" and about the need to "New Zealandize the United States" (p. 76). This propaganda as well as other sources of information got through to American academicians, politicians, and bureaucrats, mixed with various and sundry influences, some also from abroad, and helped shape Progressivism in the United States. Reform in America, then, so Coleman argues, was part of a

worldwide transformation from laissez-faire economics and politics to the state interventionism of the twentieth century, culminating with the welfare state and the mixed economy.

One can hardly quarrel with the larger theme of the book, although, to be sure, there is little new here. Yet it would have been useful and instructive if Coleman had included in his last chapter, "American Progressivism and the World of Reform," some meaningful discussion of what other scholars have said about British and West European influences. That, in turn, would have sharpened the main thrust of the analysis: the specific impact of the New Zealand program. Herein lies the deceptive part of the author's treatment, at least for me. Separate, lengthy chapters on two major topics, maximum hours–minimum wages and compulsory arbitration in capital-labor disputes, would seem to suggest that these were the areas in which the most important New Zealand influences were brought to bear. But they do not make a clear case either way. The most that Coleman can say about compulsory arbitration is the dubious judgment that the concept "framed the American debate" and for thirty years "diverted the American people from other, more effective ways of ending the chronic warfare between capital and labor" (p. 151).

These criticisms notwithstanding, Coleman's book is well worth reading and digesting, especially by those of us who are inclined to be insular about the American reform experience in the twentieth century.

ROBERT F. WESSER  
State University of New York,  
Albany

BRUCE CLAYTON and JOHN A. SALMOND, editors. *The South Is Another Land: Essays on the Twentieth-Century South*. (Contributions in American History, number 124.) New York: Greenwood. 1987. Pp. xiv, 216. \$35.00.

Scholars and editors who forge yet another collection addressing the matter of southern distinctiveness set themselves a formidable task: what new markers have they blazed along this well-worn trail?

Surely it is not news that racial attitudes forced many a well-intentioned politician, such as James F. Byrnes, to embrace racism in order to retain office nor that intolerance came naturally to many another southern political figure, as it did to North Carolina Senator Clyde Hoey. Essayists Winfred B. Moore, Jr., and Susan Tucker Hatcher add to the weight of this evidence but shed little new light. Erik N. Olssen, however, addresses a less recognized aspect of the political South: the question of why senators from this supposedly reactionary region generally

supported the reform programs of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. To explain this seeming paradox, Olssen posits that these spokesmen not only reflected the needs of their poverty stricken and agriculturally based region but also hoped to redress their regional inequity as well as to ward off more radical solutions.

Focusing on labor issues, Marion W. Roydhouse contributes further proof of the exploitation of women in southern textile mills, and John A. Salmond offers a glimpse of his forthcoming biography of that aberrant southern lady, Lucy Randolph Mason. But it remains for essayist William J. Breen to plow new ground with his contention that, during World War I, otherwise patriotic southern employers, particularly in the lumber industry, placed economic self-interest above national strength when wartime opportunities threatened to deplete their cheap labor supply.

In the area of religious distinctiveness, Robert A. Hohner offers a revisionist and more sympathetic view of Virginia's "dry Messiah," Bishop James Cannon, Jr. Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., however, grapples with a larger question in seeking to explain the persistence and growth of antievolutionist sentiment from the 1920s into the relatively prosperous and mainstream South of the 1980s. The dramatic growth of fundamentalism in both power and influence, Gatewood concludes, reflects not merely a conflict over religious beliefs but a defense of cultural status and a bias against established authority and elitism.

Burl F. Noggle contributes a survey of the work of photographers, writers, and sociologists who depicted the impoverished and backward South of the 1930s. But it remains for this volume's coeditor, Bruce Clayton, to offer its most stimulating and original essay: his discussion of W. J. Cash as the South's first truly modernist intellectual. Clayton, the first intellectual historian to assess Cash in depth, depicts the North Carolina journalist as viewing fellow southerners in a Freudian context, dominated not by Victorian rationalism but by ego and irrationality. Clayton takes issue with C. Vann Woodward's assertion that Cash set out to write about the southern mind while denying its existence. Cash's definition of mind, Clayton contends, encompassed a broader complex of established relationships and habits of thought: a basic irrationality of outlook on the part of all white southerners. This tendency toward fantasy, according to Cash and Clayton, created a psychological bondage that obliterated class consciousness and allowed plain white southerners to follow the lead of the smaller ruling planter class. Clayton's interpretation of Cash in Freudian terms presages an important biography to come.

Like most essay collections, this one is uneven in quality. Some essays fail to engage the "why" of southern distinctiveness. However, Gatewood and Clayton, by their noteworthy contributions, illuminate new aspects of this overall theme and exemplify the purpose of the scholarly essay.

VIRGINIA V. HAMILTON  
University of Alabama,  
Birmingham

JAMES R. BARRETT. *Work and Community in the Jungle: Chicago's Packinghouse Workers, 1894–1922*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1987. Pp. xvi, 290. \$24.95.

There are two main points to this excellent case study: that the starting point for an understanding of industrial workers and the labor movement is the nature of the work itself and that class consciousness should be viewed as an ongoing social process. James R. Barrett reminds us that the packing houses had the first moving production line, but, unlike the automobile plants, these lines were not heavily mechanized; meat packing remained extremely labor intensive work. The line made it possible to introduce thousands of unskilled workers into the work force while maintaining some control over output, but the packers' rationalization of the workplace largely ended there. They had little incentive carefully to plan the flow of work because they only paid the workers when cattle were actually moving down the line. If there were breakdowns or the slaughtering was delayed, workers stood idle and earned no pay. As a result, both skilled and unskilled workers, who toiled in close physical proximity, shared similar grievances against management. This situation, plus the congested neighborhoods near the yards that both skilled and unskilled shared, provided an opportunity for a broad-based labor movement. Such a grass-roots effort emerged twice in the early twentieth century, culminating in the dramatic but unsuccessful strikes of 1904 and 1921–22.

The 1904 strike is particularly revealing, both for the relationship between work and unionism and for the process of class formation. The older, skilled German and Irish butchers took the lead, building on a thirty-year tradition of labor activism. It was they who acculturated the newer Polish, Lithuanian, and Slavic workers to a union ethos. Barrett provides strong evidence that the skilled butchers genuinely reached out to the newcomers. From 1900 to 1904 a series of short, one-issue strikes in individual shops won real gains in wages and conditions for packing house workers. The union leaders did make some serious strategic errors, but the 1904

strike failed mainly because of a business depression.

Unionism revived during the war, stimulated by labor shortages and government encouragement. Between 1918 and 1920 the rank and file demonstrated strong union militancy. This era was marred by considerable in-fighting among union leaders, and race complicated class consciousness. By the end of the war almost one-third of the packing house workers were black. Barrett argues at some length that the Chicago race riot of 1919 had little to do with the unionization drive in the packing industry and that most of the Irish toughs who marauded through the black belt were not packing house workers. Nevertheless, the riot hurt the union movement badly, aggravating suspicion among the black workers and permitting inroads by the packers and their allies. Barrett's point is that the packers, through manipulation of the blacks, were primarily responsible for the inability of class consciousness to cut across the color line. Had the union locals not been racially segregated, however, the white workers might have been more successful in winning over more of their black coworkers. The Slavic workers did not reach out to the blacks as the Germans and Irish had to them twenty years earlier. The strike failed, partly because of racial divisions, and because the packers again waited for a depression before precipitating a strike.

In tying the workplace to the unionization efforts and in demonstrating the ongoing nature of class formation as a social process, Barrett has enlarged our understanding of the difficulties of unionization in the early twentieth century.

ROGER D. SIMON  
Lehigh University

PATRICIA A. COOPER. *Once a Cigar Maker: Men, Women, and Work Culture in American Cigar Factories, 1900–1919*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1987. Pp. xvi, 350. \$29.95.

"Cigars," Patricia A. Cooper explains, "were not all alike." Between 1900 and 1919, the years she covers in her study, there were four separate markets, which constituted four nearly separate worlds. Around Tampa, Florida, a Cuban, Spanish, and Italian work force produced Clear Havanas, the nation's most expensive cigars. The Tampa cigar makers had little interaction with the rest of the craft. Stogie makers, mainly immigrant women in Pittsburgh, Wheeling, and surrounding Pennsylvania and Ohio towns, who produced inferior two-for-a-nickel cigars, were also clearly separate from the mainstream of the industry. Cooper focuses on the



workers in the two remaining segments of the industry: Seed and Havanas and five-cent cigars.

Seed and Havanas combined domestic and Cuban tobaccos in a hand-crafted (usually ten-cent) cigar made by skilled, overwhelmingly male artisans in big cities. The Cigar Maker's International Union grew out of the work culture of the hand-rolled cigar makers to become the model of the craft unions that dominated the American Federation of Labor. In the late nineteenth century manufacturers who sought to cut costs and break the power of the unionized craftsmen expanded production of five-cent cigars made under a division of labor that used simple machinery and less skilled labor. Many manufacturers established branch factories in rural areas where cheap female labor was abundant. By 1910 most five-cent cigars were made by women. This segmentation of the industry by gender allows Cooper to analyze the interaction of class and gender in a highly developed work culture.

The book consists of three parts: an ethnography of the male, unionized craftsmen, a pair of local case studies of the female five-cent cigar makers in Detroit and in the small towns of eastern Pennsylvania, and an account of the 1916–19 strike wave, culminating in a virtual general strike that for the first time broke down some of the barriers between the male- and female-dominated segments of the industry. Effectively combining oral history with written documents, Cooper sensitively describes the similarities and differences between the work cultures of male and female cigar makers. Both developed cooperative work practices, craft pride, and a mutualistic ethos that helped them control their labor and resist managerial authority. The male work culture, centered on the union and the code of manliness, gave male cigar makers power and independence but also fostered exclusiveness, which undermined the union. Polish women in Detroit and native women in eastern Pennsylvania, both largely excluded from the union, created parallel forms of solidarity based on kin, familial, and neighborhood networks. Under the influence of favorable labor market conditions and the new syndicalist consciousness that emerged in many industries at the end of World War I, female activists and dissident male unionists led a series of strikes that pointed toward an industrial unionism that might have weakened gender barriers in the industry. But, just at that time, manufacturers finally perfected automatic cigar making machinery that undercut both male and female hand workers.

Cooper has crafted her book with the same care and skill that the cigar makers she lovingly describes devoted to their product. Equally important, she has demonstrated how gender and class analyses may be combined to break down the gender segmentation still prevalent in much of social history. My only

quibble is that she might have been more audacious, arguing more explicitly than she has for the wider theoretical significance of what she found in the cigar industry.

RICHARD OESTREICHER  
*University of Pittsburgh*

RICHARD W. TURK. *The Ambiguous Relationship: Theodore Roosevelt and Alfred Thayer Mahan*. (Contributions in Military Studies, number 63.) New York: Greenwood. 1987. Pp. viii, 183. \$32.95.

Richard W. Turk deals with differences between Alfred Thayer Mahan and Theodore Roosevelt that he terms "ambiguous," that is, "doubtful or uncertain."

By 1890 Mahan had an international reputation as a naval historian. Eighteen years younger, Roosevelt had as yet contributed to naval history solely through his history of the War of 1812 (1882). As assistant secretary of the navy, Roosevelt obtained Mahan's advice on strengthening war plans prepared for a war with Spain. Mahan then helped direct naval strategy as a member of the Naval War Board. Both supported the acquisition of the Philippines and were Anglophiles, but Mahan centered on affairs in East Asia, while Roosevelt concentrated on acquiring an isthmian canal site and American control of the Caribbean.

Mahan disagreed with President Roosevelt's intervention in the Venezuelan affair and the Dominican Republic and only slowly concluded that his actions in Panama had not been immoral. Mahan pleased Roosevelt by demanding that the fleet be kept concentrated but erred in ascribing Admiral Togo Heihachirō's victory in the Battle of Tsushima Strait to his use of his secondary batteries. He then lost much ground with Roosevelt by arguing in his *Sea Power in Its Relations to the War of 1812* (1905) that American single-ship victories had been "utterly unavailing" in the face of British sea power—a subject on which Roosevelt had specialized in his book. In addition Mahan sought the broadest possible definition of contraband, Roosevelt a limited one. Mahan gained some ground, however, by supporting Roosevelt's objections to President William H. Taft's general arbitration treaties because they might include the Monroe Doctrine as "justiciable."

Roosevelt skirted the demand by Mahan and others for the creation of a naval general staff. Although Mahan supported Roosevelt's sending the fleet on a world cruise, he feared that it would complicate matters with Japan. During the decade 1888–98, Mahan and Roosevelt were as close as they would ever be. During the next decade they as often disagreed as agreed, and from 1907 to Mahan's



death in 1914 there was no real warmth in their friendship.

The second part of the book contains selected letters from the Mahan-Roosevelt correspondence.

Concentrating on Mahan and Roosevelt and minimizing the naval operations and administration of their era, Turk's well-researched and well-written period piece provides greater value to the naval history specialist and Mahan or Roosevelt buff than to a beginning student.

PAOLO E. COLETTA,  
EMERITUS  
U.S. Naval Academy

SUSAN WARE. *Partner and I: Molly Dewson, Feminism, and New Deal Politics*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1987. Pp. xix, 327. \$25.00.

In *Beyond Suffrage: Women in the New Deal* (1981), Susan Ware began a process she continues in her work on Mary Dewson: the reinterpretation of American women's history after suffrage. Historians can no longer say that after 1920 the women's movement died or that woman suffrage failed to change politics. Through Dewson's career Ware establishes not only the movement's continuing vitality but exactly how some aspects of politics were transformed by women's participation.

Trained as a researcher, Mary (Molly) Dewson (1874–1962) pursued reform causes primarily through a number of the women's voluntary organizations that arose during the Progressive era. Her chief interests lay in the setting and maintenance of labor standards. In the 1920s she met Eleanor Roosevelt, who recruited her into the campaigns of Alfred E. Smith and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Dewson eventually developed the Democratic National Committee's Women's Division into a powerful political organizing tool. Ware's account of Dewson's work in politics shows us precisely how women's "grass-roots organizing" helped elect Roosevelt in 1932 and aroused widespread support for New Deal programs. What we learn modifies our view of women's supposed lack of commitment to politics after suffrage and expands our sense of how the New Deal won public acceptance.

Despite such a positive view of women's political accomplishments after suffrage, a question persists: if women played important political roles after 1920, why did they fail to win positions of authority? Ware explains that women were often their own worst enemies. Despite their extraordinary capabilities, Dewson and many of her contemporaries held on to the belief that, because women were different from men, they ought not to engage in politics for self-advancement. In their view women were at their best serving causes and supporting the men most

likely to win them. Thus, during the first decades of their political power, women continued to function in their old ways—working behind the scenes, eschewing publicity, and, above all, protecting male egos by appearing to be as much like their aunts or mothers as possible.

Does this interpretation blame the victim? Only if it omits the role that men played in ensuring the outcome. As we also learn from Ware, male party leaders, deliberately or not, excluded women from inner circles of power, offering them primarily honorary positions but little more. Frances Perkins was an exception; the appointments of other women had to be fought for like "a bag of cats," Dewson recalled.

I have only minor quarrels with this intelligent, well-researched biography. Ware gives excessive credit to Dewson for some organizational innovations developed earlier in New York women's political circles. And, although she deals gracefully with the issue of Dewson's lesbianism, I would have liked even more probing into the social and cultural conditions that drew intellectual women into life-long "Boston marriages" in the early twentieth century. But these are small faults that in no way mar an otherwise important contribution to American history.

ELISABETH ISRAELS PERRY  
Vanderbilt University

STANLEY VITTOZ. *New Deal Labor Policy and the American Industrial Economy*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1987. Pp. 241. \$24.95.

Stanley Vittoz's study is both broader and narrower than its title suggests. In terms of actual coverage of the stated subject, it begins with an account of the 1920s and early 1930s economic background of the New Deal era. The author then proceeds to the legislative history of the labor provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act and to an account of how those provisions fared in practice. The origins and nature of the Wagner Act are then discussed, albeit more briefly. Events of 1936 and after are given still less attention.

More broadly, Vittoz is interested in relating his subject to what might be termed "social science" theory, to economic theories of the Great Depression, and to New Deal historiography. He is concerned with "a broadly applicable integrated theory of the state, politics, and class" to enhance understanding of the nature of power in modern American society (p. 9). He stresses the role of the underconsumption interpretation of the depression as a rationale for New Deal labor policy. He finds both traditional liberal "pluralist" and revisionist "corporate liberal" interpretations of the New Deal

less than satisfactory in explaining the development and nature of the Roosevelt administration's approach to labor. Here Vittoz emphasizes how, in the case of the Wagner Act in particular, the largely united business opposition to New Deal labor policy was swept aside. The expressed interests of labor prevailed over those of business (including the "corporate liberal" variety). Still, he concludes, business adapted to the changes and retained basic powers, consistent with the New Deal effort to attain economic recovery without basically altering the institutional structure of the economic system.

Although deft and erudite in its discussion of competing theories and interpretations and ably argued along its own carefully delineated path, the book is somewhat weakened by its relative lack of detailed consideration of post-National Recovery Administration events. In a text of 173 pages, 54 are allotted to the pre-New Deal background, and only 27 are devoted to the period of the "second" New Deal (including the Wagner Act). There are only brief references to the impact of the recession of 1937-38, short accounts of the emergence of new industrial unions, and occasional mentions of post-Wagner Act legislation. The conclusion includes a glance at developments of the 1940s. Thus, although the book is a work of intellectual force, greater depth of coverage of the post-NRA period would have resulted in a better balanced, more comprehensive, and more strongly supported study.

THEODORE ROSENOF  
Mercy College

BARTON C. HACKER. *The Dragon's Tail: Radiation Safety in the Manhattan Project, 1942-1946*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1987. Pp. x, 258. \$25.00.

In 1978 the Department of Energy chose Barton C. Hacker to prepare a comprehensive history of the development of radiological safety measures and standards from the early twentieth century to the present. Ideally, this work would be useful for the technical expert, provide background for the legal profession, and enlighten the general reader. The study was to be completed within two years. But clearances, oral interviews, and peer and staff reviews drew out the process. By 1984 the department, faced with extensive legal claims against the government growing out of nuclear tests, decided to publish the early chapters as a separate piece. This book is the result.

Divided into five major segments, the work first summarizes the reaction of scientists, physicians, manufacturers, and others to the exciting discoveries of X-rays and radium. But deaths among radiol-

ogists, burns and other unpleasant side effects on patients, and jawbone cancer in radium watch-dial painters stimulated pressure for safety standards. This tension between scientific achievement and the demands of scientists and the public for some realizable degree of protection from the hazards that accompanied these achievements informs the entire book.

The majority of the book details the demands made during World War II for both an atomic bomb and standards of exposure for those working on it. From the origins of the Health Physics Division at the Metallurgical Laboratory in Chicago through the Trinity test and the Crossroads tests at Bikini in 1946, the need for weapons and desire for knowledge pressed against the concerns for health and safety. Given the limited experience and information and the dramatic necessities of war, it is somewhat surprising that those who urged caution fared as well as they did. Hacker argues convincingly that there were few surprises because of this good planning until the Baker (underwater) test at Bikini, which proved disturbingly "dirty."

Basic to an understanding of the difficulties facing those who would set safety standards is one central problem. Should radiation be treated as a form of poison? If so, one should be able to find a minimum acceptable amount that can be received without damage. If not, then any amount can possibly cause damage at some distant time. The Manhattan Project, under the pressures of war, concentrated on short-term effects and safety precautions to prevent immediate harm. The choice was and is a social as much as a scientific one.

Sympathetic with his subjects, Hacker can be critical of them as well. This is not simply a company history. The fairly brief text (164 pages) is supplemented with 50 pages of exhaustive notes, a 20-page bibliography, and a list of eighty interviews. The style is clear and crisp, occasionally dramatic. One could wish for more of the personal touch in dealing with those caught up in the project, but this does not significantly detract from the book's merits. The author raises the important questions, understands the times, and gives answers as far as possible. The book provides a context and sources for technical and legal personnel and informs the general reader.

CHARLES W. JOHNSON  
University of Tennessee

JESSE H. STILLER. *George S. Messersmith: Diplomat of Democracy*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1987. Pp. xiii, 346. \$35.00.

Jesse H. Stiller has given us a long-overdue biography of a career diplomat whose insistence in pursu-

ing goals of equity and justice frequently set the State Department bureaucrats on their collective ear.

As consul general in Adolf Hitler's Berlin, George S. Messersmith made news with his vocal opposition to Nazi outrages. But, as Stiller points out, he could also be a bundle of paradoxes. Thus, he denounced *Kristallnacht* but led the fight against liberalizing the immigration laws for Jewish refugees. He predicted Anschluss but insisted Hitler would soon fall of his own weight. He advocated cooperation with Joseph Stalin to stop Hitler long before such a stand was thought of elsewhere but in 1948 actually suggested a "preventive" war with the Soviet Union.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt was reelected in 1936, Democrats were determined to get rid of the worst anti-New Deal diplomats and the most foppish of the "striped pants brigade." Messersmith, favored by Roosevelt (but not by Harry S. Truman), became assistant secretary of state to head personnel and management. There he supervised the fusion of the Commerce Department's attachés into the Foreign Service.

Both his greatest triumphs and his downfall were in Latin American ambassadorial posts. In Cuba (1940-42) he was able to recognize the roots of an incipient nationalism, but without understanding from Washington. In Mexico (1942-46) he was prominent in turning a hostile post-World War I nation into a staunch ally in World War II. In regard to the newly elected Juan Perón in Argentina (1946-48), Messersmith came into conflict with the excessively right-wing Spruille Braden. Braden—later prominent in the John Birch Society—denounced Perón for what he called his Soviet-style economy and for not moving quickly enough against the remnant of Nazi wartime agents and business firms. Messersmith, whose views were supported by later historians, accurately pointed out that Perón's regard for the underprivileged masses produced a genuinely mixed economy, that he had moved quickly to eradicate all traces of Nazi support, and that he was sincerely pro-American. But Braden, who had important press connections, carried out a vicious and mendacious attack that quickly became public. Truman's solution finally was to request the resignation of both men.

Messersmith strengthened U.S. ties to Latin America, frequently against strong traditionalist State Department opposition, including that of Under Secretary Dean Acheson. Although his personal characteristics of transparent self-interest, overweening self-confidence, and intemperate language obviously did not help his cause, he persistently pursued goals of equity and justice. He proved himself to be an enlightened pragmatist who understood the needs of Latin American economic nationalism. He also realized, as many Americans did

not—and still do not—that guns were no answer to the human misery on which revolutions feed.

RALPH F. DE BEDTS

Old Dominion University

JUNE M. GRASSO. *Truman's Two-China Policy, 1948-1950*. (East Gate.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1987. Pp. viii, 206. \$29.50.

The policies of Harry S. Truman's administration toward China, involving questions of intervention in China's civil war, recognition of the People's Republic of China, the disposition of Taiwan, and the overarching "lost chance" idea, have been examined intensively and extensively over the last decade as scholars gained access to the documentary record. Since 1980 several superb books have been published, most notably Dorothy Borg and Waldo Heinrichs's *Uncertain Years: Chinese-American Relations, 1947-1950* (1980) and Nancy Bernkopf Tucker's *Patterns in the Dust: Chinese-American Relations and the Recognition Controversy, 1949-1950* (1983). Work by Robert Blum, Russell Buhite, Steven Levine, and William Stueck has also contributed important insights. More recently, in 1986, an extraordinary conference was hosted by Peking University in which leading American and Chinese scholars presented papers and discussed Chinese-American relations from 1945 to 1955. Some of the Chinese participants in the events of the 1940s and 1950s were available to talk with American scholars. In brief we have made enormous progress in the 1980s toward understanding policy toward China in the Truman era.

June M. Grasso's book is thoughtful and offers a useful discussion of the generally neglected question of Chinese representation in the United Nations in 1950. It is written, however, without evidence of awareness of much of the recent secondary literature. It contains no reference to works published after 1982, and, although Blum and the volume by Borg and Heinrichs are cited, Grasso's argument is not informed by those books. Nonetheless, her thesis merits consideration.

Grasso maintains that the American failure to reach accommodation with the People's Republic of China was the result of a consistent unwillingness to surrender Taiwan to the Communists. Her argument is similar to that of the brilliant Chinese scholar Zi Zhongyun. Grasso contends persuasively that George Marshall, Dean Acheson, and their aides were more interested in the strategic value of the island than in sustaining Chiang Kai-shek. She is utterly unconvincing when she postulates a secret policy to hold Taiwan to which only Truman, Acheson, Robert Lovett, Livingston Merchant, Walton Butterworth, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and

National Security Council Chief Sidney Souers were privy. With stunning understatement she notes that Douglas MacArthur, John Foster Dulles, Dean Rusk, and Louis Johnson were not aware of this policy, nor were any of the scores of others urging just such a policy on the government. Deliberately kept in the dark, all were lobbying, with varying degrees of loyalty to Acheson and Truman, to reverse the policy of abandoning Taiwan that Truman and Acheson had announced in January 1950.

A less strained interpretation of the evidence might suggest that, after Merchant's mission to Taiwan in the spring of 1949, Acheson concluded that, as much as he would like to keep the island out of Communist hands, the United States had no choice but to abandon Taiwan. He persuaded Truman of the wisdom of this policy and forced it on the reluctant Joint Chiefs. Rusk and Dulles then campaigned vigorously to win a policy reversal, and, ultimately, in the course of the Korean War, they succeeded. Surely Merchant, who had urged his government to protect its moral position by surrendering the effort to deny Taiwan to the Communists, was an unlikely conspirator. Surely the tension between Acheson and the Joint Chiefs over Taiwan, so evident at meetings such as the one on December 19, 1949, leaves doubt that they were secretly allied on the issue.

Most of the documentation on which Grasso relies is in the *Foreign Relations of the United States* series, easily accessible to the scholar or student willing to test her thesis. If the book provokes more students to look at the documents, it will certainly have proved its value.

WARREN I. COHEN  
Michigan State University

MARK V. TUSHNET. *The NAACP's Legal Strategy against Segregated Education, 1925-1950*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1987. Pp. xiv, 222. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$9.95.

Resource mobilization theory offers a theoretical perspective for interpreting the civil rights movement. Proponents of this approach say that American blacks have long felt deeply aggrieved, but the civil rights movement could not operate effectively until external conditions became propitious in the 1950s and 1960s. They stress the importance of the black vote as blacks migrated to urban areas where they sometimes held the balance of power. They note that the cold war forced the United States to compete for influence with people of color throughout the world. And they point to the growing acceptance of premises of liberal sociology.

But the resource mobilization approach slights the importance of internal factors. Consequently, in

recent years a number of monographs have depicted the civil rights movement as the culmination of a long process of building institutions in the black community. Mark V. Tushnet's new book is a welcome addition to the shelf of volumes that emphasize "the prominent role that internal elements play" (pp. xii-xiii). Tushnet concedes the importance of identifying the circumstances under which social protest can be expected, but he insists that the organizational needs of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the personal views of its staff members determined the timing and precise nature of the NAACP's campaign against segregated schools.

Believing that a frontal attack against segregation would have incited ill-will and alienated even enlightened public opinion in the 1930s and 1940s, the NAACP initially demanded only that the South equalize the salaries of black teachers and the facilities at black schools. The NAACP's executive officers were not happy about soft-pedaling demands for desegregation, but they rationalized that equalization would increase the cost of segregation beyond the point where the practice was economically viable.

In point of fact, the southern states proved willing to pay for equalization, while the NAACP was hard-pressed to continue a campaign of costly litigation. Moreover, many black teachers, who made up an influential part of the NAACP's membership, were unhappy because "equalizing" states developed merit systems that gave low pay to teachers who made low scores on examinations, most of whom turned out to be black.

It was not until 1950 that Thurgood Marshall, the head of the NAACP's legal staff, decided that the time finally was right for a frontal assault on segregation. Tushnet insists that in making this decision, as with previous decisions, Marshall considered the internal organizational needs of the NAACP as well as the external considerations that increased the likelihood of achieving desegregation.

Tushnet describes several instances in which concern for the internal needs of the NAACP influenced a choice of policy. He does so without using opaque legal language. But a blurb on the dust jacket is misleading when it touts the book as "a brilliantly told narrative." The book is well researched. The analysis is impressive. The judgments are sensible. The prose is clear and does not get in the way of understanding. But this study is a purely academic analysis that fails to convey either the drama of the events or the personal qualities of the protagonists. It succeeds as a scholarly monograph, but it is not an interesting narrative account.

RAYMOND WOLTERS  
University of Delaware



CHARLES W. EAGLES, editor. *The Civil Rights Movement in America*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 1986. Pp. xii, 188. Cloth \$18.50, paper \$9.95.

This book, edited by Charles W. Eagles, comes out of a symposium on the civil rights movement at the University of Mississippi in 1985. The book brings together essays and comments by some of the most talented scholars in the field in a collection that is both rich and diverse.

The beginning essay by David Levering Lewis on the origins and causes of the civil rights movement starkly proposes that "political demographics may truly be said to be racial destiny" (p. 3). Lewis argues that black migration from the South to the North set the stage for the movement, and he reviews the events leading to the movement from the 1930s to the 1950s. "By the early 1950s, the cumulative impact of balance of power politics, rising incomes, federal court decisions, coalition with organized labor, and the string of exemplary racial 'firsts,' had primed much of the nation for an end to segregation" (p. 13).

Clayborne Carson in "Civil Rights Reform and the Black Freedom Struggle" addresses the need to study the movement in terms of local communities and mass activism. Only in that way will historians understand the "black freedom struggle," which he sees as different from the "national" civil rights movement run by "professional reformers." Drawing on local actions, Carson argues "there was much continuity between the period before 1965 and the period after" (p. 27). He also stresses the need for historians to carefully assess the ways in which individuals and local organizations can transform the structure of social movements.

Nancy J. Weiss examines the national leadership of the civil rights movement, which she finds rife with competition and tension. In a curiously sanguine analysis, however, she holds that the tensions were "creative" (p. 52) and "salutary" (p. 40). David J. Garrow's comments seem particularly appropriate when he questions the optimism of Weiss's analysis and stresses the need to consider more leaders than simply "organizational chieftains or spokespersons" (p. 55). Garrow's call to study the grass-roots leadership of the movement is well taken and should inspire scholars in the future.

John Dittmer's essay is a fine example of just how much can be learned from solid local studies. Dittmer's essay on the movement in Mississippi heralds the importance of the freedom rides and the Democratic Convention of 1964 and illuminates the development of the civil rights movement nationally.

In "Federal Law and the Courts in the Civil Rights Movement," Charles V. Hamilton argues that the first stage of the civil rights movement was clearly

successful because de jure segregation was ended, largely through the federal courts, which were a critical factor in movement strategy. Mark V. Tushnet challenges Hamilton's thesis, charging that it was not the courts themselves but a combination of the federal courts, Congress, and the executive that made the federal government a powerful force for change.

In the final essay William H. Chafe assesses the results of the civil rights movement. Agreeing with Hamilton about the important gains the movement made, he nevertheless considers what still needs to be done. Calling for a major collective movement, Chafe stresses the ways in which the "three forces" of "gender, class and race . . . have largely shaped a person's life chances" (p. 128). To continue to work for equality, social movements will have to join together to attack inequalities in all three "interlocking" areas; only then will opponents be unable to use "divide and conquer" strategies (p. 129). Chafe's essay provides a particularly useful analysis of the recent past, although commentator J. Mills Thornton III finds that a call to "a collectivist egalitarian program" is "doomed inevitably to failure by the entire weight of American history" (p. 155).

These essays and comments are thoughtful, provocative, and useful for scholars and anyone interested in the civil rights movement and the recent American past. Several essays indicate it is now time to move beyond studying national leaders into the much more difficult work of figuring out what happened in the local movements. This call to scholarly action is important and needs to be heeded. Information we do not have now, such as a developed picture of the role of women in the movement, will become clear if we study local organizations and campaigns. All in all, Eagles and the Center for the Study of Southern Culture are to be commended for sponsoring this meeting and editing this book: it must have been an exciting conference.

MARY AICKIN ROTHSCILD  
Arizona State University

DAVID J. GARROW. *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference*. New York: William Morrow. 1986. Pp. 800. \$19.95.

Winner of the 1986 Pulitzer Prize for biography and the 1987 Robert F. Kennedy Book Award, this work deserves accolades for the remarkable research effort it represents. David J. Garrow has exhausted every archive, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation's, and conducted hundreds of interviews to present what must be among the most



thorough studies of any American social movement. It has great power in the sheer accumulation of detail, the endless nuance of circumstances, and the careful inquiry into complex personal relationships. Garrow gives us intricate explanations of how the major direct action campaigns of the civil rights movement unfolded. Future historians will be hard-pressed to add much to what he has revealed about the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955–56, the Albany movement of 1961–62, the Birmingham demonstrations of 1963, the Selma march of 1965, and the Chicago protests of 1965–67. The chapters on Albany and Chicago contribute most to what was previously known, and they are remarkable tributes to Garrow's enterprise and resourcefulness as an investigator. This book supersedes the previous works on the dramatic, "national" movement for civil rights and will henceforth be the launching point for studies of national and regional—as opposed to local—civil rights activism in the 1950s and 1960s.

Garrow's portrait of Martin Luther King, Jr., evokes deep sympathy for the heroic leader and symbol of the movement. King had a transforming religious experience in his kitchen in Montgomery in 1956, which Garrow suggests strengthened him for the terrible burdens he would bear for the next twelve years: a horrific travel schedule resulting from the persistent need to raise money outside the South, constant infighting and incompetence among some aides, the ever-present threat of assassination, harassment from the FBI, an unhappy marriage, and guilt about his own sinfulness, especially his extramarital affairs. One comes away from this long saga awed by King's physical and emotional strength and his consistent sensitivity to the needs of others—both his fellow activists and the large human community of sufferers. And yet Garrow makes it clear that King was near the breaking point when he was killed in Memphis. He had become increasingly pessimistic about the usefulness of his own work and the willingness of American society to confront its continuing racial and class exploitation, a despair born both of the realities of the day and of King's intensifying personal crisis.

Although it will seem a curious criticism for an 800-page book, Garrow and his publisher might have served readers better had they extended the manuscript even further to allow for more summary and analysis of the meaning of this powerful story. A fuller setting of context might have lent more meaning to the rich detail, especially for those not already well versed in the literature of the movement. The information on King's philandering needed to be placed more squarely against the background of a failing, or at least floundering, marriage, although, admittedly, to have done so might also have risked making this more like a

gossipy "celebrity" biography. Still, it stands as a great achievement and will in all likelihood be the most influential work on the civil rights movement for years to come.

ROBERT J. NORRELL  
*University of Alabama*

ADAM FAIRCLOUGH. *To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr.* Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1987. Pp. x, 504. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$17.95.

Adam Fairclough's book on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and Martin Luther King, Jr., will inevitably be read and reviewed in juxtaposition to David Garrow's book on King and the SCLC, *Bearing the Cross* (1986). But, fortunately, the reverse order of their dual focus reflects crucial differences.

This is not immediately apparent from the remarkable similarity of their chapter structures: both books begin with the Montgomery bus boycott and follow a similar narrative trail—that is, the birth of SCLC, the sit-ins and freedom rides together with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the failed campaign in Albany and the triumphs in Birmingham and Selma, the troubled northward initiative in Chicago, the challenge of black power, economic radicalism and anti-Vietnam War protest, and the assassination in Memphis. But, while political scientist Garrow focused his Pulitzer Prize-winning biography on the mature King, with SCLC serving as an instrument of his commanding personality, historian Fairclough has produced in narrative form an organizational analysis of SCLC. King remains for Fairclough the dominant presence, but one that surrounds the narrative while other actors—Bayard Rustin, James Lawson, Stanley Levison, Ella Baker, Wyatt Walker, James Bevel, Andrew Young, Hosea Williams, Ralph Abernathy—drive its action.

Unlike Garrow, who reconstructs King's public career in extraordinary, eight-hundred-page detail but largely without judgment, Fairclough sets himself the task of assessing SCLC's effectiveness as a social movement and explaining its strengths and weaknesses. His judgment is quite positive, even defensively so. He concedes that SCLC's internal structure was chaotic, its inefficiency was crippling, and its unreliability was legendary. But he sees in this fluidity a capacity for spontaneity, flexibility, and quickness of decision that was essential to mobilizing the loosely structured black constituency. Fairclough also concedes that King's lieutenants tended to be stubborn, egotistical, arrogant, and sexist—as was King himself, when he was not dis-

playing his considerable mediating and temporizing skills. But Fairclough's narrative describes a floating anti-organization that somehow converged on its destiny in Birmingham and Selma by making a virtue of these vices.

This thesis is more difficult to sustain after SNCC's kamikaze-like plunge into black power, with SCLC moving north to Chicago, leaving the church-centered, peasant strength of southern blacks for the brittle and violent culture of the northern ghettos, moving beyond black civil rights toward radical class politics and antiwar protest. Much of this is a story of depressing failure, and, after the murder in Memphis, SCLC slid into permanent decline.

Regrettably, Fairclough has given us no essay on sources. His seventy pages of endnotes display a wide reading in the secondary literature, with documentary concentration on the King and SCLC papers, the Ralph Bunche oral history collection at Howard University, the papers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the Library of Congress, the Fellowship of Reconciliation collection at Swarthmore College, the congressional and FBI documents related to COINTELPRO, and relevant regional collections (the author acknowledges his appreciation to Garrow for helpful advice in navigating this sea of sources). The Burke Marshall papers in the John F. Kennedy Library are used, but, curiously and disappointingly, the riches of the LBJ Library were not.

Most important, one emerges from Fairclough's book with a sense that the author has a firm grasp of the literature and the essential internal documents that are presently available, that his organizational analysis is both sophisticated and balanced, and that his judgment of leaders is fair-minded. This, then, is an important and timely book in its own right.

HUGH DAVIS GRAHAM  
University of Maryland,  
Baltimore County

STEVEN M. GILLON. *Politics and Vision: The ADA and American Liberalism, 1947-1985*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1987. Pp. xii, 289. \$24.95.

Steven M. Gillon has written an interesting, sympathetic account of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), into which he has skillfully interwoven an inquiry into the dilemmas of American liberalism. With an excellent eye for the telling quotation, Gillon describes the rise of the ADA and its sundering under the political impact of the Vietnam War.

From its inception in 1947, the ADA had to face the fact that it had nowhere to go but into the Democratic party. This being the case, how was it to

maintain its independence and still serve as a liberalizing influence? How was it, Gillon asks, to maintain a balance between political expediency and a liberal vision of unsullied principle? His answer is that it did not.

The average ADA member was a white, middle-to-upper-class professional male with an income twice the national average. He was apt to live in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, or Massachusetts. From the Truman presidency to the Kennedy years, he favored New Dealism, peace, decent levels of health, shelter, and education for all, a prosperous, partially managed economy, and big defense budgets. Poverty was not a category. He was profoundly anti-Communist but otherwise generally approved of civil liberties. When it came to implementing such goals, however, the ADA found itself continually supporting whoever might beat the Republicans, no matter what the candidate stood for.

The ADA fought Henry Wallace's Progressives and McCarthyism. It waffled on Truman's Loyalty Program, on the firing of putative "Communist" school teachers, on the *Brown* decision, and on the initial incursion into Vietnam. As Gillon points out, the organizational tension between expediency and vision was never strong enough to jar the ADA out of "the mainstream." In ultraconservative America, the ADA ended up undeservedly being smeared by McCarthyite Republicans as "left-wing Democrats." Worse, the ADA suffered the dwindling of union membership and financial support until the amalgamation of the AFL and CIO in 1955 brought a nearly complete walkout of labor from ADA ranks.

There always had existed in the ADA a split between the more conservative "traditionalists," led by Gus Tyler of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and the "moderates" represented by John Kenneth Galbraith and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. With the coming of the political upheavals of the 1960s and the Vietnam War, a new, younger group within the ADA began to make its presence felt. Led by Allard Lowenstein, the "reform liberals" demanded that the ADA support peace negotiations with Hanoi, reject Lyndon Johnson, and support the antiwar candidacy of Eugene McCarthy. The ADA, still seeking respectability, voted to back Hubert Humphrey. This was the traditionalists' last gasp as they left the ADA, and the moderates joined forces with the reform liberals. The resolutions of the ADA convention of 1969 were startlingly similar to those of the Socialist party. The ADA finally eschewed expediency and moved away from the "mainstream" to uphold its vision.

Gillon keeps his focus almost too tightly fixed on the ADA, ignoring the women's movement and other social rebellions. Nevertheless, he has written

a thoughtful and informative book on the limits of pre-Vietnam War liberalism.

DEAN ALBERTSON  
*University of Massachusetts*

RUSSELL JACOBY. *The Last Intellectuals: American Culture in the Age of Academe*. New York: Basic. 1987. Pp. xiv, 290. \$18.95.

If an annual prize were awarded for the newly published book most likely to offend the largest number of professional academics, Russell Jacoby's study would certainly be in the running. Jacoby has written an entertaining and free-swinging jeremiad with a provocative thesis. In the last two or three decades, he contends, the wellsprings of intellectual creativity have dried up in America. Where once sturdily independent free-lance writers and critics tested their ideas and shaped their prose in an invigoratingly rough-and-tumble public arena, today there are only timid and well-socialized academics, churning out precious and unreadable dissertations, monographs, and grant proposals.

The fall of the city (and along with it urban bohemia) and the rise of the university were the driving forces of the "academicization" of intellectual life. Jacoby, who is a bit of a geographical determinist, asserts that the change of setting has been a critical factor in what he sees as the declining quality of American thought: "A hundred artists, poets, and writers with families and friends in ten city blocks mean one thing; scattered across ten states or ten university towns, they mean something else" (p. 28).

Jacoby's title is somewhat misleading; his real concern is not with the fate of intellectuals or American culture as a whole but with left-wing intellectuals and radical social criticism. Why has the generation of young intellectuals who emerged from the Sturm und Drang of the 1960s failed to produce a single social critic of note? In a sentence that has already become justly famous, Jacoby sums up his argument: "One thousand radical sociologists, but no [C. Wright] Mills; three hundred critical literary theorists but no [Edmund] Wilson; scads of Marxist economists but no [Paul] Sweezy or [Harry] Braverman; urban critics galore but no [Lewis] Mumford or [Jane] Jacobs" (p. 234). Conservatives needlessly torment themselves with fears that Marxists have conquered and corrupted the academy; Jacoby contends that just the opposite is the case. Unlike previous generations of radical intellectuals, New Leftists have never known any world other than the university; unconsciously, they have taken its values as their own and as a result now mistake their own career advancement for revolutionary victories and arid scholasticism for engagement with the world.

For many one-time student radicals who once scorned and then sought entrance into the ivory tower, "academic freedom meant nothing more than the freedom to be academic" (p. 119).

As other reviewers have noted, the main problem with this book is that it belongs in one of those little magazines whose demise Jacoby mourns. In the format of a polemical essay it would have been splendid, but the analysis and style wear a little thin in two hundred-odd pages. The elegance of Jacoby's aphorisms sometimes obscures as well as reveals important truths. Is "academic freedom" really no more than a rationalization for careerism? Is it really of no political significance that in the waning years of the Reagan ascendancy Marxism has been accorded a legitimate place—in some if not all disciplines and universities—in intellectual inquiry? Are all academic disciplines equally mired in the swamps of specialization? Jacoby concedes in passing that radical historians "writing on labor, slavery, the family, women, and the origins of the cold war have informed, even influenced public discussions" (p. 164). At the risk of sounding like a historical chauvinist, I would argue that that is a big exception to his rule. If Jacoby's "missing generation" has produced no C. Wright Mills or Edmund Wilson but has produced several contenders for the mantle of, say, Richard Hofstadter, then perhaps it has not done quite so badly after all.

MAURICE ISSERMAN  
*Mount Holyoke College*

NEIL D. MCFEELEY. *Appointment of Judges: The Johnson Presidency*. (Administrative History of the Johnson Presidency Series.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 1987. Pp. x, 199. \$22.50.

Developments in the wake of the nomination of Robert Bork to the Supreme Court have again focused attention on the nature of judicial appointments. Neil D. McFeeley's book provides historical perspective for acknowledging the political nature of both the presidential and senatorial phases of the appointment process.

McFeeley's readable, but at times repetitious, discussion depicts an administration deeply concerned about the legacy of judicial appointments. According to McFeeley, Lyndon B. Johnson played a significant role in managing a selection process that evolved from procedures limited by Johnson's original caretaker status to the development of an advisory network headed by White House staff member Marvin Watson and Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

The book includes a thorough analysis of the criteria applied in judicial selection: merit (closely linked to intellectual attainment), legal experience,

demographic factors, party politics, and personal loyalty on domestic and foreign policy issues. The author repeatedly refers to Johnson's insistence on unwavering support for his Vietnam policies, but McFeeley's failure to exemplify this point or to analyze it further constitutes a major oversight.

Administration investigations into nominees' backgrounds were very rigorous, incorporating American Bar Association (ABA) rankings as well as Justice Department and White House screenings. Johnson often personally interviewed prospective nominees for district and circuit courts, voicing his concern that they present a strong position supporting civil rights. Johnson's two successful Supreme Court nominees—Abe Fortas and Thurgood Marshall—were personally well known to the president. According to McFeeley, in these nominations Johnson determined what he wanted and matched the individuals to the criteria. However, in the summer of 1968, when Johnson attempted to elevate Fortas to chief justice and replace him with Texas federal judge Homer Thornberry, charges of cronyism and lame duck appointments prevented Senate confirmation.

McFeeley includes tables comparing all three levels of Johnson appointees with those of other recent administrations in regard to ABA ratings, age, and party activism. For Supreme Court appointees he includes a table comparing civil rights and economic decisions. Similar analysis of substantive positions of district and circuit court judges, difficult as the research might be, would add considerable depth to the material.

The author makes good use of available sources, particularly those in the Lyndon B. Johnson Library, but there is no explanation of abbreviations for several of the collections included in the footnotes—a minor irritation.

All in all, McFeeley has made a solid contribution to administrative history, incorporating research and analysis that also will be valuable in future comparative studies. His analysis leaves the reader with insight into the management style of the Johnson presidency and with an increased understanding of the politics involved in both the presidential and congressional aspects of the appointment process.

CAROL E. JENSON  
*University of Wisconsin,  
La Crosse*

DONALD L. ROBINSON. *"To the Best of My Ability": The Presidency and the Constitution*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1987. Pp. xvi, 318. \$22.50.

This book is an exercise in history lubricating the tracks of constitutional reform. Donald L. Robinson

boldly argues "that the demands of governance, at least since the middle of the twentieth century, have strained our constitutional system beyond its limits" (p. xiii). He points an accusatory finger at the presidency, arguing that an institution headed "by a single elected official, chosen every four years, is unfit to exercise so much authority in a system committed to representative government" (p. xiv).

Robinson concludes that the executive branch has departed most radically from the framers' intentions. He accepts Edward S. Corwin's observation that the founders, anxious to provide for an expansion of the presidential office, made Article Two the "most loosely drawn chapter of the Constitution." He argues, however, that not only did they fail to foresee the enormity of twentieth-century technological and social changes but they never anticipated that the president would orchestrate the legislative agenda of Congress, act as a party leader, and take the nation to war without prior congressional approval.

The most innovative (and interesting) part of the book explains Robinson's four-part plan for constitutional revision, which borrows heavily from the English parliamentary model. Robinson proposes to allow members of Congress to serve in the Cabinet, to establish four-year terms for the president and members of the House of Representatives and eight-year terms for senators, and to permit new federal elections at any time with a maximum sixty-day campaign period and with the winners taking office within two weeks. The fourth, and most radical, proposal would establish a national council, "consisting of 100 notable persons chosen for life by the president with the advice and consent of both houses of Congress" (p. 271). This council (similar to the council of revision debated in 1787) would elect one of its members to be "chief of state" (whose duties would be to call for elections) and would have the power to review and suspend statutes.

A brief review cannot do justice to either the logic or the pie-in-the-sky qualities of these reforms. Suffice it to say that Robinson correctly shows, contrary to the current hubbub about the judiciary, that the presidential office has undergone the most significant accretion of power: we can have a weak president but not a weak presidency. Yet Robinson's historical analysis seems more the caboose than the engine on his train of reform. Critics of Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, and Franklin D. Roosevelt harbored similar forebodings about the growth of presidential authority amid changes they considered every bit as dramatic as today's. What this provocative book lacks, then, is a more probing historical assessment of the themes of presidential accountability and social change.

KERMIT L. HALL  
*University of Florida*



DIANNE M. PINDERHUGHES. *Race and Ethnicity in Chicago Politics: A Reexamination of Pluralist Theory*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1987. Pp. xix, 318. \$29.95.

Studies on Chicago politics, whether dealing with Richard J. Daley or Harold Washington, generate considerable interest. This one, written by Dianne M. Pinderhughes, a political scientist, analyzes the rise and the fall of the Chicago political machine and the election of Washington in 1983. Through a comparative study of the experiences of Poles, Italians, and blacks in Chicago, she challenges the pluralist theories used to explain the political and social assimilation of minority groups in America. Pluralism assumes that increased voter participation by a minority group results in greater political representation and substantive benefits. Such benefits should be reflected in the decisions and operations of the education and criminal justice systems.

Pinderhughes concludes that pluralist theories explain neither ethnic nor racial politics in Chicago. For her, external, demographic, and internal factors explain the successes and failures of these three groups in Chicago politics. She focuses on the black experience in Chicago. Because racism in the United States treats blacks collectively as a subordinate group, the black experience is distinctively different from that of the Poles and Italians. Thus, racism heightens racial consciousness and results in racial politics.

Pinderhughes argues that by 1975 the Daley machine offered little for blacks in Chicago. Daley's successors, Michael Bilandic and Jane Byrne, further alienated blacks, especially the middle class. By 1983 black leaders had agreed on a single black candidate for mayor, Washington, and discovered the unregistered black voter. The splitting of the white vote and a high voter turnout among blacks, because of collective and racial appeals, elected Washington in 1983. The scenario was repeated in 1987.

This study is important because it challenges the commonly held belief that our political institutions can resolve the conflicts that divide black and white America. At times, Pinderhughes's arguments are weakened by a misunderstanding of the past, such as the reasons given for the migration of blacks from the rural South to the urban North. Her summary of the reasons for black voters switching political parties between 1931 and 1935 is also superficial. Although the two chapters on the educational and the criminal justice systems are based on her own research, the detail in these chapters seems out of place for this study. Her conclusion that these systems discriminated against blacks is not surprising. Moreover, the data dealing with Poles and Italians

are confusing. Typographical errors also detract from this provocative work.

In reading this book, the historian must recognize that it is primarily a critique of the pluralist theories of Robert Dahl, James Q. Wilson, and Martin Kilson and not a historical study of race and ethnicity in Chicago politics. As such, this study does make a contribution to our understanding of urban politics and of race and ethnicity in American society.

RICHARD J. MEISTER  
DePaul University

## CANADA

MARCEL GIRAUD. *The Métis in the Canadian West*. In two volumes. Translated by GEORGE WOODCOCK. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1986. Pp. xxi, 631; 729. \$50.00 the set.

The creation in the nineteenth century of a "new nation" of mixed-blood peoples on the western prairies remains one of the most striking aspects of Canadian history. Métis labor sustained the fur trade, and their resistance at Red River in 1870 shaped the new confederation. Métis cooperation with incoming white society brought their own dispossession and economic marginalization. Métis rebellion in 1885 and the execution of their leader for treason deepened the "mark of Cain" on them and led to a political isolation from which they have only recently emerged.

Much of the historical literature on the Métis has focused on their charismatic leader, Louis Riel, and there have been few serious anthropological considerations of their communities across the old Northwest. The translation of Marcel Giraud's ethnohistorical study of the Métis was thus eagerly anticipated by most students of western Canada. Originally published in 1945, the work is based on extensive research in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Selkirk papers, the Roman Catholic mission archives, and Canadian and British government documents. Few copies were available in North America, but it appeared to be as thorough a work as that of other historians of the prewar years and had the added advantage of field experience among Métis in the 1930s.

Written as a doctoral thesis in German-occupied France, the work must be judged first in that context. It is unwieldy in length and suffers from repetition and an abundance of detail, sometimes at the expense of clear historical conclusions. And the author's conscious emphasis on only French Métis results in an incomplete picture of "métissage." Superseded in the last decade by the remarkable expansion of fur trade studies, much of Giraud's



material now seems commonplace. He offers a familiar narrative of the physical and Indian "background" and of the parallel emergence of Métis families in the jurisdictions of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company. He attributes the growth of "nationalism" among the Métis to the malevolent self-interest of the Nor'Westers but argues that this implanted idea became their only cultural base.

The chapter on the Métis after the rebellion is useful. Giraud notes clearly the importance of class distinctions among the Métis of Red River and sees the creation of that settlement at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers as being primarily to provide a pool of free labor. He devotes much attention to the Métis campaign against the Hudson's Bay Company but concludes that in the end the Métis recognized the company as one of the few protectors of their way of life.

The last two hundred pages are more interesting, somewhat speculative, deal with twentieth-century life, and are based on field observations. Yet Giraud makes little attempt to give a scientific (in the 1930s sense) perspective on the Métis communities he visited. None of his informants are discussed or evaluated. There is no systematic indication of the time spent in any one place, the ceremonies or daily life witnessed, the families observed, or the seasonal and individual obligations noted. The concerns of a 1930s anthropologist with kinship, ceremony, material culture, trade, and language are conspicuously absent.

What is evident and unrelenting in the work is a concern for "national character," defined primarily in racial and moral terms, derived perhaps from the "culture and personality" school of anthropology. Giraud argues throughout that the Métis are a weak, timid, impulsive, easily duped people, "devoid of any solidly rooted culture that might have offered even the slightest resistance to external influence" (vol. 1, p. 352). Their distinctiveness from the early nineteenth century "lurked in that very absence of moral training which [they] owed to [their] dual origins" (vol. 1, p. 352). Even before 1885 Giraud believes that their moral decline had intensified despite the efforts of the clergy. "Gradually their poverty divorced them from all ideas of honesty . . . it disposed them to theft and in general it hastened in them that moral decadence which the weakness of their natures could not check" (vol. 2, p. 460). By the 1930s, subject to discrimination by an expanding and more prosperous white society, the Métis' "faltering will, his indolent temperament, his lack of diligence, quickly dissipate with few exceptions the effect of his mental qualities" (vol. 2, p. 486). The only solution, writes Giraud, is the "gradual elimination of an ethnic group which has inherited outdated attitudes and ways of living that attach it to the past and which is the victim of its inherited

weaknesses of character and lack of capability. It is by the abdication of their origins and their collective personality that these backward communities will succeed in gaining admission among the Whites and in overcoming the demoralization that condemns them to an evergrowing decadence" (vol. 2, p. 520).

Such sentiments were clearly part of the social context of western Canada in the 1930s and presumably particularly represented the view of the Catholic clergy with whom Giraud was so closely associated. But their presentation in this scholarly context "explaining" the conditions of Métis communities in ethnocentric terms of "moral evolution" is both unfortunate and unpleasant. Their repetition in 1986 in this inadequately conceived book is particularly unacceptable.

The absence of contextual explanation makes this book of limited use to any but a scholarly audience with a historiographical interest—a market that was presumably adequately served by its earlier (1985) reprinting in French. George Woodcock does little in his preface to provide the modern commentary such a controversial book demands. He also does not offer any guide to Métis historical literature before and since 1945, which might have assisted both native and nonnative students to weigh its value. Further, there is no evaluation of the concepts and language of Giraud's ethnology or comparison of him to others who worked in the same decade in the Canadian plains. And, although we cannot underestimate the scale of the translation Woodcock undertook, he regrettably takes a literal rather than a literary approach to his task, and his undoubted talents do not always illuminate this English version.

This is a handsomely produced book. One can only hope that students will acknowledge Giraud's deep sympathy for the Métis and understand that his racial stereotyping and paternalism were not unusual for scholars of his time and place. An insensitive editorial policy has made it more likely that both native and nonnative students will be angered by his moral judgments and will not accord Giraud the important historiographical place he deserves.

JEAN FRIESEN

*University of Manitoba*

JAY CASSEL. *The Secret Plague: Venereal Disease in Canada, 1838–1939*. (Social History of Canada, number 41.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1987. Pp. viii, 340. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$17.95.

As the title suggests, Canadian doctors regarded venereal disease as a plague shrouded in secrecy because of prevailing attitudes toward sexually transmitted diseases. Jay Cassel tries to answer

several questions about that secret plague in Canada from 1839 to 1939. They include the nature of the problem, action taken, what influenced actions, results achieved, and what influenced the results. He argues that five factors (biological, medical, economic, personal, and social) were considered in examining the venereal disease problem and that the complexity and number of factors precluded simple solutions.

In attempting to combine medical history with social history, Cassel traces the biological, medical, and epidemiological elements of the venereal disease problem and the development of a medical solution. He then examines popular attitudes in Europe and North America toward sex and treatment of venereal infections. The remaining four chapters detail the Canadian response to the venereal disease crisis during World War I and the interwar activities of the Canadian Social Hygiene Council. They substantially amplify and somewhat clarify earlier studies of venereal disease in Canada, particularly by showing what was being done in some of the provinces. A few illustrations of clinics are included as well as eight appendixes, which list organizations to combat venereal disease, information about the extent and funding of clinics, and textbooks published on venereal disease during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

During the interwar period Canadian measures to reduce the spread of venereal disease focused on two systems: disease control and public information. One of Cassel's goals in examining those measures is to improve contemporary understanding of the difficulties of dealing with sexually transmitted diseases and to demonstrate that pragmatic approaches of diagnosis, treatment, and information were (and can be) the most effective. Therein lies a problem. Cassel addresses how the medical profession's relation to state power and issues of class affected its views on venereal disease in order to link venereal disease with AIDS, thereby precluding consideration of the possibility of endemic nonvenereal syphilis.

The book could have been stronger with some changes. It suffers from an imbalance between limited specific detail about Canada and a very detailed focus on the venereal disease campaign in the interwar period. An improvement in editing might have eliminated the frequent enumeration of points, gratuitous comments, and extraneous bits of information. Despite its limitations, the study ensures that the history of the "plague" in Canada will no longer be secret, and it may provide a useful reference for those wishing to do additional work on the topic.

SUZANN BUCKLEY  
State University College of New York,  
Plattsburgh

CHAD GAFFIELD. *Language, Schooling, and Cultural Conflict: The Origins of the French-Language Controversy in Ontario*. Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1987. Pp. xviii, 249. \$32.50.

The school question and its corollary, the language issue, have been dominant themes in the history of relationships between Canada's French-speaking Catholic minorities beyond Quebec and the dominant English-speaking Protestant community. As the bastion of the white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant mentality, the province of Ontario played a key role in these controversies by attempting to have its ideal of unilingualism prevail in the country at large. In 1912 Ontario struck at the French minority within its boundaries by issuing Regulation Seventeen, which restricted French-language instruction in provincial schools.

In explaining the antecedents of this legislation, historians have suggested that a large French Canadian immigration in the 1880s presented a menace to the Anglophone community and the stability of public schools. This traditional interpretation is challenged by Chad Gaffield's book. Focusing on Prescott County in eastern Ontario, Gaffield rejects the theory of an "invasion" and contends that conflict arose because the French were not assimilating as quickly as had been anticipated. He also dismisses the view that educational policy was formulated centrally and imposed on the province at large. It was affected by changes in demographic patterns and economic circumstances that also engendered cultural conflict. The dominant social institution in Prescott County was the family, and it provided cultural stability. Schools thus reflected local interests rather than those of church or state.

The retreat of the forest after 1870 brought about an economic crisis, which affected social organization. The French were confronted with economic insecurity as well as minority status in the province. Rivalries between individuals of different ethnic backgrounds came to be regarded as conflicts between groups with incompatible cultural views, and the controversy escalated. Events in Prescott County merged with the larger cultural malaise of the 1880s. At the political level the French were unable to articulate their aspirations on educational matters, and they turned to the Catholic church for leadership and protection but maintained their own freedom of action on school matters at the local level. In the midst of these challenges and confrontations, an ethnic consciousness emerged among the French.

In this well-written and extensively researched study, Gaffield demonstrates conclusively that the school-language issue is not episodic but related to the daily life of the community. In addition, by not focusing uniquely on political ramifications, he has

shown the importance of local issues and the complex nature of background forces. In short the school-language question is an ongoing issue in the evolution of a community and not simply another manifestation of the larger French-English cultural conflict. It is to be hoped that other scholars will use Gaffield's approach to reexamine the controversial educational history of western Canada.

RAYMOND HUEL  
University of Lethbridge

ROBERT BOTHWELL *et al.* *Canada, 1900–1945*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1987. Pp. x, 427. \$27.50.

In 1981 Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, and John English published *Canada since 1945: Power, Politics, and Provincialism*. In their new volume they take the story of twentieth-century Canada back to 1900; the two volumes constitute a reasonably comprehensive history of twentieth-century Canada.

Bothwell and English are historians with expertise in foreign policy and politics, respectively; Drummond is an economic historian with wide-ranging interests. Their objectives are clearly stated: "The new social history and the new economic history are not ignored in our book, but to thrust the latest specialized research upon the general audience and our students is professionally self-indulgent and, for most of these readers exasperating . . . We also believe that it is more important for our students and readers to transcend 'everyday life' and recognize how much that life is determined 'by the state and concrete developments in state, economy, and society.' This belief animates our book" (p. ix). These objectives are realized.

Each author possesses well-developed research interests and skills. Their personal research experience is clearly present and enriches the book. At the same time substantial portions of the volume are synthetic, based on the large amounts of recently published scholarship as well as on older and more traditional work. This extensive use of secondary materials is thoroughly reasonable: much recent work is known only to the specialist and needs to be made more generally available; at the same time the use of the older material is helpful because much of it has of late been lost in the rush toward revisionism, innovation, and the flashy.

The result is a book that devotes a fair amount of time to subjects and themes that some scholars of Canadian history regard as perhaps excessively traditional: federalism, elections, political parties, leaders, the constitution, external relations, wartime finance, conscription, agriculture, royal commissions, the depression, economic activity in general, the origins of the welfare state, military activity. At

the same time themes such as urban life, literacy, education, labor, communications, religion, women's issues, and demography are by no means neglected. The volume includes a series of well-selected political cartoons, several interesting caricature drawings of political leaders, an appended set of statistics for federal elections, and a first-rate annotated bibliography. The general reader will find portions of the book a bit too statistical, but for the most part it is well written.

The book is not designed as a pathbreaking work of new interpretations. Bothwell, Drummond, and English have interesting things to say and are quite tendentious in places. But this volume is meant to be a survey for students and a general audience. It is designed to use the body of published literature that is too huge to be mastered by any but the most dedicated scholars of Canada; it makes much of that scholarship available to its intended readers. Viewed within this context, this book must be assessed as a highly successful achievement.

DONALD SWAINSON  
Queen's University  
Kingston, Canada

DESMOND MORTON and GLENN WRIGHT. *Winning the Second Battle: Canadian Veterans and the Return to Civilian Life, 1915–1930*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1987. Pp. xiv, 328. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$17.95.

This book has two principal objectives: to examine the Canadian political and administrative response to the unprecedented challenge of reestablishing approximately six hundred thousand Canadian men and women who served in the Great War, while caring for the physical and psychological casualties by means of medicine, rehabilitation, vocational training, and disability pensions, and to portray the efforts of the returning veterans to organize in pursuit of their own interests.

In their analysis of the genesis and development of the principal Canadian institutions and programs designed to meet the needs of returning soldiers—the Military Hospitals Commission, the Board of Pension Commissioners, the Soldier Settlement Board, and the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment—Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright emphasize the unique speed, foresight, and comprehension of Canadian administrative planning compared to that of other belligerents. High praise is given to the pioneering planners and administrators—notably, Ernest H. Scammell, the leading architect and official of the Military Hospitals Commission, and John L. Todd, the principal adviser on pension policy and administration and,

subsequently, the leading member of the Board of Pension Commissioners.

Officials such as Scammell and Todd shared a public philosophy that came to dominate the various features of reestablishing both healthy and disabled veterans: minimal state intervention and expenditure, strict separation of the awarding of disability and dependent pensions from political interference and appeal, rapid training and rehabilitation of disabled veterans for entry or reentry into the job market so as to cultivate robust independence rather than demoralizing wardship, and continued state-supported care only for those who were permanently and hopelessly disabled. The land settlement program for veterans did not prove an exception to this philosophy; the story of this initially popular program, traced from its wartime origins to its dismal results in the depressed agricultural conditions of the 1920s and 1930s, serves to illustrate how unwilling Canadian officials were to grant special consideration to veterans in a laissez-faire economy.

While the authors show an admiration for the planning and administrative abilities of Canadian officials, their evidence demonstrates clearly that the interests of the state always took precedence over the interests of the veterans in planning and policy. Most of the planning was undertaken without consulting the veterans themselves, and, if Canadian medical and rehabilitation facilities were humane and Canadian disability pensions were higher than those of other belligerents, still the expectations of rapid reintegration of veterans into the economy soon dissipated in the depression that returned to Canada in 1921. Many of the returned soldiers were left to live with their handicaps on pensions that meant impoverishment.

The soldiers themselves fought unsuccessfully against this result. The authors trace the origins and programs of the principal veterans' organizations—the Great War Veterans Association, the Army and Navy Veterans in Canada, the United Veterans League, and the Grand Army of Canada—highlighting their grievances, the relatively low levels of disorder and radicalization that attended demobilization, the failed campaign for a \$2,000 gratuity in 1919, and the divisions that radically weakened their political influence before they finally united in the Canadian Legion after 1925.

Although this valuable and well-balanced study offers much to confirm popular conceptions of the shoddy treatment accorded the Great War veterans, its conclusions show sympathy toward officials—such as Scammell and Todd—who protected the Canadian Treasury from the predatory and politically exploitative policies associated with the American veterans' Grand Army of the Republic. More

important, if the Canadian Great War veterans lost their battle for due support and entitlement, the authors argue convincingly that they not only prepared the way for the greater justice enjoyed by the Canadian veterans of World War II but also, together with their bureaucratic contemporaries, helped usher in the more humane, generous, and caring society that Canadians have experienced since the mid-twentieth century.

GEORGE EGERTON

*University of British Columbia*

JOSEPH T. JOCKEL. *No Boundaries Upstairs: Canada, the United States, and the Origins of North American Air Defense, 1945–1958*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 1987. Pp. xiv, 160. \$15.95.

This book begins arrestingly, almost as a detective story, as the author recalls his "startling encounter" with the sharply differing recollections of Americans and Canadians of their cold-war strategic partnership. Americans recall the relationship of the late 1940s as relaxed and mutually supportive; Canadians remember "pushy U.S. airmen" bent on turning Canada into "the world's next Belgium" (p. ix). "Something funny was going on here," Joseph T. Jockel says of these recollections (p. ix). He sets out to reconcile those recollections and to find out when Ottawa abandoned its wartime determination "to undertake alone, or at least to control, all military activity on Canadian soil" (p. 5).

The book that follows is less arresting. A short, competent narrative sometimes bogs down in bureaucratic detail, offers some factual errors, and generally avoids wider currents of culture and politics shaping the Canadian-American partnership. But Jockel traces the strategic and political impulses behind that partnership with clarity and occasional verve. Friction arose because of Canadians' understandable prickliness about their sovereignty. On the American side, not design but indifference—taking Canada for granted—sometimes fouled relations, as did the bureaucratic confusion and rivalries so familiar to students of the American leviathan. "While American officials never ignored Canada completely, as some Canadians worried, neither did they spend endless hours plotting to rob Canada of its sovereignty, as others feared" (pp. 118–19). That American military officers often understood Canadian sensibilities better than did civilian leaders upends the conventional stereotype. Above all the strategic outlooks of Ottawa and Washington differed little, ebbing and flowing in strikingly parallel ways. Without a different strategy, Canadian military leaders were hard-pressed to defend Canadian



sovereignty, indeed were often uninterested in doing so. Noting that harmony of outlooks, Jockel finds considerable balance in the partnership, concluding that it was "in Canada's interest" to play the role it assumed in the 1950s (p. 122).

Nonetheless, American initiatives and incentives often dominated. The drive to construct an elaborate radar and intercept system in Canada arose in part from American scientists such as Robert Oppenheimer spinning dreams (to reappear in the age of Star Wars) of a perfect shield against nuclear attack. The U.S. Air Force and Dwight D. Eisenhower's administration resisted constructing the Canadian shield until realizing its role in offensive operations—the advance notice provided to the American Strategic Air Command to launch its forces before meeting destruction. Conceived and sold as a way to protect cities, the North American Air Defense Command became the "indentured labourer of SAC" (p. 122).

MICHAEL S. SHERRY  
Northwestern University

#### LATIN AMERICA

LESLIE BETHELL, editor. *The Cambridge History of Latin America*. Volume 3, *From Independence to c. 1870*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1985. Pp. xv, 945. \$80.00.

After two successful volumes on colonial Latin America, Leslie Bethell's task as editor of the present volume on independence and the early national histories of the new nations poses numerous organizational nightmares. The breakup of the Spanish and Portuguese empires and then the fragmentation or regionalism of the new nations make cohesion and "high-level synthesis" give way in many instances to old-fashioned narrative. With many new entities heading in different directions and with a variety of internal and external factors, the first problem is to establish a coherent system of periodization. This massive study is divided into five parts: "Independence," "The Caribbean," "Spanish America after Independence," "Brazil after Independence," and "Cultural Life." Two major core sections, "Independence" and "Spanish America after Independence," employ broad thematic chapters to introduce region-by-region or country-by-country studies. Independent Brazil and the Caribbean receive chronological treatment, and the section on cultural life is appended without much obvious connection to the volume. The authors identify major historical developments, and, within the limited space available, each examines salient social, economic, and political topics. Although

there is a broad international representation of scholars, the volume has a strong British flavor throughout. Nine of the eighteen chapters are written by British scholars, and the role of Great Britain receives substantial attention.

John Lynch introduces the "Independence" section with a wide-ranging analytical chapter that sets the scene for three regional chapters and one on international politics. Lynch stresses the emerging sense of Americanism among the creoles that was tempered by a fear of revolution. For Mexico Timothy Anna accepts a relatively traditional view of independence, but he does describe the lengthy conflict as "a revolutionary civil war." In Mexico and in Spanish South America, studied by David Bushnell, insurgency and guerrilla warfare became permanent and inextinguishable features. In his chapter Bushnell's task to achieve more than a broad survey of the independence movements in all of Spanish South America presents a truly challenging mission. Both Bethell on Brazil and D. A. G. Waddell on international politics offer relatively standard views. Despite the thematic chapters, some of the authors miss opportunities to make comparisons, to fully use recent research, and to bring additional unity to the independence section.

For readers who anticipate great strengths in the core sections on Spanish America and Brazil following independence, there are a number of disappointments caused by oversights, duplications, and failures to achieve synthesis. For Spanish America two thematic chapters on the economy, politics, ideology, and society by Tulio Halperín Donghi and Frank Safford introduce six regional and country studies. While Halperín Donghi's ideas pervade both chapters, Safford is most successful in attacking stereotypes and in addressing major issues relating to liberalism, conservatism, caudillismo, and the roles of elite sectors. Jan Bazant for Mexico and R. L. Woodward for Central America challenge generally accepted liberal views and use recent historical research. Both essays make original contributions and build on concepts introduced in the previous section.

Except for Chile, Spanish South America receives treatment in its traditional regional blocks. This approach permits the authors to examine internecine conflicts and to give respectable attention to the individual nations. In a powerful interpretive chapter, Malcolm Deas questions traditional historiography and the empty clichés that abound regarding Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador. Remarkably, Deas has only thirty pages, compared with forty-three devoted to Peru and Bolivia and sixty-one for the River Plate republics. Heraclio Bonilla on Peru and Bolivia traces the tortuous political developments—sixty-five coups d'état in Bolivia between 1840 and 1849—and offers solid coverage of socio-



economic developments. Simon Collier has a somewhat less challenging task with Chile, "a very compact territory inhabited by a compact population." For reasons that are difficult to explain, Collier covers the Chilean side of the War of the Pacific, advancing beyond the 1870 cutoff date to 1884, and Bonilla leaves the Peruvian side of the war for volume 5 of the series. Lynch presents an authoritative study of the La Plata region, ending with the Paraguayan War. The chapters on Brazil in part 4 by Bethell and José Murilo de Carvalho to midcentury and by Richard Graham to the Paraguayan War devote detailed attention to slavery and economic developments. Although Brazil would have benefited from the addition of a thematic chapter following the approach used for Spanish America, the authors present a well-conceived analytical survey.

Volume 3 contains many excellent chapters and none that do not at least in part fulfill the series mandate. As in most collaborative efforts, it is easy to criticize the authors for not making even more thematic connections, comparisons, and contrasts. There do appear to have been difficulties deciding where to conclude some of the national and regional studies. Finally, although conclusions are suggested in some chapters, more of the authors could have pointed out areas where future research will be required.

CHRISTON I. ARCHER  
University of Calgary

PAUL FRIEDRICH. *The Princes of Naranja: An Essay in Anthrohistorical Method*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1986. Pp. xx, 305.

Paul Friedrich's book is an "anthrohistorical" study of a twentieth-century rural community in Michoacan, Mexico; the "princes" (the Machiavelian term is deliberate) are the main political bosses, around whose life histories the analysis is constructed. The book thus builds on the author's earlier *Agrarian Revolt in a Mexican Village* (1970), which is a classic of its kind. The present book not only develops and deepens the analysis of Naranja itself—an outstandingly "revolutionary" pueblo, which played a key role in radical, agrarian, and anticlerical politics—but also discusses the methodologies, assumptions, and problems that underlay the work and does so in a style far removed from the dessicated theoretical exegesis that afflicts a good deal of anthropo-sociological research. There is some jargon, but not gratuitous jargon; there are some difficult passages, but they repay close attention and rereading. Throughout, the author moves deftly—one might also say contrapuntally, since music, Friedrich says, offers his compositional

model—from history to anthropology to psychology to philosophy. He explains his research methods (my term—which hardly does justice to the frankly autobiographical exposition of chapters 8 and 9), and he takes issue with deficient analyses—rarefied hermeneutics, for example, or depoliticized anthropology. And, as might be expected from someone who has worked extensively in literature and linguistics, Friedrich is quick with the classical allusion, the poetic reference, the linguistic insight, many of them drawn from Old rather than New World cultures. Here, Hegel bumps into Tolstoy, Machiavelli consorts with Marx. In short this is the work of that rare contemporary beast, the academic polymath. Hence, it can, and should, be profitably read by historians, anthropologists, sociologists, and others.

From the historian's point of view, the book greatly deepens our understanding of the community of Naranja and thus of the many themes in modern Mexico (ca. 1910–60) that Naranja exemplifies, sometimes in hypertrophied form: *caciquismo* (boss politics), political violence, agrarian reform, ethnicity, anticlericalism, patriarchy, family structure, migration. The author's long—and often uncomfortable or downright dangerous—residence in Naranja in the 1950s has yielded a wealth of data that, when complemented by his consummate analytical skills, permits a depth of insight unmatched in comparable community studies (indeed, the shallowness of some seems striking in comparison). Historians, in particular, will relish an anthropological study that is strongly diachronic and that places politics squarely at the center of the local stage. Historians may also cavil at some aspects of the work. The bulk of the research—hence the primary focus—dates back to the 1950s. Although the life histories are briefly updated, the general analysis is not. Furthermore, Friedrich ignores most of the abundant historical work published since then: for regional history, he relies heavily on the highly partisan Victoriano Anguiano Equihua; for his national perspective he relies no less on the useful—but highly general and increasingly outdated—syntheses of Robert Scott, Frank Brandenburg, and Roger Hansen, none of which can be credited with "valuable historical research" as I understand it. Not surprisingly, the author emerges with some questionable conclusions, for example, concerning Cardenismo, Communism, Freemasonry. Here, too, the paucity of footnotes—which the author justifies, not wholly convincingly—becomes a problem, just as elsewhere it seems something of a pity, since it prevents the reader from following up intriguing comparative or theoretical references (even when these involve direct quotations in the text). Why spoil so fine a ship for a mere half penny

worth of scholarly tar? But these, of course, are minor faults. They do not substantially affect the book's powerful and compelling central analysis of Naranja, its princes, and their hard, heroic, Machiavellian lives. Nor do they detract from the book's

rare blend of intellectual skills and approaches. Future anthrohistorians have here an exalted standard to live up to.

ALAN KNIGHT  
*University of Texas*

---

## Collected Essays

---

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed. Other similar volumes that are amenable to reviewing will be found in the review section.

HENRY W. BOWDEN, editor. *A Century of Church History: The Legacy of Philip Schaff*. Foreword by JAROSLAV PELIKAN. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1988. Pp. xix, 375. \$37.50.

JAROSLAV PELIKAN, Foreword. DAVID W. LOITZ, Philip Schaff and the Idea of Church History. GLENN F. CHESNUT, A Century of Patristic Studies, 1888–1988. BERNARD MCGINN, "The Gold of Catholicity": Reflections on a Century of American Study of Medieval Church History. ROBERT M. KINGDON, Reformation Studies. JAY P. DOLAN, Immigration and American Christianity: A History of Their Histories. JOHN F. WILSON, Civil Authority and Religious Freedom in America: Philip Schaff on the United States as a Christian Nation. GERALD H. ANDERSON, To the Ends of the Earth: American Protestants in Pursuit of Mission. AIDAN KAVANAGH, Liturgical and Credo Studies. JOHN T. FORD, Ecumenical Studies. HENRY WARNER BOWDEN, The First Century: Institutional Development and Ideas about the Profession.

TODD M. ENDELMAN, editor. *Jewish Apostasy in the Modern World*. New York: Holmes and Meier. 1987. Pp. ix, 344. \$39.50.

JEREMY COHEN, The Mentality of the Medieval Jewish Apostate: Peter Alfonsi, Hermann of Cologne, and Pablo Christiani. DEBORAH HERTZ, Seductive Conversion in Berlin, 1770–1809. TODD M. ENDELMAN, The Social and Political Context of Conversion in Germany and England, 1870–1914. BENJAMIN BRAUDE, The Heine-Disraeli Syndrome among the Palgraves of Victorian England. WILLIAM O. MCCAGG, JR., Jewish Conversion in Hungary in Modern Times. DAVID ELLENSON, The Orthodox Rabbinate and Apostasy in Nineteenth-Century Germany and Hungary. MICHAEL STANISLAWSKI, Jewish Apostasy in Russia: A Tentative Typology. STEVEN J. ZIPPERSTEIN, Heresy, Apostasy, and the Transformation of Joseph Rabinovich. JONATHAN D. SARNA, The Impact of Nineteenth-Century Christian Missions on American Jews. JEFFREY S. GUROCK, Jewish

Communal Divisiveness in Response to Christian Influences on the Lower East Side, 1900–1910. BENNY KRAUT, A Unitarian Rabbi?: The Case of Solomon H. Sonneschein. WILLIAM TOLL, Intermarriage in the American West: A Historical Perspective.

HERBERT HIRSCH, and JACK D. SPIRO, editors. *Persistent Prejudice: Perspectives on Anti-Semitism*. Fairfax, Va.: George Mason University Press. 1988. Pp. 158. \$24.50.

EUGENE J. FISHER, Anti-Semitism and Christianity: Theories and Revisions of Theories. RICHARD L. RUBENSTEIN, Luther and the Roots of the Holocaust. HERBERT HIRSCH, Why People Kill: Conditions for Participation in Mass Murder. MICHAEL N. DOBKOWSKI, A Historical Survey of Anti-Semitism in America Prior to World War II. CAROLE KESSNER, More Devils Than Hell Can Hold: Anti-Semitism in American Literature. NICHOLAS A. SHARP, Shakespeare's Shylock and Ours. ROBERT WEISBORD and RICHARD KAZARIAN, JR., "That Marvellous Movement": Early Black Views of Zionism. JACK D. SPIRO, Judaism and Christianity: Sources of Convergence.

PETER N. STEARNS, editor. *Expanding the Past: A Reader in Social History; Essays from the Journal of Social History*. New York: New York University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 394. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$15.00.

PETER N. STEARNS, Introduction: Social History and Its Evolution. ELIZABETH FOX-GENOVESE and EUGENE D. GENOVESE, The Political Crisis of Social History: A Marxian Perspective. DAVID LEVINE, Illiteracy and Family Life during the First Industrial Revolution. EWA MORAWSKA, "For Bread with Butter": Life-Worlds of Peasant-Immigrants from East Central Europe, 1880–1914. PETER BAILEY, "Will the Real Bill Banks Please Stand Up?": Towards a Role Analysis of Mid-Victorian Working-Class Respectability. JOHN BUSHNELL, Peasants in Uniform: The Tsarist Army as a Peasant Society. PATRICIA O'BRIEN, The Kleptomania Diagnosis: Bourgeois Women and Theft in Late Nineteenth-Century France. MARY H. BLEWETT, Work, Gender and the Artisan Tradition in New England Shoemaking, 1780–1860. CAROLE SHAMMAS, The Domestic Environment in Early Modern England and America. GEORGE CHAUNCEY, JR., Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion: Homosexual Identities and the Construction of Sexual Bound-

aries in the World War One Era. CONSTANCE M. MCGOVERN, The Myths of Social Control and Custodial Oppression: Patterns of Psychiatric Medicine in Late Nineteenth-Century Institutions. EDWARD SHORTER, Paralysis: The Rise and Fall of a "Hysterical" Symptom. KENNETH A. LOCKRIDGE, Social Change and the Meaning of the American Revolution. ALAN DAWLEY and PAUL FALER, Working-Class Culture and Politics in the Industrial Revolution: Sources of Loyalism and Rebellion. CHRISTOPHER CLARK, Household Economy, Market Exchange and the Rise of Capitalism in the Connecticut Valley, 1800-1860. JAMES E. CRONIN, Politics, Class Structure, and the Enduring Weakness of British Social Democracy. ERIC H. MONKKONEN, From Cop History to Social History: The Significance of the Police in American History. ARTHUR MITZMAN, The Civilizing Offensive: Mentalities, High Culture, and Individual Psyches.

NORMAN YOFFEE and GEORGE L. COWGILL, editors. *The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1988. Pp. x, 333. \$35.00.

NORMAN YOFFEE, Orienting Collapse. ROBERT MCC. ADAMS, Contexts of Civilizational Collapse: A Mesopotamian View. NORMAN YOFFEE, The Collapse of Ancient Mesopotamian States and Civilization. T. PATRICK CULBERT, The Collapse of Classic Maya Civilization. RENE MILLON, The Last Years of Teotihuacan Dominance. G. W. BOWERSOCK, The Dissolution of the Roman Empire. CHO-YUN HSU, The Roles of the Literati and of Regionalism in the Fall of the Han Dynasty. BENNET BRONSON, The Role of Barbarians in the Fall of States. HERBERT KAUFMAN, The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations as an Organizational Problem. SHMUEL N. EISENSTADT, Beyond Collapse. GEORGE L. COWGILL, Onward and upward with Collapse.

CHRISTOPHER N. L. BROOKE. *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages*. (Studies in Celtic History, number 8.) Wolfboro, N.H.: Boydell. 1986. Pp. xiv, 127. \$40.00.

The Church and the Welsh Border in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries. The Archbishops of St. Davids, Llandaff, and Caerleon-on-Usk. St. Peter of Gloucester and St. Cadog of Llancarfan. Geoffrey of Monmouth as a Historian.

ADELINE RUCQUOI, editor. *Genèse médiévale de l'état moderne: La Castille et la Navarre (1250-1370)*. (Histoire.) Valladolid: Ambito. 1987. Pp. 258.

JOSE SANCHES HERRERO, Las relaciones de Alfonso XI con el clero de su época. ANTONIO GARCIA Y GARCIA, El aporte de la canonística a la teoría política medieval: Del caso portugués al castellano. JEAN-PIERRE MOLENAT, L'organisation du territoire entre Cordillère Centrale et Sierra Morena du XII<sup>ème</sup> au XIV<sup>ème</sup> siècle. ISABEL BECEIRO PITA, Los dominios de la familia real castellana, 1250-1350. BEATRICE LEROY, En Navarre au XIV<sup>ème</sup> siècle: La noblesse, instrument du pouvoir. LUIS VICENTE DIAZ MARTIN, Castilla,

1280-1360: ¿Política exterior o relaciones accidentales? DENIS MENJOT, L'établissement du système fiscal étatique en Castille (1268-1342). ADELINE RUCQUOI, Pouvoir royal et oligarchies urbaines d'Alfonso X à Fernando IV. HILARIO CASADO ALONSO, Las relaciones poder real-ciudades en Castilla en la primera mitad del siglo XIV. TEOFILO F. RUIZ, L'image du pouvoir à travers les sceaux de la monarchie castillane. PETER LINEHAN, Ideología y liturgia en el reinado de Alfonso XI de Castilla. JULIO VALDEON BARUQUE, La Victoria de Enrique II: Los Trastámaras en el poder.

D. E. H. DE BOER and J. W. MARSILJE, editors. *De Nederlanden in de late middeleeuwen* [The Netherlands in the Late Middle Ages]. (Aula paperback, number 145.) Utrecht: Spectrum. 1987. Pp. 447. f. 42.50.

F. W. N. HUGENHOLTZ, Melis Stoke en Jacob van Maerlant. A. E. COHEN, Grimbergen en Woerenc. J. VAN HERWAARDEN, Middeleeuwse aflaten en Nederlandse devotie. J. M. VAN WINTER, Johanniters in Nederland en het Heilige Land. C. C. DE BRUIN, De bakermat van de moderne devotie: Deventer of Praag? A. H. BREDERO, De Delftse Begijn Gertrui van Oosten (ca. 1320-1358) en haar niet-erkende heiligheid. F. P. VAN OOSTROM, Literatuur en levensloop: De succesmoraal van Dirc Potter, ambtenaar-auteur aan het Hollandse hof (ca. 1400). J. P. GUMBERT, Dirk Bormans over de rampen van 1466. B. EBELS-HOVING, Desiderius Erasmus en Jacobus Canter. M. E. H. N. MOUT, De humanist Gerard Geldenhouwer als raadgever van vorsten. P. H. D. LEUPEN, Schepenbank en gemeente te Nijmegen. J. C. KORT, De grafelijke hofstede in Haarlem. J. W. MARSILJE, Het Haarlemse klerkambt in de 15e eeuw. P. C. M. HOPPENBROUWERS, De broederschap van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw te Heusden. W. P. BLOCKMANS, Mobiliteit in stadsbesturen 1400-1550. J. J. WOLTJER, Een Hollands stadsbestuur in het midden van de 16e eeuw: Brouwers en bestuurders te Delft. D. E. H. DE BOER, Een vorst trekt noordwaarts: De Konst van Albrecht van Beieren naar de Nederlanden (1358) in het licht van de ontwikkelingen in het Duitse Rijk. D. J. FABER, Het land Twente in de 14e eeuw. C. A. A. LINSSSEN, Keizer Sigismund, opperleerheer in de Nederlanden (1410-1437). H. ENNO VAN GELDER, Nieuwe guldens, Arnhemse guldens, rijnsse guldens enzovoort. J. SCHEURKOGEL, Opstand in Holland. A. G. JONGKEES, Holland in Erasmus' tijd. P. BANGE and A. G. WEILER, De problematiek van het clandestiene huwelijk in het middeleeuwse. W. PREVENIER, Vrouwenroof als middel tot sociale mobiliteit in het 15e-eeuwse Zeeland. J. M. VAN MARREWIJK, Bibliografie prof. dr. H. P. H. Jansen.

JEROME FRIEDMAN, editor. *Regnum, Religio et Ratio: Essays Presented to Robert M. Kingdon*. (Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, number 8.) Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal. 1987. Pp. 186. \$25.00.

FREDERIC J. BAUMGARTNER, The Demise of the Medieval Knight in France. ROBERT G. CLOUSE, The Millennium That Survived the Fifth Monarchy Men. JOHN PATRICK DONNELLY, Antonio Possevino as Papalist Critic of French Writers. JEROME FRIEDMAN, The Spiritualist Paradigm: An Essay on the Ideological Foundations of the German Revolution. W. FRED GRAHAM, The Religion of the First Scottish

Settlers in Ulster. RUDOLPH W. HEINZE, Repressing "A Mischief that Groweth Every Day": James I's Campaign against Duelling, 1613–1625. MARYANNE C. HOROWITZ, Montaigne's Doubts on the Miraculous and the Demonic in Cases of His Own Day. ROBERT KOLB, The Advance of Dialectic in Lutheran Theology: The Role of Johannes Wigand (1523–1587). ROBERT D. LINDER, The Early Calvinists and Martin Luther: A Study in Evangelical Solidarity. A. LYNN MARTIN, The Jesuit Emond Auger and the Saint Bartholomew's Massacre at Bordeaux: The Final Word? RAYMOND A. MENTZER, JR., Bipartisan Justice and the Pacification of Late Sixteenth-Century Languedoc. LUTHER D. PETERSON, Melancthon on Resisting the Emperor: The *Von der Notwehr Unterrichte* of 1547. ROBERT W. RICHELGS, Celibacy and Clericalism in Counter-Reformation Thought: The Case of Robert Bellarmine. THOMAS MAX SAFLEY, Families Unformed and Reformed: Protestant Divorce and Its Domestic Consequences. MERRY E. WIESNER, Frail, Weak and Helpless: Women's Legal Position in Theory and Reality.

CHARLES S. MAIER, editor. *Changing Boundaries of the Political: Essays on the Evolving Balance between the State and Society, Public and Private in Europe*. (Cambridge Studies in Modern Political Economies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. ix, 417. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$14.95.

CHARLES S. MAIER, Introduction. ALESSANDRO PIZZORNO, Politics Unbound. CLAUS OFFE, Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics: Social Movements since the 1960's. SUZANNE BERGER, Religious Transformation and the Future of Politics. CHARLES S. MAIER, The Politics of Time: Changing Paradigms of Collective Time and Private Time in the Modern Era. MASSIMO PACI, Long Waves in the Development of Welfare Systems. LAURA BALBO, Family, Women, and the State: Notes toward a Typology of Family Roles and Public Intervention. PAUL STARR AND ELLEN IMMERGUT, Health Care and the Boundaries of Politics. GERALD D. FELDMAN, The Politics of *Wissenschaftspolitik* in Weimar Germany: A Prelude to the Dilemmas of Twentieth-Century Science Policy. MILES KAHLER, The Survival of the State in European International Relations. JAN PEN, Expanding Budgets in a Stagnating Economy: The Experience of the 1970's. JOHN H. GOLDTHORPE, Problems of Political Economy after the Postwar Period.

ROSALIND MITCHINSON and PETER ROEBUCK, editors. *Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland, 1500–1939*. Edinburgh: John Donald; distributed by Humanities, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1988. Pp. xi, 319. \$49.95.

MARY O'DOWD, Land and Lordship in Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century Ireland. R. A. DODGSHON, West Highland Chiefdoms, 1500–1745: A Study in Redistributive Exchange. RAYMOND GILLESPIE, Landed Society and the Interregnum in Ireland and Scotland. DAVID STEVENSON, The Effects of Revolution and Conquest on Scotland. ALLAN I. MACINNES, The Impact of the Civil Wars and Interregnum: Political Disruption and Social Change within Scottish Gaeldom. I. D. and K. A. WHYTE, Debt and

Credit, Poverty and Prosperity in a Seventeenth-Century Scottish Rural Community. PETER ROEBUCK, The Economic Situation and Functions of Substantial Landowners, 1660–1815: Ulster and Lowland Scotland Compared. G. E. KIRKHAM, "To Pay the Rent and Lay Up Riches": Economic Opportunity in Eighteenth-Century North-West Ulster. L. M. CULLEN, *et al.*, Wages and Comparative Development in Ireland and Scotland, 1565–1780. S. J. CONNOLLY, Albion's Fatal Twigs: Justice and Law in the Eighteenth Century. T. M. DEVINE, Unrest and Stability in Rural Ireland and Scotland, 1760–1840. ROSALIND MITCHISON, Who Were the Poor in Scotland, 1690–1830? DAVID DICKSON, In Search of the Old Irish Poor Law. GERARD O'BRIEN, A Question of Attitude: Responses to the New Poor Law in Ireland and Scotland. L. A. CLARKSON and E. MARGARET CRAWFORD, Dietary Directions: A Topographical Survey of Irish Diet, 1836. ERIC RICHARDS, Regional Imbalance and Poverty in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain. ALASTAIR DURIE and PETER SOLAR, The Scottish and Irish Linen Industries Compared, 1780–1860. PHILIP OLLERENSHAW, Aspects of Bank Lending in Post-Famine Ireland. CHARLES W. MUNN, Aspects of Bank Finance for Industry: Scotland, 1845–1914. BRENDA COLLINS, Sewing and Social Structure: The Flowerers of Scotland and Ireland. VIVIANNE POLLOCK, The Seafishing Industry in County Down and its Scottish Connections, 1860–1939. GRAHAM WALKER, Labor in Scotland and Northern Ireland: The Inter-War Experience. B. M. BROWNE and D. S. JOHNSON, Infant Mortality in Inter-War Northern Ireland. MARY E. DALY, Industrial Policy in Scotland and Ireland in the Inter-War Years. R. B. WEIR, Structural Change and Diversification in Ireland and Scotland.

ROGER A. MASON, editor. *Scotland and England, 1286–1815*. Edinburgh: John Donald; distributed by Humanities, Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: 1987. Pp. viii, 270. \$39.95.

MICHAEL PRESTWICH, Colonial Scotland: The English in Scotland under Edward I. ANTHONY GOODMAN, The Anglo-Scottish Marches in the Fifteenth Century: A Frontier Society? ALEXANDER GRANT, Crown and Nobility in Late Medieval Britain. ROGER A. MASON, Scotchling the Brut: Politics, History, and National Myth in Sixteenth-Century Britain. MARCUS MERRIMAN, James Henrisoun and "Great Britain": British Union and the Scottish Commonwealth. JANE E. A. DAWSON, Two Kingdoms or Three?: Ireland in Anglo-Scottish Relations in the Middle of the Sixteenth Century. KEITH M. BROWN, The Price of Friendship: The "Well Affected" and English Economic Clientage in Scotland before 1603. DAVID STEVENSON, The Early Covenanters and the Federal Union of Britain. EDWARD J. COWAN, The Solemn League and Covenant. JOHN ROBERTSON, Andrew Fletcher's Vision of Union. NICHOLAS PHILLIPSON, Politics, Politeness, and the Anglicization of Early Eighteenth-Century Scottish Culture. JOHN D. BRIMS, The Scottish "Jacobins," Scottish Nationalism, and the British Union.

ROBERT COLLS and PHILIP DODD, editors. *Englishness: Politics and Culture, 1880–1920*. Paperback edition. New York: Croom Helm. 1987. Pp. 378. \$16.95.



PHILIP DODD, Englishness and the National Culture. ROBERT COLLS, Englishness and the Political Culture. ALUN HOWKINS, The Discovery of Rural England. BRIAN DOYLE, The Invention of English. PETER BROOKER and PETER WIDDOWSON, A Literature for England. JEREMY CRUMP, The Identity of English Music: The Reception of Elgar, 1898–1935. JANE MACKAY and PAT THANE, The Englishwoman. D. G. BOYCE, The Marginal Britons: The Irish. DENNIS SMITH, Englishness and the Liberal Inheritance after 1886. HUGH CUNNINGHAM, The Conservative Party and Patriotism. STEPHEN YEO, Socialism, the State, and Some Oppositional Englishness.

HEINZ SCHILLING, editor. *Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland—Das Problem der "Zweiten Reformation."* (Wissenschaftliches Symposium des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, 1985; Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, number 195.) Gütersloh, F.R.G.: Gerd Mohn. 1986. Pp. 480. DM 98.

MARTIN HECKEL, Reichsrecht und "Zweite Reformation": Theologisch-juristische Probleme der reformierten Konfessionalisierung. J. F. GERHARD GOETERS, Genesis, Formen und Hauptthemen des reformierten Bekenntnisses in Deutschland: Eine Übersicht. ERNST KOCH, Der kursächsische Philippismus und seine Krise in den 1560er und 1570er Jahren. KARLHEINZ BLASCHKE, Religion und Politik in Kursachsen, 1586–1591. WERNER-ULRICH DEETJEN, Der Konfessionswechsel im Herzogtum Zweibrücken. VOLKER PRESS, Die "Zweite Reformation" in der Kurpfalz. MANFRED RUDERSDORF, Lutherische Erneuerung und Zweite Reformation: Die Beispiele Württemberg und Hessen. GERHARD MENK, Die "Zweite Reformation" in Hessen-Kassel: Landgraf Moritz und die Einführung der Verbesserungspunkte. GEORG SCHMIDT, Die "Zweite Reformation" im Gebiet des Wetterauer Grafenvereins: Die Einführung des reformierten Bekenntnisses im Spiegel der Modernisierung gräflicher Herrschaftssysteme. HARM KLUETING, Die reformierte Konfessions- und Kirchenbildung in den westfälischen Grafschaften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. RUDOLF VON THADDEN, Die Fortsetzung des "Reformationswerks" in Brandenburg-Preussen. MICHAEL G. MÜLLER, Zur Frage der Zweiten Reformation in Danzig, Elbing und Thorn. INGUN MONTGOMERY, Die cura religionis als Aufgabe des Fürsten: Perspektiven der Zweiten Reformation in Schweden. PAUL MÜNCH, Volkskultur und Calvinismus: Zu Theorie und Praxis der "reformatio vitae" während der "Zweiten Reformation." GERHARD SCHORMANN, Zweite Reformation und Bildungswesen am Beispiel der Elementarschulen. KLAUS GÄRBER, Zentraleuropäischer Calvinismus und deutsche "Barock"-Literatur: Zu den konfessionspolitischen Ursprüngen der deutschen Nationalliteratur. GUSTAV ADOLF BENRATH, Irenik und Zweite Reformation. REIMER HANSEN, Der Friedensplan Heinrich Rantzau und die Irenik in der Zweiten Reformation. WILHELM HEINRICH NEUSER, Die Erforschung der "Zweiten Reformation"—eine wissenschaftliche Fehlentwicklung. HEINZ SCHILLING, Die "Zweite Reformation" als Kategorie der Geschichtswissenschaft. HEINZ SCHILLING, Schlussdiskussion.

K. R. M. SHORT and STEPHAN DOLEZEL, editors. *Hitler's Fall: The Newsreel Witness*. New York: Croom Helm. 1988. Pp. xii, 188. \$37.50.

K. R. M. SHORT, American Newsreels and the Collapse of Nazi Germany. NICHOLAS PRONAY, Defeated Germany in British Newsreels: 1944–45. SERGEI DROBASHENKO, Soviet Film Chronicles and the Fall of Nazi Germany. RICHARD C. RAACK, The Red Army Befeigns the Reichstag: Film as Historical Fantasy. STANISLAW OZIMEK, The Polish Newsreel in 1945: The Bitter Victory. DAVID WELCH, Goebbels, Götterdämmerung, and the Deutsche Wochenschauen. PETER GERDES, Swiss Newsreel—1945. HEINRICH BODENSIECK, *Welt im Film*: Origins and Message. STEPHAN DOLEZEL, *Welt im Film*: 1945 and the Re-Education of Occupied Germany. KARL STAMM, The Problem of "Authenticity" in the German Wartime Newsreels. PETER BUCHER, Film as a Source of Historical Authenticity.

*Italia Judaica: "Gli ebrei in Italia tra Rinascimento ed Ete barocca."* (Proceedings of the Second International Conference, 1984; Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, number 6.) Rome: Libreria dello Stato or Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Rome. 1986. Pp. 336.

SHLOMO SIMONSOHN, Divieto di trasportare Ebrei in Palestina. ROBERTO BONFIL, Riflessioni sulla storiografia ebraica in Italia nel Cinquecento. MICHELE LUZZATI, Dal prestito al commercio: Gli Ebrei dello Stato fiorentino nel secolo XVI. ALDO AGOSTO, L'Archivio di Stato di Genova e le fonti relative alla storia degli Ebrei genovesi dal XV al XVIII secolo. ARIEL TOAFF, Il commercio del denaro e la comunità ebraiche "di confine" (Pitigliano, Sorano, Monte San Savino, Lippiano) tra Cinquecento e Seicento. RENATO SEGRE, Il mondo ebraico nei cardinali della Controriforma. ABRAHAM MELAMED, The Perception of Jewish History in Italian Jewish Thought of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Re-Examination. KENNETH R. STOW, Delitto e castigo nello Stato della Chiesa: Gli Ebrei nelle carceri romane dal 1572 al 1659. ROSSANO URBANI, Nuovi documenti sulla formazione della "Nazione ebraica" nel Genovesato durante il XVII secolo. FAUSTO PARENTE, Alcune osservazioni preliminari per una biografia di Sisto Senese. Fu realmente Sisto un ebreo convertito? GIULIANO TAMANI, Parafrasi e componimenti poetici in volgare e in caratteri ebraici di Mordekhai Dato. MOSHE IDEL, Major Currents in Italian Kabbalah between 1560–1660. DAN PAGIS, Baroque Trends in Italian Hebrew Poetry as Reflected in an Unknown Genre. SERGIO J. SIERRA, Lo Jessod 'Olām (Il Pilastro su cui poggia il mondo) e l'opera poetica di Moshèh Zacùt. GIUSEPPA SACCARO BATTISTI, La cultura filosofica del Rinascimento italiano nella "Puerta del cielo" di Abraham Cohn ferrera.

RAFFAELLA Y. NANETTI *et al.*, editors. *Italian Politics: A Review*. Volume 2. New York: Pinter; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1988. Pp. xv, 185. \$30.00.

RAFFAELLA Y. NANETTI *et al.*, Introduction. VINCENT DELLA SALA, Government by Decree: The Craxi Government and

the Use of Decree Legislation in the Italian Parliament. SANDRO MAGISTER, Catholic Action and Internal Conflicts in the Catholic Church. JOAN BARTH URBAN, The PCI's 17th Congress: A Triumph of the "New Internationalism." DOUGLAS A. WERTMAN, DC Congress: The End of Factions? PAOLO CERI, The Nuclear Power Issue: A New Political Cleavage within Italian Society? MICHELLE B. MILLER, Financial Markets in 1986: The Paradox of Liberalization. PATRIZIO BIANCHI, Privatization of Industry: The Alfa Romeo Case. ALBERT Z. GUTTENBERG, The *Condono Edilizio* Debate. LAWRENCE GRAY and PAOLO MIGGIANO, The Lampedusa Incident and Italian Defense Policy. PIETRO BARRERA, Military Service and Military Reform. CARLO MARLETTI, Parties and Mass Communication: The RAI Controversy.

GÁBOR ERDŐDY, editor. *Das Parteienwesen Österreich-Ungarns*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1987. Pp. 144. \$18.00.

LÁSZLÓ MÁTRAI, Begrüssung. WILHELM BRAUNEDER, Parlamentarismus und Parteiensystem in der österreichisch-cisleithanischen Reichshälfte, 1867–1918. BÉLA SARLÓS, Die rechtlichen Charakterzüge des ungarischen Parlamentarismus nach 1867. FRIEDRICH GOTTAS, Liberale in Österreich und Ungarn—Versuch einer Gegenüberstellung. JÁNOS VERLIKÝ, Wandlungen der Unabhängigkeitsbewegung in Ungarn nach 1867. LOTHAR HÖBELT, Die deutschnationalen und liberalen Gruppierungen in Cisleithanien: Von der Vereinigten Linken zum Nationalverband. TIBOR FRÉNYI, Der Austromarxismus und die ungarische Sozialdemokratie. HELMUT KONRAD, Arbeiterbewegung und Sozialismus in Cisleithanien. DÁNIEL SZABÓ, Die Partei des politischen Katholizismus in Ungarn. ÉVA MADARAS, Der Nachklang der Wiener Bürgermeisterkrise in den Jahren 1895–1897 in Ungarn.

LÁSZLÓ PÉTER and ROBERT B. PYNSENT, editors. *Intellectuals and the Future in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1890–1914*. New York: St. Martin's. 1988. Pp. viii, 196. \$35.00.

LÁSZLÓ PÉTER and ROBERT B. PYNSENT, Introduction. MARTIN SWALES, Liberalism or Hedonism? Arthur Schnitzler's Diagnosis of the Viennese Bourgeoisie. IRIT ROGOFF, Gustav Klimt: A Bridgehead to Modernism. BRIAN FARRELL, Sigmund Freud: Some Aspects of His Contribution. ROBERT B. PYNSENT, The Decadent Nation: The Politics of Arnošt Procházka and Jiří Karásek ze Lvovic. KAREL BRUŠÁK, The Meaning of Czech History: Pekař versus Masaryk. TOMÁŠ VLČEK, National Sensualism: Czech *Fin-de-Siècle* Art. VIOLA FINN, Zsigmond Justh: In Search of a New Nobility. GEORGE CUSHING, Mihály Babits: "All Great Poets Are Decadent." STANISŁAW EILE, The Prophet of the "Naked Soul": Stanisław Przybyszewski.

BELA K. KIRALY and ALBERT A. NOFI, editors. *East Central European War Leaders: Civilian and Military*. (War and Society in East Central Europe, number 25.) Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Monographs or

Atlantic Research and Publications, Highland Lakes, N.J.; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1988. Pp. x, 368. \$35.00.

BELA K. KIRALY, Preface to the Series. THEODORE ROPP, Continuity and Change in Ideas of Civilian and Military Leadership, 1740–1920's. STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI, The Role of Individual Military Leaders in the History of East Central Europe. DAVID MACKENZIE, Ilija Garašanin, Serbia's National Leader, 1843–1867. ALADAR URBAN, Count Lajos Batthyany and the Organization of the Hungarian National Army, 1848–1849. CONSTANTIN SVOLOPOULOS, Eleftherios Venizelos as a Civilian War Leader. PAULA SUTTER FICHTNER, Charles I (IV): War Leadership as Personal Leadership. PETER PASTOR, Mihály Karolyi: Revolutionary National Defence, 1918–1919. GLENN E. TORREY, Alexandru Marghiloman of Romania: A War Leader. GEZA PERJES, Count Miklos Zrinyi, General and Military Thinker. JEAN NOUZILLE, The Duke of Saxe-Hildburghausen and the Evolution of the Austrian Military Frontiers in the Eighteenth Century. ALBERT A. NOFI, The American Revolution and Kościuszko. EMANUEL HALICZ, Tadeusz Kościuszko and the Napoleonic Wars. GUNTHER E. ROTHENBERG, Archduke Charles and the "New Army." RADU FLORESCU, General Ion Emanoil Florescu: Father of the Romanian Army. DIMITRIJE DJORDJEVIC, Vojvoda Radomir Putnik. PETAR STOILOV, General of Infantry Nikola Ivanov. TADEUSZ SWIETOCHOWSKI, Piłsudski: The Polish Dream of the Sword. JOSEPH ROTHSCHILD, Marshal Józef Piłsudski's Concept of State vis-a-vis Society in Interwar Poland. JOZEF KALVODA, General Alois Podhajský: Czechoslovak War Leader. JOSEPH F. ZACEK, Radola Gajda of Czechoslovakia.

PHILIP JOSEPH, editor. *The Economies of Eastern Europe and Their Foreign Economic Relations/L'économie des pays d'Europe de l'Est et leurs relations économiques extérieures*. (Colloquium, 1986, Brussels.) Brussels: North Atlantic Treaty Organization. 1986. Pp. 363.

PHILIP JOSEPH, The Economies of Eastern Europe and their Foreign Economic Relations. DORIS CORNELSEN, Economic Development in the German Democratic Republic. MARIA HAENDCKE-HOPPE, German Democratic Republic: Foreign Economic Relations. RENZO DAVIDDI, Bulgaria: Domestic Economic Performance and Foreign Economic Relations in the 1980's. PHILIPPE CITERNE, Bulgarie: Commerce extérieur et endettement. FRANZ-LOTHAR ALTMANN, Czechoslovakia: Internal Economic Development and Foreign Economic Relations in the 1980's. ZBIGNIEW M. FALLENBUCHL, Poland: Internal Economic Development. BARTŁOMIEJ KAMINSKI, Poland's Foreign Trade in the 1980's: Complex Challenges and Simple Responses? DOMENICO MARIO NUTI, Poland: Current Development and Prospects of Economic Reform. PAUL GREGORY HARE, Hungary: Internal Economic Developments. PAUL MARER, Hungary's Foreign Economic Relations in the Mid 1980's: A Retrospective and Predictive Assessment. ALAN H. SMITH, Romania: Internal Economic Development and Foreign Economic Relations. ANITA TIRASPOLSKY, Un second souffle pour l'intégration économique. ROGER E. KANET, East European Trade in the 1980's: Reorientation in International Economic Relations. IVOR C. COFFIN, East European Debt

Problems and Prospects for Trade with the Developed West. ROBERT WIELEMANS, Socialisme, société et croissance. JOHN P. HARDT, Implications and Policy Options: A Discussion Agenda. FERRY DE KERCKHOVE, The Economies of Eastern Europe and Their Foreign Economic Relations: Summing Up.

VOJTECH MASTNY, editor. *Soviet-East European Survey, 1986-1987: Selected Research and Analysis from Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1988. Pp. xii, 470. \$29.85.

VOJTECH MASTNY, Introduction: Progress toward Pluralization. ELIZABETH TEAGUE, Gorbachev's Changing Priorities. ELIZABETH TEAGUE, Conflict of Interests and Ideas: The January Plenum. JULIA WISHNEVSKY and ROMAN SOLCHANYK, Curbs on Arbitrary Behavior. HENRY HAMMAN, Burlatskii on Democratization. ELIZABETH TEAGUE, Experiment with Contested Elections. VERA TOLZ, The Tool of Restructuring. JULIA WISHNEVSKY, Return of Forbidden Literature. VERA TOLZ, Rediscovering Soviet History. BOHDAN NAHAYLO, Criticism of the Afghanistan War. VIKTOR YASMANN, Telebridges with the West. VALERII KONOVALOV, Prostitution in the USSR. SERGEI VORONITSYN, Drug Abuse. SOPHIA M. MISKIEWICZ, Faltering Health Services. ELIZABETH TEAGUE, The Misery of Rural Life. PHILIP HANSON, Little *Glasnost* on Economic Accomplishment. AARON TREHUB, Social Justice and Economic Progress. ELIZABETH TEAGUE, Expansion of the Cooperative Sector. VLADIMIR SOBELL, Approaching the Ecological Barrier. PHILIP HANSON, Low Targets and Low Growth. CHARLES GLICKHAM, Sources of Security Reconsidered. BOHDAN NAHAYLO, The Reykjavik Watershed. ELIZABETH TEAGUE, Wisdom of Soviet Missiles Questioned. ALEXANDER RAHR, Red Square Landing Shakes up Top Military. DOUGLAS CLARKE and VLADIMIR SOCOR, Toward an INF Treaty and Beyond. BOHDAN NAHAYLO and KEVIN DEVLIN, The Vladivostok Speech. DANIEL ABELE, Into Southeast Asia and the Pacific. BOHDAN NAHAYLO and DANIEL ABELE, Iran and the Gulf War. DZINTRA BUNGS, The Chautauqua Conference in Latvia. ROLAND EGGLESTON and BOHDAN NAHAYLO, Human Rights and Foreign Policy. BESS BROWN, The Kazakhstan Riots. ROMAN SOLCHANYK, Language Demands in Belorussia and the Ukraine. TOOMAS ILLVES, Nationality Discord in Estonia. JULIA WISHNEVSKY, Pamiat Takes to the Streets. VLADIMIR V. KUSIN, The Springs of Prague and Moscow. VLADIMIR SOBELL, The Ultracautious Reformers. VLADIMIR SOBELL, The Trial of the Jazz Fans. VLADIMIR V. KUSIN and KEVIN DEVLIN, Gorbachev's Delayed Visit. BARBARA DONOVAN, GDR: Complacency of the Unreformed. IVAN VOLGYES, Hungary: Despondency of the Reformed. BARBARA V. FLOW, East Germany's Restive Churches. KAROLY OKOLICSANYI, Hungarian Experiments Continue. LOUISA VINTON *et al.*, Amnesty at Last. JAN B. DE WEYDENTHAL, New Consultative Council. ANNA SWIDLICKA, Solidarity Attempts to Regroup. ANNA SWIDLICKA and ROMAN STEFANOWSKI, Diplomatic Isolation Broken. ROMAN SOLCHANYK and ANNA SWIDLICKA, Special Relationship with Moscow. JAN B. DE WEYDENTHAL, The Pope's Visit. LOUIS ZANGA, Reform Albanian Style. ANNELI UTE GABANYI, Ceaușescu and Gorbachev. STEPHEN ASHLEY, Greek-Bulgarian Friendship Treaty. MILAN ANDREJEVICH, Genocide in Kosovo? SLOVODAN STANKOVIC, Yugoslavia's Divided

Opposition. NANCY A. BEATTY, Soviet Dissidents on *Glasnost*. VLADIMIR V. KUSIN, Czechoslovak Opposition Ponders Reform. SAULIUS GIRNIUS, The Fad of Oriental Religions. KEVIN DEVLIN, The Europeans of the East. JAN ZOUBEK, A Comecon-Common Market Rapprochement. BARBARA DONOVAN, East Berlin Cultivates European Identity. PATRICIA HOWARD, Three Faces of Central Europe. ELIZABETH TEAGUE, Popular Dissatisfaction with Gorbachev. JULIA WISHNEVSKY, Liberalization and Soviet Jewry. VERA TOLZ, The Growth of "Informal Groups." PHILIP HANSON and ELIZABETH TEAGUE, The June Plenum: Too Far or Not Far Enough?

REINER WEICHHARDT, editor. *The Soviet Economy: A New Course?/L'économie soviétique à un tournant?* (Colloquium, 1987.) Brussels: NATO. 1987. Pp. 352.

MARCELLO GUIDI, Opening Speech by the Acting Secretary General of NATO. JEAN-CLAUDE RENAUD, Observations liminaires par le Directeur des Affaires économiques de l'OTAN. PHILIP HANSON, The Soviet Twelfth Five-Year Plan. HANS-HERMANN HÖHMANN, Gorbachev's Approach to Economic Reforms. HANS AAGE, Consumption, Income Distribution and Incentives. SILVANA MALLE, Soviet Labor-Saving Policy in the Eighties. CHANTAL BEAUCOURT, M. Gorbachev et l'agriculture. MURRAY FESHBACH, Soviet Population, Manpower, Health, and Education Trends. SERGE COPELMAN, Le secteur pétrolier de l'URSS. ARILD MOE and HELGE OLE BERGESEN, The Soviet Gas Sector: Challenges Ahead. JOCHEN BETHKENHAGEN, Energy Policy in the USSR: A New Course? CRAIG ZUMBRUNNEN, Soviet Water, Air, and Nature Preservation: Problems of the Gorbachev Era and Beyond. BORIS RUMER, The Problems of Industrial Modernization in the USSR. RICHARD F. KAUFMAN, Industrial Modernization and Defense in the Soviet Union. FREDRICK PITZNER-JØRGENSEN, Soviet Economic Cooperation with CMEA Countries: A Breakthrough for Industrial Cooperation? DANIEL FRANKLIN, Soviet Trade with the Industrialized West. GIOVANNI GRAZIANI, Soviet Strategy in Restructuring Trade with the Third World. GUENTER BOEHR, Soviet Financial Policy vis-à-vis the West. PETER WILES, The General Secretary as Peter the Great: Overall Comment. REINER WEICHHARDT, Summing Up.

HURI ISLAMOĞLU-İNAN, editor. *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*. (Studies in Modern Capitalism.) New York: Cambridge University Press and Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris. 1987. Pp. xi, 481. \$69.50.

HURI ISLAMOĞLU-İNAN, Introduction: "Oriental Despotism" in World System Perspective. PETER GRAN, Late-Eighteenth-Early Nineteenth-Century Egypt: Merchant Capitalism or Modern Capitalism? HURI ISLAMOĞLU and ÇAĞLAR KEYDER, Agenda for Ottoman History. İLKAY SUNAR, State and Economy in the Ottoman Empire. IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN *et al.*, The Incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the World Economy. HURI ISLAMOĞLU-İNAN, State and Peasants in the Ottoman Empire: A Study of Peasant Economy in North-Central Anatolia during the Sixteenth Century. ORHAN KURMUŞ,

The Cotton Famine and its Effects on the Ottoman Empire. BRUCE MCGOWAN, The Middle Danube *cul-de-sac*. ŞEVKET PAMUK, Commodity Production for World Markets and Relations of Production in Ottoman Agriculture, 1840–1913. ALAN R. RICHARDS, Primitive Accumulation in Egypt, 1798–1882. MURAT ÇIZAKÇA, Price History and the Bursa Silk Industry: A Study in Ottoman Industrial Decline, 1550–1650. SURAIYA FAROQHI, Notes on the Production of Cotton and Cotton Cloth in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Anatolia. ROGER OWEN, The Silk-Reeling Industry of Mount Lebanon, 1840–1914: A Study of the Possibilities and Limitations of Factory Production in the Periphery. DONALD QUATAERT, The Silk Industry of Bursa, 1880–1909. DONALD QUATAERT, A Provisional Report Concerning the Impact of European Capital on Ottoman Port Workers, 1880–1909. SURAIYA FAROQHI, The Venetian Presence in the Ottoman Empire, 1600–30. MEHMET GENÇ, A Study of the Feasibility of Using Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Financial Records as an Indicator of Economic Activity. HALİL İNALCIK, When and How British Cotton Goods Invaded the Levant Markets.

NORMAN R. BENNETT, editor. *Discovering the African Past: Essays in Honor of Daniel F. McCall*. (Boston University Papers on Africa, number 8.) Boston: Boston University African Studies Center. 1987. Pp. 150. \$11.00.

NORMAN R. BENNETT, Daniel F. McCall: A Personal Memoir. EDNA G. BAY, Metal Arts and Society in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Abomey. NORMAN R. BENNETT, Zanzibar, Portugal, and Mozambique: Relations from the Late Eighteenth Century to 1890. JANE L. PARPART, Sexuality and Power on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1926–1964. HAROLD G. MARCUS, The Ethiopian Factor in Mussolini's Decision to Go to War in 1935. R. L. WATSON, Religion and Anti-Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope. MARK DYER, The Balance of Trade in Western Libya in the Late Eighteenth Century. LUCY E. CREEVEY, Family Farms and Improved Development Assistance for Rural Women in Mali.

JARLE SIMENSEN, editor. *Norwegian Missions in African History*. Volume 1. *South Africa, 1845–1906*. New York: Norwegian University Press. 1986. Pp. 280. \$42.00.

JARLE SIMENSEN and VIDAR GYNNILD, Norwegian Missionaries in the Nineteenth Century: Organizational Background, Social Profile, and World View. CHARLES BALLARD, From Sovereignty to Subjection: The Political Economy of Zululand, 1820–1906. PER HERN, The Zulu Kingdom, Norwegian Missionaries, and British Imperialism, 1845–1879. JARLE SIMENSEN *et al.*, Christian Missions and Socio-Cultural Change in Zululand, 1850–1906: Norwegian Strategy and African Response.

ASHIN DAS GUPTA and M. N. PEARSON, editors. *India and the Indian Ocean, 1500–1800*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1987. Pp. xi, 363. \$36.00.

M. N. PEARSON, Introduction I: The Subject. ASHIN DAS GUPTA, Introduction II: The Story. GENEVIEVE BOUCHON

and DENYS LOMBARD, The Indian Ocean in the Fifteenth Century. M. N. PEARSON, India and the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth Century. S. ARASARATNAM, India and the Indian Ocean in the Seventeenth Century. ASHIN DAS GUPTA, India and the Indian Ocean in the Eighteenth Century. GENEVIEVE BOUCHON, Sixteenth Century Malabar and the Indian Ocean. OM PRAKASH, The Dutch East India Company in the Trade of the Indian Ocean. M. D. D. NEWITT, East Africa and Indian Ocean Trade: 1500–1800. S. ARASARATNAM, Ceylon in the Indian Ocean Trade: 1500–1800. ARUN DAS GUPTA, The Maritime Trade of Indonesia: 1500–1800. P. J. MARSHALL, Private British Trade in the Indian Ocean before 1800. BRUCE WATSON, Indian Merchants and English Private Interests: 1659–1760. G. B. SOUZA, Maritime Trade and Politics in China and the South China Sea. A. JAN QAISAR, From Port to Port: Life on Indian Ships in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

SUE HENNY and JEAN-PIERRE LEHMANN, editors. *Themes and Theories in Modern Japanese History: Essays in Memory of Richard Storry*. Foreword by WILLIAM DEAKIN. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Athlone. 1988. Pp. xv, 292. \$65.00.

JEAN-PIERRE LEHMANN, Themes and Theories in Modern Japanese History. MARUYAMA MASAO, The Structure of *Matsurigoto*: The *basso ostinato* of Japanese Political Life. FOSCO MARAINI, Japan, the Essential Modernizer. CARMEN BLACKER, Two Shinto Myths: The Golden Age and the Chosen People. YOKOYAMA TOSHIO, *Setsubyōshū* and Japanese Civilization. JANET HUNTER, Language Reform in Meiji Japan: The Views of Maejima Hisoka. HAGIHARA NOBUTOSHI, Mutsu Munemitsu: A Portrait. B. W. F. POWELL, A Parable of the Modern Theatre in Japan: The Debate between Osanai Kaoru and Mayama Seika, 1909. IKEDA KIYOSHI, The Douglas Mission and British Influence on the Japanese Navy. OKA YOSHITAKE, The First Anglo-Japanese Alliance in Japanese Public Opinion. IAN NISH, Ambassador at Large: Yoshida and His Mission to Britain, 1932–37. TSUZUKI CHUSHICHI, *Tenkō* or *Teikō*: The Dilemma of a Japanese Marxist between the Wars. LOUIS ALLEN, Fujiwara and Suzuki: The Lawrence of Arabia Syndrome. JEAN-PIERRE LEHMANN, Japan as a Commercial Power: Implications for the World Economy.

ROBERT A. GOLDWIN and ART KAUFMAN, editors. *How Does the Constitution Protect Religious Freedom?* (AEI Studies, number 462.) Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research; distributed by UPA, Lanham, Md. 1987. Pp. xv, 175. Cloth \$24.75, paper \$12.50.

HARVEY C. MANSFIELD, JR., The Religious Issue and the Origin of Modern Constitutionalism. HENRY J. ABRAHAM, Religion, the Constitution, the Court, and Society: Some Contemporary Reflections on Mandates, Words, Human Beings, and the Art of the Possible. JAMES MCCLELLAN, Hand's Writing on the Wall of Separation: The Significance of *Jaffree* in Future Cases on Religious Establishment. LEONARD W. LEVY, The Establishment Clause. WILLIAM H. REHNQUIST, The True Meaning of the Establishment



Clause: A Dissent. DEAN M. KELLEY, Free Enterprise in Religion, or How the Constitution Protects Religion and Religious Freedom. JEFFREY JAMES POELVOORDE, The American Civil Religion and the American Constitution.

SAMUEL S. HILL, editor. *Varieties of Southern Religious Experience*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1988. Pp. vii, 241. \$25.00.

SAMUEL S. HILL, Introduction: The Study of Southern Religion Comes of Age. CLARENCE C. GOEN, Scenario for Secession: Denominational Schisms and the Coming of the Civil War. DAVID EDWIN HARRELL, JR., The Evolution of Plain-Folk Religion in the South, 1835–1920. C. ERIC LINCOLN, The Black Church in the Context of American Religion. RICHARD L. RUBENSTEIN, The South Encounters the Holocaust: William Styron's *Sophie's Choice*. JOHN B. BOLES, Slaves in Biracial Protestant Churches. RANDALL M. MILLER, Catholics in a Protestant World: The Old South Example. J. WAYNE FLYNT, Southern Protestantism and Reform, 1890–1920. RALPH E. LUKER, William Porcher Dubose and a Southern Theological Tradition, 1840–1920. WILLIAM MARTIN, Perspectives on the Electronic Church. WADE CLARK ROOF, Religious Change in the American South: The Case of the Unchurched. SAMUEL S. HILL, Conclusion.

JAMES B. LANE and EDWARD J. ESCOBAR, editors. *Forging a Community: The Latino Experience in Northwest Indiana, 1919–1975*. (Calumet Regional Studies Series, number 2.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press, for Calumet Regional Archives, Gary. 1987. Pp. vi, 297. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$9.95.

EDWARD J. ESCOBAR, The Forging of a Community. JAMES B. LANE, Extranjeros en la Patria. PAUL S. TAYLOR, Mexican Labor in the Calumet Region. CIRO H. SEPULVEDA, Social Life and Nativism in *La Colonia del Harbor*. JUAN R. GARCIA and ANGEL CAL, El círculo de obreros Católicos *San José*, 1925–1930. RUTH HUTCHINSON CROCKER, Gary Mexicans and “Christian Americanization”: A Study in Cultural Conflict. FRANCISCO ARTURO ROSALES and DANIEL T. SIMON, Mexican Immigrant Experience in the Urban Midwest: East Chicago, Indiana, 1919–1945. RAYMOND A. MOHL and NEIL BETTEN, Discrimination and Repatriation: Mexican Life in Gary. MARY HELEN ROGERS, The Role of Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish in the Adjustment of the Mexican Community to Life in the Indiana Harbor Area, 1940–1951. EDWIN MALDONADO, Contract Labor and the Origins of Puerto Rican Communities in the United States. JULIAN SAMORA and RICHARD A. LAMANNA, Mexican-Americans in a Midwest Metropolis: A Study of East Chicago. CARL ALLSUP, Concerned Latins Organization. NICOLAS KANELLOS, Fifty Years of Theater in the Latino Communities of Northwest Indiana. RICHARD M. DORSON, Latino Folklore in the Region.

MERRILL D. PETERSON and ROBERT C. VAUGHAN, editors. *The Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom: Its Evolution and Consequences in American History*. (Cambridge Studies in Religion and American Pub-

lic Life.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xviii, 373. \$29.95.

MARTIN E. MARTY, The Virginia Statute Two Hundred Years Later. EDWIN S. GAUSTAD, Colonial Religion and Liberty of Conscience. J. G. A. POOCK, Religious Freedom and the Desacralization of Politics: From the English Civil Wars to the Virginia Statute. THOMAS E. BUCKLEY, The Political Theology of Thomas Jefferson. LANCE BANNING, James Madison, the Statute for Religious Freedom, and the Crisis of Republican Convictions. RHYS ISAAC, “The Rage of Malice of the Old Serpent Devil”: The Dissenters and the Making and Remaking of the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom. JOHN T. NOONAN, JR., “Quota of Imps.” CUSHING STROUT, Jeffersonian Religious Liberty and American Pluralism. DAVID LITTLE, Religion and Civil Virtue in America: Jefferson's Statute Reconsidered. RICHARD RORTY, The Priority of Democracy to Philosophy. LEO PFEFFER, Madison's “Detached Memoranda”: Then and Now. A. E. DICK HOWARD, The Supreme Court and the Serpentine Wall.

JACK WERTHEIMER, editor. *The American Synagogue: A Sanctuary Transformed*. (A Centennial Publication of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. xviii, 433. \$34.50.

ABRAHAM J. KARP, Overview: The Synagogue in America—A Historical Typology. JEFFREY S. GUROCK, The Orthodox Synagogue. LEON A. JICK, The Reform Synagogue. JACK WERTHEIMER, The Conservative Synagogue. MARC D. ANGEL, The American Experience of a Sephardic Synagogue. BARRY CHAZAN, Education in the Synagogue: The Transformation of the Supplementary School. PAULA E. HYMAN, From City to Suburb: Temple Mishkan Tefila of Boston. JENNA WEISSMAN JOSELT, The Special Sphere of the Middle-Class American Jewish Woman: The Synagogue Sisterhood, 1890–1940. BENNY KRAUT, Ethnic-Religious Ambiguities in an Immigrant Synagogue: The Case of New Hope Congregation. ROBERT LIBERLES, Conflict over Reforms: The Case of Congregation Beth Elohim, Charleston, South Carolina. DEBORAH DASH MOORE, A Synagogue Grows in Brooklyn. MARSHA L. ROZENBLIT, Choosing a Synagogue: The Social Composition of Two German Congregations in Nineteenth-Century Baltimore. JONATHAN D. SARNA, The Debate over Mixed Seating in the American Synagogue. KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, Music in the American Synagogue: A Case Study from Houston.

BRIAN DOUGLAS TENNYSON, editor. *Canada and the Commonwealth Caribbean*. Lanham Md.: University Press of America. 1988. Pp. 395. Cloth \$29.75, paper \$17.25.

S. BASDEO and H. ROBERTSON, The Nova Scotia–British West Indies Commercial Experiment in the Aftermath of the American Revolution, 1783–1802. J. C. A. STAGG, James Madison and the Coercion of Great Britain: Canada, the West Indies, and the War of 1812. PETER K. NEWMAN, Canada's Role in West Indian Trade before 1912. GRAEME MOUNT, The Canadian Presbyterian Mission to Trinidad, 1868–1912. ALICE R. STEWART, Canadian–West Indian



Union, 1884–1885. BRINSLEY SAMAROO, The Politics of Disharmony: The Debate on the Political Union of the British West Indies and Canada, 1884–1921. P. G. WIGLEY, Canada and Imperialism: West Indian Aspirations and the First World War. JOHN SCHULTZ, White Man's Country: Canada and the West Indian Immigrant, 1900–1965. DAVID MURRAY, Garrisoning the Caribbean: A Chapter in

Canadian Military History. RICHARD A. PRESTON, Caribbean Defence and Security: A Study of the Implications of Canada's "Special Relationship" with the Commonwealth West Indies. RALPH PARAGG, Canadian Aid in the Commonwealth Caribbean: Neo-Colonialism or Development? GLYN R. BERRY, The West Indies in Canadian External Relations: Present Trends and Future Prospects.

---

# Documents and Bibliographies

---

The following collections of documents, bibliographies, and other similar works were received by the *AHR* between April 26 and July 12, 1988. Books that will be reviewed are not usually listed, but listing does not necessarily preclude subsequent review.

## GENERAL

- DOSKEY, JOHN S., editor. *The European Journals of William Maclure*. (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, number 171.) Philadelphia: The Society. 1988. Pp. xlix, 815. \$40.00.
- NICHOLLS, DAVID, and PETER MARSH, editors. *Biographical Dictionary of Modern European Radicals and Socialists*. Volume 1, 1780–1815. New York: St. Martin's or Harvester, Sussex. 1988. Pp. xix, 291. \$49.95.
- GRENVILLE, J. A. S., and BERNARD WASSERSTEIN. *The Major International Treaties since 1945: A History and Guide with Texts*. New York: Methuen. 1987. Pp. xiv, 528.

## MEDIEVAL

- HULL, P. L., editor. *The Cartulary of Launceston Priory (Lambeth Palace MS 719): A Calendar*. (Devon and Cornwall Record Society, new series, number 30.) Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society. 1987. Pp. xlii, 258. £12.00.

## BRITAIN AND IRELAND

- DALBERG-ACTON, JOHN EMERICH EDWARD. *Selected Writings of Lord Acton*. Volume 3, *Essays in Religion, Politics, and Morality*. Edited by J. Rufus Fears. Indianapolis: Liberty Classics. 1986. Pp. lviii, 716.
- DE MONTLUZIN, EMILY LORRAINE. *The Anti-Jacobins, 1798–1800: The Early Contributors to the Anti-Jacobin Review*. New York: St. Martin's. 1988. Pp. xi, 212. \$37.50.
- FREEDEN, MICHAEL, editor. *J. A. Hobson: A Reader*. London: Unwin Hyman. 1988. Pp. viii, 212. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$17.95.
- HAVIGHURST, ALFRED F. *Modern England, 1901–1984*. (North American Conference on British Studies Bibliographical Handbooks.) 2d ed. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. ix, 109. \$39.50.
- KLIMA, SLAVA, et al., editors. *Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney, 1726–1769*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1988. Pp. xxxix, 233. \$32.50.
- MARCUS, JANE, editor. *Suffrage and the Pankhursts*. (Women's Source Library.) New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1987. Pp. vii, 325. \$69.50.
- MOODY, T. W., and RICHARD HAWKINS, editors. *Florence Arnold-Forster's Irish Journal*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xxxix, 576. \$99.00.
- MORLEY, WILLIAM F. E. *Queen Anne Pamphlets: An Annotated Bibliographical Catalogue of Pamphlet Publications Spanning*

*the Reign of Queen Anne, Held in the Eighteenth-Century British Pamphlet Collection, Douglas Library*. Queen's University: 1701–1714. (Douglas Library Occasional Paper Publication Series, number 7.) Kingston, Canada: Douglas Library. 1987. Pp. xl, 264. \$25.00.

## SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

- DONAGHY, PETER J., and MICHAEL T. NEWTON. *Spain: A Guide to Political and Economic Institutions*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. xiii, 242. \$11.95.
- RUIZ, ANA MARIA GUEMBE, editor. *El Reino de Aragón según los registros de la llamada "Real Cámara" durante Carlos II de Austria*. Volume 2. (Fuentes Históricas Aragonesas, number 14.) Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico." 1986. Pp. 205.

## LOW COUNTRIES

- PHILIPPE, PAUL, et al. *La Belgique et la première guerre mondiale: Bibliographie/België en de eerste wereldoorlog: Bibliografie*. (Centre d'histoire militaire, number 21.) Brussels: Musée Royal de l'Armée or Koninklijk Legermuseum, Brussels. 1987. Pp. xxiv, 598.

## NORTHERN EUROPE

- HOLMGAARD, JENS, editor. *Kancelliets Brevbøger, 1646: Vedrørende Danmarks indre forhold* [Chancellery Letter Registers, 1646: Concerning Denmark's Internal Conditions]. Copenhagen: Rigsarkivet. 1987. Pp. 423, 244 KR.
- KAASTED, TAGE, editor. *Ministermødeprotokol 1933–40: Ministeriet Stauning-Munch*. [Ministry Protocols, 1933–40: The Stauning-Munch Ministry]. Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget. 1984. Pp. 339.
- KAARTVEDT, ALF, editor. *Frederik Stang og Georg Sibbern: Den politiske Korrespondanse mellom Frederik Stang og Georg Sibbern, 1862–1871*. [Frederik Stang and George Sibbern: The Political Correspondence between Frederik Stang and Georg Sibbern, 1862–1871]. Volume 5, *Juni 1867–Juli 1869* [June 1867–1869]. Oslo: Norsk Historisk Kjeldekrift-Institut. 1987. Pp. 664.
- KLEIVANE, KJELL J., editor. *Oslo: Lagtingsprotokoll –nr. II–III 1608–1616* [Oslo: Parliamentary Protocols number 2–3, 1609–1616]. *Oppland: Lagtingsprotokoll nr. I 1611–1613* [Oppland: Parliamentary Protocols number 1, 1611–1613]. Oslo: Norsk Historisk Kjeldekrift-Institut. 1987. Pp. 709.
- TAPIO, HELEN, et al. *Historiallinen Arkisto* [Historical Archives]. (Historiallinen Arkisto, number 90.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1987. Pp. 341.
- TUXEN, POUL. *Denmark: Stege, 1500–1950*. (Scandinavian Atlas of Historic Towns, number 5.) Odense: Odense University Press, for the Danish Committee for Urban History. 1987. Pp. 56.

## GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

- HUCKO, ELMAR M., editor. *The Democratic Tradition: Four German Constitutions*. New York: Berg; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1987. Pp. 265. \$37.50.
- PATEMANN, REINHARD. *Bremische Chronik 1976–1980*. (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Staatsarchiv der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, number 55.) Bremen: Staatsarchiv der Freien Hansestadt Bremen. 1988. Pp. 380.
- SPEITKAMP, WINFRIED, editor. *Kommunalverfassung in Kurhessen: Eine Schrift des Kasseler Regierungsreferendars Theodor von Heppe aus dem Jahr 1826*. (Quellen und Forschungen zur hessischen Geschichte, number 69.) Marburg: F.R.G.: Hessische Historische Kommission Darmstadt. 1987. Pp. 175. DM 20.
- TUDOR, H., and J. M. TUDOR, editors. *Marxism and Social Democracy: The Revisionist Debate, 1896–1898*. (Studies in Marxism and Social Theory.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xi. 384. \$49.50.

## EASTERN EUROPE

- BERNATH, MATHIAS, and KARL NEHRING, editors. *Historische Bücherkunde Südosteuropas*. Volume 2, Neuzeit. Part 1, *Osmantisches Reich, Makedonien, Albanien*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 76.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1988. Pp. xxv. 519. DM 198.
- BOROSY, ANDRAS. *Magyarország történeti helységnévtára: Pest-Pilis-Solt megye és a Kiskunság (1773–1808)* [Historical Gazetteer of Hungary: Pest-Pilis-Solt County and Kiskunság, 1773–1808]. Summary in English. Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal. 1988. Pp. 280.
- LANCZKORONSKA, CAROLINA, and LUCIANUS OLECH, editors. *Elementa ad fontium editiones*. Volume 68, *Documenta ex archivo regionomontano ad Poloniam spectantia, XXXV pars*. Rome: Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae. 1988. Pp. viii. 185.

## SOVIET UNION

- DUROVA, NADEZHDA. *The Cavalry Maiden: Journals of a Russian Officer in the Napoleonic Wars*. Translated and foreword by MARY FLEMING ZIRIN. (Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1988. Pp. xxxvii. 242. \$25.00.
- TOLSTOI, PETER. *The Travel Diary of Peter Tolstoi: A Miscovite in Early Modern Europe*. Translated by MAX J. OKENFUS. Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1987. Pp. xxviii. 359.
- ZAIONCHKOVSKII, P. A., editor. *Istoriia dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii v dnevnikh i vospominaniakh: Annotirovannyi ukazatel' knig i publikatsii v zhurnalakh* [The History of Prerevolutionary Russia in Diaries and Memoirs: An Annotated Index of Books and Publications in Journals]. Volume 2, 1801–1856, in two parts; volume 3, 1857–1894, in three parts; volume 4, 1895–1917, in four parts. Moscow: Kniga. 1977. Pp. 366; 340; 378; 367; 374; 363; 453; 553. 16 r. 14 k. the set.

## NEAR EAST

- BURTON, JOHN, editor. *Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām's K. al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh*. Cambridge, U.K.: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust. 1987. Pp. 192.

## AFRICA

- DE MAREES, PIETER. *Description and Historical Account of the Gold Kingdom of Guinea (1602)*. (Union académique internationale fontes historiae africanae, number 5.) Translated and edited by ALBERT VAN DANTZIG and ADAM JONES. New York: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy. 1987. Pp. xxv. 272. \$79.00.

## ASIA

- RICHARDS, JOHN F. *Document Forms for Official Orders of Appointment in the Mughal Empire: Translation, Notes, and Text*. (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, new series, number 29.) Cambridge, U.K.: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial. 1986. Pp. 78.
- TUCK, PATRICK J. N. *French Catholic Missionaries and the Politics of Imperialism in Vietnam, 1857–1914: A Documentary Survey*. (Liverpool Historical Studies, number 1.) Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. 1987. Pp. 352. £12.50.

## UNITED STATES

- BRASHEAR, JOHN A. *A Man Who Loved the Stars: The Autobiography of John A. Brashear*. Rev. ed. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1988. Pp. xxv. 190. Cloth \$19.95, paper \$9.95.
- BRYANT, KEITH L., JR., editor. *Encyclopedia of American Business History and Bibliography*. Volume 1, *Railroads in the Age of Regulation, 1900–1980*. New York: Facts on File. 1988. Pp. 512. \$75.00.
- BUSCH, BRITON COOPER, editor. *Frémont's Private Navy: The 1846 Journal of Captain William Dane Phelps*. Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark. 1987. Pp. 79. \$36.00.
- BUXBAUM, MELVIN H. *Benjamin Franklin: A Reference Guide, 1907–1983*. (Reference Guide to Literature.) Boston: G. K. Hall. 1988. Pp. viii. 796. \$55.00.
- CLINE, SCOTT, editor. *Guide to the Archives of the City of Seattle*. Seattle, Wash.: Seattle Municipal Archives. 1988. Pp. 234. \$8.00.
- CROW, JEFFREY J., and JAN-MICHAEL POFF, editors. *Addresses and Public Papers of James Baxter Hunt, Jr., Governor of North Carolina*. Volume 2, 1981–1985. Raleigh, N.C.: Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources. 1987. Pp. xxv. 745.
- FLETCHER, EUGENE. *Fletcher's Gang: A B-17 Crew in Europe, 1944–45*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1988. Pp. xv. 267. \$19.95.
- GEHRING, CHARLES T., and WILLIAM A. STARNA, editors. *A Journey into Mohawk and Oneida Country, 1634–1635*. Assisted by GUNTHER MICHELSON. (Iroquois Books.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1988. Pp. xxv. 77. \$17.50.
- GRAYSON, G. W. *A Creek Warrior for the Confederacy: The Autobiography of Chief G. W. Grayson*. Edited by W. DAVID BAIRD. (Civilization of the American Indian Series, number 189.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1988. Pp. xvii. 181. \$16.95.
- HANSEN, RALPH W., and DEBORAH J. ROBERTS. *The Frank Church Papers: A Summary Guide*. Assisted by ELLEN KOGER and DAVID KENNEDY. Boise: Boise State University Library, with the assistance of the Idaho Humanities Council. 1988. Pp. iii. 36.
- HOWELL, WILBUR SAMUEL, editor. *Jefferson's Parliamentary Writings: "Parliamentary Pocket-Book" and a Manual of Parliamentary Practice*. (Papers of Thomas Jefferson; Second Series.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1988. Pp. xxix. 454. \$55.00.
- JONES, GEORGE FENWICK, editor. *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America . . . Edited by Samuel Urbsperger*. Volume 9, 1742. Translated by DON SAVELLE. (Wormsloe Foundation Publications, number 9.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1988. Pp. xii. 287. \$30.00.
- KLOTTER, JAMES C., et al., editors. *The Public Papers of Governor Simeon Willis, 1943–1947*. (Public Papers of the Governors of Kentucky.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1988. Pp. xx. 403. \$30.00.
- KNOX, DONALD. *The Korean War*. Volume 2, *Uncertain Victory*. Assisted by ALFRED COPPEL. San Diego: Harcourt Brace and Jovanovich. 1988. Pp. 516. \$29.95.
- KUPPERMAN, KAREN ORDAHL, editor. *Captain John Smith: A Select Edition of His Writings*. Chapel Hill: University of

- North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 1988. Pp. vi, 290. Cloth \$32.50, paper \$10.95.
- KYVIG, DAVID E., and MARY-ANN BLASIO, compilers. *New Day/New Deal: A Bibliography of the Great American Depression, 1929–1941*. Assisted by DAWN CORLEY et al. (Bibliographies and Indexes in American History, number 9.) New York: Greenwood. 1988. Pp. ix, 306. \$45.00.
- LINDHOLDT, PAUL J., editor. *John Josselyn, Colonial Traveler: A Critical Edition of Two Voyages to New-England*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 1988. Pp. xxxvii, 221. \$27.95.
- MATTES, MERRILL J. *Platte River Road Narratives: A Descriptive Bibliography of Travel over the Great Central Overland Route to Oregon, California, Utah, Colorado, Montana, and Other Western States and Territories, 1812–1866*. Foreword by JAMES A. MICHENER. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 632. \$95.00.
- MILLER, LILLIAN B., and SIDNEY HART, editors. *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family*. Volume 2, *Charles Willson Peale: The Artist as Museum Keeper, 1791–1810*. In two parts. Assisted by DAVID C. WARD. New Haven: Yale University Press, for National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C. 1988. Pp. xlii, 678; xxv, 679–1318. \$105.00 the set.
- PORTER, FRANK W., III, compiler. *Native American Basketry: An Annotated Bibliography*. (Art Reference Collection, number 10.) New York: Greenwood. 1988. Pp. 249. \$39.95.
- Put 'em Across: A History of the 2d Engineer Special Brigade, 1942–1945*. (Studies in Military Engineering, number 2.) Reprint. Fort Belvoir, Va.: Office of History, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. 1988. Pp. 278.
- SEAGER, ROBERT, II, and MELBA PORTER HAY, editors. *The Papers of Henry Clay*. Volume 9, *The Whig Leader: January 1, 1837–December 31, 1843*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1988. Pp. xi, 969. \$50.00.
- SUSMAN, WARREN, and JOHN CHAMBERS, editors. *American History: Selected Reading Lists and Course Outlines from American Colleges and Universities*. Volume 1, *Survey and Chronological Courses*; volume 2, *Selected Topics in Cultural, Social, and Economic History*; volume 3, *Selected Topics in Twentieth Century History*. 2d rev. ed. New York: Markus Wiener. 1987. Pp. 244; 220; 250.
- SZUCS, LORETTO DENNIS, and SANDRA HARGREAVES LUEBKING. *The Archives: A Guide to the National Archives Field Branches*. Salt Lake City: Ancestry. 1988. Pp. xvii, 340. \$27.95.
- THOMPSON, JULIUS E. *The Black Press in Mississippi, 1865–1985: A Directory*. West Cornwall, Conn.: Locust Hill. 1988. Pp. xxiv, 144. \$25.00.
- VANDERWOOD, PAUL J., and FRANK N. SAMPONARO. *Border Fury: A Picture Postcard Record of Mexico's Revolution and U.S. War Preparedness, 1910–1917*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 293. \$27.50.

## Other Books Received

Books listed were received by the *AHR* between April 26 and July 12, 1988. Books that will be reviewed are not usually listed, but listing does not necessarily preclude subsequent review.

### GENERAL

- BLACK, DOUGLAS. *Invitation to Medicine*. (Invitation Series.) New York: Basil Blackwell. 1987. Pp. ix, 223.
- BRAUNFELS, WOLFGANG. *Urban Design in Western Europe: Regime and Architecture, 900-1900*. Translated by KENNETH J. NORTHCOTT. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1988. Pp. xiii, 407. \$49.95.
- CARROLL, DAVID. *Poaeethetics: Foucault, Lyotard, Derrida*. New York: Methuen. 1987. Pp. xviii, 219. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$12.95.
- CASTLEDEN, RODNEY. *The Stonehenge People: An Exploration of Life in Neolithic Britain, 4700-2000 B.C.* New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1987. Pp. xiii, 282. \$25.00.
- CHANDLER, DAVID, editor. *Dictionary of Battles: The World's Key Battles from 405 B.C. to Today*. New York: Henry Holt. 1988. Pp. 255. \$24.95.
- DEMAUSE, LLOYD, editor. *The History of Childhood: The Untold Story of Child Abuse*. Reprint. New York: Peter Bedrick. 1988. Pp. ii, 450. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$12.00.
- DIMBLEBY, DAVID and DAVID REYNOLDS. *An Ocean Apart: The Relationship between Britain and America in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Random House. 1988. Pp. xv, 415. \$24.95.
- DUTTON, DIANA B. *Worse than the Disease: Pitfalls of Medical Progress*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xvi, 528. \$29.95.
- GARDINER, JULIET, editor. *What is History Today . . . ? Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities*. 1988. Pp. vi, 167. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$12.50.
- GLICK, THOMAS F., editor. *The Comparative Reception of Darwinism*. (Conference on the Comparative Reception of Darwinism, 1972.) Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1988. Pp. xxviii, 505. \$17.95.
- GUSTAFSON, LOWELL S. *The Sovereignty Dispute over the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xiii, 268. \$36.00.
- HAMBURGER, VIKTOR. *The Heritage of Experimental Embryology: Hans Spemann and the Organizer*. (Monographs on the History and Philosophy of Biology.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 196. \$29.95.
- KAUFMANN, THOMAS DACOSTA. *The School of Prague: Painting at the Court of Rudolf II*. Rev. ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1988. Pp. xix, 305. \$45.00.
- MARTIN, EMILY. *The Woman in the Body: A Cultural Analysis of Reproduction*. Boston: Beacon. 1987. Pp. xi, 276. \$21.95.
- RICHMOND, ANTHONY H. *Immigration and Ethnic Conflict*. New York: St. Martin's. 1988. Pp. viii, 218. \$37.50.
- RÜSEN, JÖRN. *Rekonstruktion der Vergangenheit: Grundzüge einer Historik II; Die Prinzipien der historischen Forschung*.

- (Kleine Vandenhoeck-Reihe, number 1515.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1986. Pp. 173. DM 20.80.
- TALAR, C. J. T. *Metaphor and Modernist: The Polarization of Alfred Loisy and His Neo-Thomist Critics*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1987. Pp. x, 184. \$19.50.
- WOLFF, ROBERT PAUL. *Moneybags Must Be So Lucky: On the Literary Structure of Capital*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1988. Pp. 82. Cloth \$20.00, paper \$8.95.
- WYNNE, EDWARD A. *Traditional Catholic Religious Orders: Living in Community*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books. 1988. Pp. 285. \$24.95.

### ANCIENT

- FERRILL, ARTHUR. *The Fall of the Roman Empire: The Military Explanation*. Paperback edition. New York: Thames and Hudson. 1988. Pp. 192. \$12.95.
- FONTAINE, PIET F. M. *The Light and the Dark: A Cultural History of Dualism*. Volume 3, *Dualism in Greek Literature and Philosophy in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben. 1988. Pp. xiii, 227.
- GARLAN, YVON. *Slavery in Ancient Greece*. Rev. ed. Translated by JANET LLOYD. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 216. Cloth \$34.50, paper \$12.95.
- GRANT, MICHAEL. *The Rise of the Greeks*. New York: Charles Scribners Sons. 1988. Pp. xv, 391. \$27.50.
- HECKEL, WALDEMAR. *The Last Days and Testament of Alexander the Great: A Prosopographic Study*. (Historia-Einzelschriften, number 56.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1988. Pp. xiv, 114. DM 40.
- HESIOD. *Theogony and Works and Days*. Translated by M. L. WEST. New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xxi, 79. Cloth \$36.00, paper \$4.95.
- HOWE, ROBERT T. and HELEN HOWE. *The Ancient World*. White Plains, N.Y.: Longman. 1988. Pp. xiv, 304.
- JAMES, T. G. H. *Ancient Egypt: The Land and Its Legacy*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1988. Pp. 223. \$29.95.
- LAMBERTON, ROBERT. *Hesiod*. (Hermes Books.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 172. Cloth \$27.50, paper \$9.95.
- LEAR, JONATHAN. *Aristotle: The Desire to Understand*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 328. Cloth \$39.50, paper \$12.95.
- MOMIGLIANO, ARNALDO. *On Pagans, Jews, and Christians*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1987. Pp. xii, 343. \$29.95.
- FAINTER, JOSEPH A. *The Collapse of Complex Societies*. (New Studies in Archaeology.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 250. \$39.50.

### MEDIEVAL

- BYRON, ROBERT. *The Byzantine Achievement: An Historical Perspective, A.D. 330-1453*. Reprint. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1987. Pp. xxxi, 338. \$19.95.



- HOWE, ROBERT T. and HELEN HOWE. *The Medieval World*. White Plains: Longman. 1988. Pp. xiii, 288. \$15.95.
- Kongemagt og Samfund i Middelalderen: Festschrift til Erik Ulsig. Ørhus: Arusia-Historiske Skrifter. 1988. Pp. xx, 464. 260.00 KR.
- LADERO QUESADA, MIGUEL ÁNGEL. *Historia Universal Vicens Universidad*. (Edad Media, number 2.) Barcelona: Vicens-Vives. 1987. Pp. xvii, 999.
- MINNIS, A. J. *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*. (University of Pennsylvania Press Middle Ages Series.) 2d. ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1988. Pp. xxv, 323. \$16.95.
- ROSEN, JOSEF. *Verwaltung und Ungeld in Basel 1360–1535: Zwei Studien zu Stadtfinanzen im Mittelalter*. (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte, number 77.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1986. Pp. 231. DM 58.
- SEWARD, DESMOND. *Henry V: The Scourge of God*. New York: Viking Penguin. 1988. Pp. xix, 251. \$19.95.

## BRITAIN AND IRELAND

- BORZELLO, FRANCES. *Civilising Caliban: The Misuse of Art, 1875–1980*. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1987. Pp. xi, 150. \$45.00.
- BRODSKY, G. W. STEPHEN. *Gentlemen of the Blade: A Social and Literary History of the British Army since 1660*. (Contributions in Military Studies, number 70.) New York: Greenwood. 1988. Pp. xxxiii, 187. \$39.95.
- CHECKLAND, SYDNEY. *The Elgins, 1766–1917: A Tale of Aristocrats, Proconsuls, and Their Wives*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 303. £25.00.
- FABER, RICHARD. *Young England*. Boston: Faber and Faber. 1987. Pp. xii, 276. \$22.95.
- JORDAN, A. G., and J. J. RICHARDSON. *Government and Pressure Groups in Britain*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1987. Pp. vii, 308. \$62.00.
- KAIN, ROGER J. P. *An Atlas and Index of the Tithe Files of Mid-Nineteenth-Century England and Wales*. Assisted by RODNEY E. J. FRY and HARRIET M. E. HOLT. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1986. Pp. xxvii, 651. \$89.50.
- KENYON, J. P. *The Civil Wars of England*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1988. Pp. viii, 272. \$22.95.
- MARWIL, JONATHAN. *Frederic Manning: An Unfinished Life*. Durham: Duke University Press. 1988. Pp. xx, 380. \$22.50.
- MURPHY, DANIEL J. *Lady Gregory's Journals*. Volume 2, *Books Thirty to Forty-Four, 21 February 1925–9 May 1932*. Afterword by COLIN SMYTHE. New York: Oxford University Press. 1987. Pp. 748. \$79.00.
- PERRY, F. W. *The Commonwealth Armies: Manpower and Organisation in Two World Wars*. (War, Armed Forces, and Society.) Manchester: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1988. Pp. 250. \$45.00.
- POCOCK, TOM. *Horatio Nelson*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1987. Pp. xx, 367. \$22.95.
- PUGH, MARTIN. *The Evolution of the British Electoral System, 1832–1987*. (New Appreciations in History, number 15.) London: The Historical Association. 1988. Pp. 32. £3.50.
- PUGH, SIMON. *Garden-Nature-Language*. (Cultural Politics.) Manchester: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1988. Pp. x, 148. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$11.95.
- RIDEN, PHILIP. *Rebuilding a Valley: A History of Cwmbran Development Corporation*. Cwmbran, Wales: Cwmbran Development Corporation; distributed by Alan Sutton, Gloucester. 1988. Pp. xix, 269.
- ROBERTS, ELIZABETH. *Women's Work, 1840–1940*. (Studies in Economic and Social History.) London: Macmillan Edu-

cation; distributed by Humanities, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1988. Pp. 85. \$9.95.

- ROYLE, EDWARD. *Modern Britain: A Social History, 1750–1985*. Baltimore: Edward Arnold. 1987. Pp. xiv, 434.
- SHARPE, J. A. *Early Modern England: A Social History, 1550–1760*. Baltimore: Edward Arnold. 1987. Pp. x, 379. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$19.95.
- SLEE, PETER R. H. *Learning and a Liberal Education: The Study of Modern History in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Manchester, 1800–1914*. Paperback edition. Manchester: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1988. Pp. x, 181. \$19.95.
- THOMPSON, M. W. *The Decline of the Castle*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. viii, 211. \$29.95.
- TREBILCOCK, CLIVE. *Phoenix Assurance and the Development of British Insurance*. Volume 1, 1782–1870. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1985. Pp. xx, 792.
- YOUNG, JAMES D. *Making Trouble: Autobiographical Exploration and Socialism*. Glasgow: Clydeside. 1987. Pp. 129. £4.20.
- ZOCHOWSKI, STANISLAW. *British Policy in Relation to Poland in the Second World War*. New York: Vantage. 1988. Pp. xiv, 207. \$13.95.

## FRANCE

- BELL, D. S., and BYRON CRIDDLE. *The French Socialist Party: The Emergence of a Party of Government*. 2d ed. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 329. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.
- CHISICK, HARVEY. *L'Éducation élémentaire dans un contexte urbain sous l'ancien régime: Amiens aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Amiens: Ansel; distributed by the Centre Universitaire de Recherche Sociologique d'Amiens, Université de Picardie, Amiens. 1982. Pp. 94.
- DUNIN-WĄSOWICZ, KRZYSZTOF. *Francuska opinia publiczna wobec sprawy polskiej i Polaków w latach 1885–1894* [French Public Opinion Regarding the Polish Question and the Poles, 1885–94.] (Polska Akademia Nauk; Instytut Historii.) Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich. 1987. Pp. 251. 360 Zł.
- MILNER, JOHN. *The Studios of Paris: The Capital of Art in the Late Nineteenth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1988. Pp. vii, 248; 303 plates. \$39.95.
- VAN DAVIDSON, RONDEL. *Did We Think Victory Great? The Life and Ideas of Victor Considerant*. New York: University Press of America. 1988. Pp. vii, 345. Cloth \$28.50, paper \$17.25.
- SIMON, YVES R. *The Road to Vichy, 1918–1938*. Rev. ed. Foreword by JOHN HELLMAN. Translated by JAMES A. CORBETT and GEORGE J. MCMORROW. New York: University Press of America. 1988. Pp. xxxiv, 212. \$12.75.

## NORTHERN EUROPE

- ANDREEN, PER G. *Gustaf Frederik Wirsén, 1779–1827*. Vänersborgs, Sweden: Vänersborg. 1987. Pp. 120. 100 KR.
- BLÜDNIKOW, BENT. *Immigranter: De østeuropæiske jøder i København 1905–1920* [Immigrants: East European Jews in Copenhagen, 1905–1920]. Borgen, Denmark: Narayana. 1986. Pp. 223.
- HEIKKILÄ, HANNU. *Lähtöuuneet ja kysymys suomen sotakorvauksista, 1943–1947* [The Allied Countries and the Question of Finnish Reparations to the Soviet Union, 1943–47]. Summary in English. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 121.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1983. Pp. 231.
- SUVANTO, SEPPÖ. *Knaapista populiin: Tutkimuksia erilaistumisesta Satakunnan talonpojistossa vuosina 1390–1571* [From Knaappi to Populi: The Process of Differentiation of the Peasantry of Satakunta, 1390–1571]. Summary in German. (Historiallisia

Tutkimuksia, number 142.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1987. Pp. 375.

## GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

- ANGRESS, WERNER T. *Between Fear and Hope: Jewish Youth in the Third Reich*. Translated by WERNER T. ANGRESS and CHRISTINE GRANGER. New York: Columbia University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 187. \$25.00.
- CARSTEN, FRANCIS L. *Geschichte der preussischen Junker*. (Neue Historische Bibliothek.) Frankfurt, F.R.G.: Suhrkamp. 1988. Pp. 223. DM 14.
- CLAUSSEN, DETLEV. *Grenzen der Aufklärung: Zur gesellschaftlichen Geschichte des modernen Antisemitismus*. Frankfurt F.R.G.: Fischer. 1987. Pp. 232. DM 16.80.
- DEGEN, BERNARD. *Das Basel der andern: Geschichte der Basler Gewerkschaftsbewegung*. Basel: Z-Verlag. 1986. Pp. 199. 25 FR.
- ELKINS, THOMAS HENRY. *Berlin: The Spatial Structure of a Divided City*. Assisted by B. HOFMEISTER. New York: Methuen. 1988. Pp. xvi, 274. \$70.00.
- GRIMM, DIETER. *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte 1776–1866*. (Neue Historische Bibliothek.) Frankfurt, F.R.G.: Suhrkamp. 1988. Pp. 269. DM 16.
- HEIBER, HELMUT. *Adolf Hitler: A Short Biography*. Translated by LAWRENCE WILSON. Paperback edition. London: Oswald Wolff; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1988. Pp. 192. \$10.95.
- FRITSCH-BOURNAZEL, RENATA. *Confronting the German Question: Germans on the East-West Divide*. Translated by CAROLINE BRAY. Foreword by ROGER MORGAN. New York: Berg; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1988. Pp. 150. \$28.00.
- JAEGER, HANS. *Geschichte der Wirtschaftsordnung in Deutschland*. (Neue Historische Bibliothek.) Frankfurt, F.R.G.: Suhrkamp. 1988. Pp. 291. DM 16.
- MAUERSBERG, HANS. *Bayerische Entwicklungspolitik 1818–1923: Die etatmässigen bayerischen Industrie- und Kulturfonds*. (Schriftenreihe zur Bayerischen Landesgeschichte, number 85.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1987. Pp. viii, 160.
- PARKER, GEOFFREY. *The Thirty Years War*. Paperback edition. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1987. Pp. xliii, 340. \$15.95.
- PIRILLO, NESTORE. *L'uomo di mondo fra morale e ceto: Kant e le trasformazioni del Moderno*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico, number 7.) Bologna: Il Mulino. 1987. Pp. 360. L. 34,000.
- NINKOVICH, FRANK. *Germany and the United States: The Transformation of the German Question since 1945*. (Twayne's International History Series, number 20.) Boston: Twayne. 1988. Pp. xv, 201. \$24.95.
- SAAGE, RICHARD. *Arbeiterbewegung, Faschismus, Neokonservatismus*. Frankfurt, F.R.G.: Suhrkamp. 1987. Pp. 272. DM 18.
- SCHIERA, PIERANGELO. *Il laboratorio borghese: Scienza e politica nella Germania dell'Ottocento*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico, number 5.) Bologna: Il Mulino. 1987. Pp. 426. L. 40,000.
- SCHULZ, GERHARD. *Zwischen Demokratie und Diktatur: Verfassungspolitik und Reichsreform in der Weimarer Republik*. Volume 1, *Die Periode der Konsolidierung und der Revision des Bismarckschen Reichsaufbaus 1919–1930*. 2d rev. ed. New York: Walter de Gruyter. 1987. Pp. xiv, 689. DM 198.
- SCHURZ, CARL. *Lebenserinnerungen: Vom deutschen Freiheitskämpfer zum amerikanischen Staatsmann*. (Bibliothek der Weltgeschichte.) Edited by SIGISMUND VON RADECKI. Foreword by THEODOR HEUSS. Zurich: Manesse. 1988. Pp. 533. 36.60 FR.
- SCHWOK, RENE. *Interprétations de la politique étrangère de Hitler: Une analyse de l'historiographie*. (Publications de l'Institut

Universitaire de Hautes Etudes Internationales de Genève.) Foreword by SAUL FRIEDLANDER. Paris: Universitaires de France. 1987. Pp. 217. 150 fr.

SHIRER, WILLIAM L. *Berlin Diary: The Journal of a Foreign Correspondent, 1934–1941*. Reprint. Boston: Little, Brown. 1988. Pp. vi, 605. \$12.95.

SPREE, REINHARD. *Health and Social Class in Imperial Germany: A Social History of Mortality, Morbidity, and Inequality*. Foreword by PAUL WEINDLING. Translated by STUART MCKINNON-EVANS. New York: Berg; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1988. Pp. 246. \$42.50.

VASOLD, MANFRED. *Rudolf Virchow: Der grosse Arzt und Politiker*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1988. Pp. 424. DM 48.

ZIEGER, GOTTFRIED, editor. *Wilhelm Wengler: Schriften zur deutschen Frage 1948–1986*. (Aus Anlass seines 80. Geburtstages.) New York: Walter de Gruyter. 1987. Pp. xiv, 607. DM 298.

## ITALY

- GINZBURG, CARLO. *The Enigma of Piero: Piero della Francesca; the Baptism, the Arezzo cycle, the Flagellation*. Paperback edition. Foreword by PETER BURKE. Translated by MARTIN RYLE and KATE SOPER. London: Verso; distributed by Routledge, New York. 1985. Pp. 164; 94 plates. \$12.95.
- MARCHINI, NELLI-ELENA VANZAN. *L'ospedale dei veneziani: Storia, patrimonio, progetto*. Venice: Assessorato all Programmazione Sanitaria or ULSS 16, Venice. Pp. 126.

## SOVIET UNION

- BILOCERKOWYCZ, JAROSLAW. *Soviet Ukrainian Dissent: A Study of Political Alienation*. (Westview Special Studies on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1988. Pp. xii, 242. \$27.50.
- EISENSTEIN, SERGEL. *Nonindifferent Nature*. Translated by HERBERT MARSHALL. (Cambridge Studies in Film.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. xxv, 428. \$37.50.
- HELLER, MIKHAIL. *Cogs in the Wheel: The Formation of Soviet Man*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1988. Pp. xx, 293. \$22.95.
- Litopis komunistichnogo budivnistva: Khronika naivazhlyvishkikh podii v Ukraini RSR (1981–1985): Dovidnik* [Annals of Communist Construction: Chronicles of the Most Important Events in the Ukrainian SSR (1981–1985); Reference Handbook]. Kiev: Naukova Dumka. 1987. Pp. 333. 2 krb. 60 k.
- LUCKETT, RICHARD. *The White Generals: An Account of the White Movement and the Russian Civil War*. Reprint. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1987. Pp. xvi, 413. \$25.00.
- PORTER, CATHY. *Women in Revolutionary Russia*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. 48. \$4.95.
- SICKER, MARTIN. *The Strategy of Soviet Imperialism: Expansion in Eurasia*. New York: Praeger. 1988. Pp. 172. \$37.95.
- WILLIAMS, BERYL. *The Russian Revolution, 1917–1921*. (Historical Association Studies.) New York: Basil Blackwell. 1987. Pp. 119. \$7.95.

## NEAR EAST

- EL-DIN, MORSI SAAD, et al. *Cairo: The Site and the History*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1988. Pp. 99. \$24.95.
- ENDRESS, GERHARD. *An Introduction to Islam*. Translated by CAROLE HILLENBRAND. New York: Columbia University Press. 1988. Pp. ix, 294. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$12.00.
- HIJAB, NADIA. *Womanpower: The Arab Debate on Women at Work*. (Cambridge Middle East Library.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 176. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$11.95.

- JOUDAH, AHMAD HASAN. *Revolt in Palestine in the Eighteenth Century: The Era of Shaykh Zahir al-'Umar*. Princeton, N.J.: Kingston. 1987. Pp. 163. \$25.00.
- KONZELMANN, GERHARD. *Der unheilige Krieg: Krisenherde im Nahen Osten*. Paperback edition. Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag. 1988. Pp. 529. DM 14.80.
- LAMBTON, ANN K. S. *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia: Aspects of Administrative, Economic, and Social History, 11th-14th Century*. (Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies, number 2.) Albany, N.Y.: Bibliotheca Persica for the Persian Heritage Foundation; distributed by State University of New York Press. 1988. Pp. 425.
- MIQUEL, ANDRE. *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du II<sup>e</sup> siècle: Les travaux et les jours*. (Civilisations et Sociétés, number 78.) Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales. 1988. Pp. 387. 280 fr.
- NASHAT, GUTTY, editor. *Middle Eastern History: Selected Reading Lists and Course Outlines from American Colleges and Universities*. New York: Markus Wiener. 1987. Pp. 302.
- SADER, HÉLÈNE S. *Les états araméens de Syrie: Depuis leur fondation jusqu'à leur transformation en provinces assyriennes*. (Beirut Texts and Studies, number 36.) Beirut: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, in association with Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden. 1987. pp. xiii. 306. DM 74.
- ZIRKE, HEIDI. *Ein hagiographisches Zeugnis zur persischen Geschichte aus der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts: Das achte Kapitel des Safwat as-safā in kritischer Bearbeitung*. (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, number 120.) Berlin: Klaus Schwarz. 1987. Pp. 282.
- AFRICA
- DUNN, D. ELWOOD, and S. BYRON TARR. *Liberia: A National Polity in Transition*. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow. 1988. Pp. xii. 259. \$32.50.
- ELLIS, FRANK. *Peasant Economies: Farm Households and Agrarian Development*. (Wye Studies in Agricultural and Rural Development.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv. 257.
- LEWIS, I. M. *A Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*. Rev. ed. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1988. Pp. xiii. 297. \$29.50.
- RAZUMOVSKY, DOROTHEA, and ELISABETH WATJEN. *Kinder und Gewalt in Südafrika*. Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag. 1988. Pp. 195. DM 9.80.
- ASIA
- CARTER, PAUL. *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1988. Pp. xxv. 384. \$22.95.
- CHANDA, NAYAN. *Brother Enemy: The War after the War*. Reprint. New York: Collier Books of Macmillan. 1988. Pp. xiv. 479. \$12.95.
- COHN, BERNARD S. *An Anthropologist among the Historians and Other Essays*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1987. Pp. xxvi. 682. \$48.00.
- CONNOLLY, BOB, and ROBIN ANDERSON. *First Contact: New Guinea's Highlanders Encounter the Outside World*. New York: Viking Penguin. 1987. Pp. ix. 317. \$19.95.
- DAVISON, GRAEME, et al. *Australians: A Historical Library*. Volume 3. *Australians, 1888*. McMahon's Point Broadway, Australia: Fairfax, Syme, and Weldon; distributed by Cambridge University Press, New York. 1987. Pp. xviii. 474.
- GARRETT, VALERY M. *Traditional Chinese Clothing in Hong Kong and South China, 1840-1980*. (Images of Asia.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1987. Pp. vii. 87. \$13.95.
- GORDON, ANDREW. *The Evolution of Labor Relations in Japan: Heavy Industry, 1853-1955*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 117; Subseries on the History of Japanese Business and Industry.) Reprint. Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University; distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1988. Pp. xvi. 524. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$14.00.
- HONIG, EMILY, and GAIL HERSHATTER. *Personal Choices: Chinese Women in the 1980s*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1988. Pp. vi. 387. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$12.95.
- LEE, KI-BAIK. *A New History of Korea*. Translated by EDWARD W. WAGNER assisted by EDWARD J. SHULTZ. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, for Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge. 1984. Pp. xxii. 474. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$12.95.
- POWELL, J. M. *An Historical Geography of Modern Australia: The Restive Fringe*. (Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, number 11.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xx. 400. \$54.50.
- SPENCE, JONATHAN D. *Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor: Bondservant and Master*. (Yale Historical Publications, number 85.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1988. Pp. xvii. 329. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$13.95.
- UNITED STATES
- AINSWORTH, CATHERINE HARRIS. *Family Life of Young Americans*. Buffalo, N.Y.: Clyde. 1986. Pp. vi. 266.
- ALLEY, ROBERT S., editor. *The Supreme Court on Church and State*. Rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv. 445. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$15.95.
- ANSON, ROBERT SAM. *Best Intentions: The Education and Killing of Edmund Perry*. Paperback edition. New York: Vintage of Random House. 1988. Pp. 221. \$6.95.
- BADER, ROBERT SMITH. *Hayseeds, Moralizers, and Methodists: The Twentieth-Century Image of Kansas*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1988. Pp. xi. 241. Cloth \$17.95, paper \$7.95.
- BAILY, BERNARD. *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction*. (Curti Lectures, 1985.) Paperback edition. New York: Vintage of Random House. 1988. Pp. xiii. 177. \$5.95.
- BAILY, BERNARD. *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution*. Assisted by BARBARA DEWOLFE. Paperback edition. New York: Vintage of Random House. 1988. Pp. xxvii. 668. \$14.95.
- BARRETT, PAUL W., and MARY H. BARRETT. *Young Brothers Massacre*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1988. Pp. vi. 149. \$9.95.
- BREMNER, ROBERT H. *American Philanthropy*. (Chicago History of American Civilization.) 2d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1988. Pp. xi. 291. Cloth \$28.50, paper \$10.95.
- BREWER, PRISCILLA J. *Shaker Communities, Shaker Lives*. Paperback edition. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 1986. Pp. xviii. 273. \$12.95.
- BROWN, THAD A. *Migration and Politics: The Impact of Population Mobility on American Voting Behavior*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1988. Pp. xxi. 198. \$29.95.
- BURCH, ERNEST S., JR., and WERNER FORMAN. *The Eskimos*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1988. Pp. 128. \$22.50.
- BURNER, DAVID, and THOMAS R. WEST. *Column Right: Conservative Journalists in the Service of Nationalism*. New York: New York University Press. 1988. Pp. 115.
- BURROUGHS, STEPHEN. *Memoirs of Stephen Burroughs*. Foreword by PHILIP F. GURA. Reprint. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 1988. Pp. xxiii. 367. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$14.95.
- BUTTA, GIUSEPPE. *Sovranità: Diritto di voto e rappresentanza in Massachusetts e South Carolina, 1776-1860*. (Università degli studi di Messina: Studi Storici, number 4.) Milan: Dott. A. Diuffrè. 1988. Pp. viii. 208. L. 20,000.
- CASHMAN, SEAN DENNIS. *America in the Gilded Age: From the Death of Lincoln to the Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*. 2d. ed.

- New York: New York University Press. 1988. Pp. xvi, 408. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$17.50.
- CHMIELEWSKI, WENDY E., editor. *Guide to Sources on Women in the Swarthmore College Peace Collection*. Swarthmore, Pa.: Swarthmore College Peace Collection. 1988. Pp. x, 118.
- COLLINS, MICHAEL. *Liftoff: The Story of America's Adventure in Space*. Assisted by JAMES DEAN. New York: Grove; distributed by Random House. New York. 1988. Pp. xi, 288. \$25.00.
- COUSINS, NORMAN, editor. *The Republic of Reason: The Personal Philosophies of the Founding Fathers*. Paperback edition. New York: Harper and Row. 1988. Pp. xiii, 463. \$10.95.
- CRISMAN, KEVIN J. *The Eagle: An American Brig on Lake Champlain during the War of 1812*. Shelburne, Vt.: New England Press, in association with the Naval Institute Press. Annapolis, Md. 1987. Pp. xii, 276. \$24.95.
- CUTLER, THOMAS J. *Brown Water, Black Berets: Coastal and Riverine Warfare in Vietnam*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 426. \$21.95.
- DAVIS, BURKE. *Sherman's March*. (Vintage Civil War Library.) Paperback edition. New York: Vintage of Random House. 1988. Pp. viii, 335. \$7.95.
- DE LEON, DAVID. *Everything Is Changing: Contemporary U.S. Movements in Historical Perspective*. New York: Praeger. 1988. Pp. xvii, 285. Cloth \$47.95, paper \$14.95.
- DELORIA, VINE, JR. *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. Paperback edition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1988. Pp. xiii, 278. \$8.95.
- DOUGAN, CLARK, and STEPHEN WEISS. *The American Experience in Vietnam*. Assisted by KATHLEEN A. REIDY. New York: W. W. Norton or Boston Publishing Company, Boston. 1988. Pp. 352. \$39.95.
- EKLUND, EMMET E. *His Name Was Jonas: A Biography of Jonas Swenson*. Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Historical Society. 1988. Pp. xiii, 176. \$22.50.
- EMRICH, DUNCAN. *Folklore on the American Land*. Paperback edition. Boston: Little, Brown. 1972. Pp. xxviii, 707. \$12.95.
- FRÉMONT, JOHN C. *The Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*. Foreword by HERMAN J. VIOLA and RALPH E. EHRENBERG. (Exploring the American West.) Reprint. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1988. Pp. xv, 319. \$14.95.
- GIBSON, JAMES WILLIAM. *The Perfect War: The War We Couldn't Lose and How We Did*. Paperback edition. New York: Vintage of Random House. 1988. Pp. x, 523. \$12.95.
- GRUBB, W. NORTON, and MARVIN LAZERSON. *Broken Promises: How Americans Fail Their Children*. Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1988. Pp. ix, 384. \$14.95.
- HAHN, HAROLD M. *Ships of the American Revolution and Their Models*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 1988. Pp. 286.
- HEALY, DIANA DIXON. *America's First Ladies: Private Lives of the Presidential Wives*. New York: Athencum. 1988. Pp. xvi, 254. \$18.95.
- HIGHAM, JOHN. *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*. 2d. ed. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 447. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$10.00.
- HOOK, SIDNEY. *Out of Step*. Paperback edition. New York: Carroll and Graf. 1988. Pp. viii, 628. \$14.95.
- HOROWITZ, HELEN LEFKOWITZ. *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present*. Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1988. Pp. xviii, 330. \$13.95.
- INDERFURTH, KARL F., and LOCH K. JOHNSON, editors. *Decisions of the Highest Order: Perspectives on the National Security Council*. Pacific Grove, Calif.: Brooks/Cole of Wadsworth. 1988. Pp. xvi, 357.
- JOHNSTON, NORMAN J. *Washington's Audacious State Capitol and Its Builders*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1988. Pp. 144. \$24.95.
- JONES, H. G., editor. *Raleigh and Quinn: The Explorer and His Boswell*. (North Caroliniana Society Imprints, number 14.) Chapel Hill: North Caroliniana Society and the North Carolina Collection. 1987. Pp. 270. \$25.00.
- KAZAN, ELIA. *Elia Kazan: A Life*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1988. Pp. 848. \$24.95.
- KENNEY, GEORGE C. *General Kenney Reports: A Personal History of the Pacific War*. (USAF Warrior Studies.) Reprint. Washington, D.C.: Office of Air Force History, U.S. Air Force. 1987. Pp. xviii, 594.
- KIMBALL, STANLEY B. *Historic Sites and Markers along the Mormon and Other Great Western Trails*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1988. Pp. xviii, 320. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$15.95.
- KULICK, BRUCE. *The Good Ruler: From Herbert Hoover to Richard Nixon*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 202. \$17.95.
- LANE, ANN J., editor. *Mary Ritter Beard: A Sourcebook*. Paperback edition. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 252. \$11.95.
- MCCRAW, THOMAS K., editor. *The Essential Alfred Chandler: Essays toward a Historical Theory of Big Business*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press. 1988. Pp. vi, 538. \$35.00.
- MYERS, KENNETH. *The Catskills: Painters, Writers, and Tourists in the Mountains, 1820-1895*. Assisted by MARGARET FAVRETTI. Foreword by JULES D. BROWN. Yonkers, N.Y.: Hudson River Museum of Westchester; distributed by University Press of New England, Hanover, N.H. 1987. Pp. 205. \$24.95.
- NELSON, WILLIAM E., and ROBERT C. PALMER. *Liberty and Community: Constitution and Rights in the Early American Republic*. Foreword by FREDERICK SCHAUER. (New York University School of Law Series in Legal History.) New York: Oceana. 1987. Pp. 155. \$25.00.
- O'CONNOR, JESSIE LLOYD, et al. *Harvey and Jessie: A Couple of Radicals*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1988. Pp. xxi, 259. \$24.95.
- PICTET, JEAN. *L'épopée des Peaux-Rouges*. (Collection Petite et Grande Histoire.) Lausanne, Switzerland: Favre. 1988. Pp. 826. 150 fr.
- SCHANKE, ROBERT A. *Ibsen in America: A Century of Change*. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow. 1988. Pp. xix, 322. \$32.50.
- SHAVIT, DAVID. *The United States in the Middle East: A Historical Dictionary*. New York: Greenwood. 1988. Pp. xxiv, 441. \$65.00.
- SHELDON, ASA. *Yankee Drower: Bring the Unpretending Life of Asa Sheldon, Farmer, Trader, and Working Man, 1788-1870*. Foreword by JOHN SEELYE. Paperback edition. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 1988. Pp. xxi, 192. \$9.95.
- SINCLAIR, UPTON. *The Jungle*. Edited by JAMES R. BARRETT. (Prairie State Book.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1988. Pp. xxxiii, 353. Cloth \$32.50, paper \$9.95.
- SSha v epokhu imperializma: Nekotorye tendentsii sotsial'no-ekonomicheskogo i obshchestvenno-politicheskogo razvitiia [The United States in the Epoch of Imperialism: Some Tendencies of Socioeconomic and Sociopolitical Development]. (Problemy amerikanistiki, number 5.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta. 1987. Pp. 317. 3r. 90k.
- STANSBURY, HOWARD. *Exploration of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake*. Foreword by DON D. FOWLER. (Exploring the American West.) Reprint. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1988. Pp. xiii, 421. \$24.95.
- STEWART, ELINORE PRUITT. *Letters of a Woman Homesteader*. Foreword by GRETA EHRlich. Paperback edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1988. Pp. xxi, 282. \$7.95.
- TAYLOR, SUSIE KING. *A Black Woman's Civil War Memoirs: Reminiscences of My Life in Camp with the 33rd U.S. Colored*



- Troops, Late 1st South Carolina Volunteers.* Edited by PATRICIA W. ROMERO. Foreword by WILLIE LEE ROSE. Reprint. New York: Markus Wiener. 1988. Pp. 154. \$7.95.
- THOMAS, EMORY M. *Bold Dragoon: The Life of J. E. B. Stuart.* (Vintage Civil War Library.) Paperback edition. New York: Vintage of Random House. 1988. Pp. xi, 354. \$8.95.
- WALTON, HANES, JR. *When the Marching Stopped: The Politics of Civil Rights Regulatory Agencies.* (SUNY Series in Afro-American Studies.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1988. Pp. xxiv, 263.
- WEBER, MICHAEL P. *Don't Call Me Boss: David L. Lawrence, Pittsburgh's Renaissance Mayor.* (Pittsburgh Series in Social and Labor History.) Paperback edition. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1988. Pp. xxii, 440. \$16.95.
- WEISNER, STEPHEN G. *Embattled Editor: The Life of Samuel Bowles.* Lanham, Md.: University Press of America or Institute for Massachusetts Studies. 1986. Pp. xii, 156. Cloth \$23.50, paper \$12.50.
- WESTON, JACK. *The Real American Cowboy.* Paperback edition. New York: New Amsterdam. 1988. Pp. xviii, 267. \$11.95.
- WITCOVER, JULES. *85 Days: The Last Campaign of Robert Kennedy.* (Quill.) Reprint. New York: William Morrow. 1988. Pp. 365. \$10.95.
- Canadiennes.) Brussels: Université de Bruxelles. 1986. Pp. 152. 795 F.
- PHARAND, DONAT. *Canada's Arctic Waters in International Law.* (Studies in Polar Research.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xvii, 288. \$49.50.
- STACEY, C. P. *Canada and the Age of Conflict: A History of Canadian External Policies. Volume 1, 1867-1921.* Reprint. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1984. Pp. 410. \$17.50.

## LATIN AMERICA

- ALFARO, ELOY. *Narraciones historicas.* Foreword by MALCOLM D. DEAS. (Biblioteca de historia ecuatoriana, number 6.) Quito: Nacional. 1983. Pp. 432. \$9.50.
- ANDRADE, ROBERTO. *Historia del Ecuador.* In four volumes. Foreword by MANUAL CHIRIBOGA VEGA. (Biblioteca de historia ecuatoriana.) 2d. ed. Quito: Nacional. 1984. Pp. 450; 429; 319; 333. \$31.25 the set.
- DESTRUGE, CAMILO. *Historia de la prensa de Guayaquil.* In two volumes. Foreword by ABEL ROMEO CASTILLO. (Biblioteca de historia ecuatoriana, number 3.) 2d ed. Quito: Nacional. 1982. Pp. 330, 261. \$14.00 the set.
- HADINGHAM, EVAN. *Lines to the Mountain Gods: Nazca and the Mysteries of Peru.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 307. \$15.95.
- MERA, JUAN LEON. *La dictadura y la restauración en la república del Ecuador: Ensayo historico.* Foreword by RAFAEL QUINTERO. (Biblioteca de historia ecuatoriana, number 2.) 2d ed. Quito: Nacional. 1982. Pp. 278. \$6.50.
- STONE, IRVING. *The Composition and Distribution of British Investment in Latin America, 1865 to 1913.* (South American and Latin American Economic History.) New York: Garland. 1987. Pp. xi, 502.
- VERNAZA, ALBERTO MUNOZ. *Origenes de la nacionalidad ecuatoriana y otros ensayos.* Foreword by JUAN CORDERO INIGUEZ. (Biblioteca de historia ecuatoriana, number 8.) Quito: Nacional. 1984. Pp. 274. \$6.50.
- CANADA
- GAGNON, JEAN-PIERRE. *Le 22<sup>e</sup> bataillon (Canadien-Français) 1914-1919: Etude socio-militaire.* Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval, in collaboration with Le Ministère de la Défense Nationale and Le Centre d'Édition du Gouvernement du Canada. 1986. Pp. xix, 459. Can \$29.00
- KRUGAN-VAN, HENTENRYK G. and J. LAUREYSENS. *Un siècle d'investissements belges au Canada.* (Centre d'Études



---

# Communications

---

*A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editor's discretion. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."*

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### TO THE EDITOR:

I must respond to Anthony Sutcliffe's review of my book *Modern France: Theories and Realities of Town Planning* (AHR, 93 [1988]: 719). Mr. Sutcliffe's review is thoroughly misleading. For example, he reports that my book argues that the French architect Le Corbusier created the large French apartment complexes, *les grands ensembles*, when in fact the book says quite the opposite. Le Corbusier created the functionalist approach to design and applied it to standardized housing units in his Pessac project of the 1920s. After World War II, the next generation of architects built the great housing complexes from these conceptual building blocks. Le Corbusier himself was excluded from participating in these projects by the French government because he had been actively involved in urban policy making for the collaborationist Vichy regime. Mr. Sutcliffe's other objections fall away just as quickly with any careful reading of the text.

Mr. Sutcliffe has neglected to report that my interpretation of town planning fundamentally disagrees with his own thesis that town planning has been "defeated" in France. On the contrary, French town planning is a deeply flawed process that developed its major theories and methods of implemen-

tation during the highly atypical period between 1900 and 1950, when Europe was either engaged in total war or in preparation for total war. In that historical climate, private property rights were substantially reduced across Europe, and government regulation was more generally accepted than during the previous century of relative peace. In countries like the Soviet Union, which abolished older definitions of property, planning became a powerful, institutionalized process. In France and England, where the propertied interests held considerable political power, planning developed in a less systematic and complete fashion. In the West, planning only succeeded when it coopted consumers and investors around the general need to defend national interests against predatory neighbors. Today, after a generation of peace in Europe, planning institutions and processes are being retrenched—from Mikhail Gorbachev's Russia to the deregulation efforts of Margaret Thatcher in Britain and Jacques Chirac in France. In Western Europe, the turn away from a high level of property regulation toward open-market optimization seems to have produced a return to slowly growing housing stocks, popular crowding, and more homeless people as well as other signs of urban distress that also characterized late nineteenth-century cities. My book explains why these conditions are the norm for France and that the period of intense planning was an aberration unlikely to be repeated during peacetime. French town planning is flawed because it cannot be dominant over market forces during normal economic conditions.

PEGGY ANNE PHILLIPS  
*University of Miami*

Anthony Sutcliffe declines to respond.

THE EDITOR

---

## Index to *American Historical Review*, Volume 93

---

The titles of articles in the *AHR* are printed in italics, and titles of books reviewed are in quotation marks. Books of collected essays are designated by (E). The reviewer of a book is designated by (R), the author of a letter for the communications sections by (C).

- Abbott, Carl (R), 510  
 Abbott, Philip, "Seeking Many Inventions: The Idea of Community in America," 1106  
 Abbott, Philip, "States of Perfect Freedom: Autobiography and American Political Thought," 489  
 Abbott, Richard H. (R), 776, 1404  
 Abdallah, Habib Ben, "De l'iqta' étatique à l'iqta' militaire: Translation économique et changements sociaux à Bagdad, 247-447 de l'Hégire, 861-1055 ap. J.," 744  
 Abel, Christopher, and Nissa Torrents, editors, "José Martí: Revolutionary Democrat," 1146  
 "Abendland und Sarazenen," by Rotter, 1030  
 Abraham, Richard, "Alexander Kerensky: The First Love of the Revolution," 1369  
 "Abraham Baldwin," by Coulter, 1113  
 Abrams, Ann Uhry (R), 227  
 "Absolutismus," by Kunisch, 409  
 "The Academic Profession," edited by Clark (E), 537  
 "Accommodation and Resistance," by Rice-Maximin, 434  
 Adams, R. J. Q. (R), 1332  
 Adamson, Walter L. (R), 1011  
 "Adam von Trott zu Solz," by Malone, 447  
 "Adenauer und die rheinische Republik," by Köhler, 725  
 Adler, Jacob, and Robert M. Kamins, "The Fantastic Life of Walter Murray Gibson: Hawaii's Minister of Everything," 1407  
 "Admiral William Shepherd Benson," by Klachko, 1126  
 Adshead, K., "Politics of the Archaic Peloponnese: The Transition from Archaic to Classical Politics," 125  
 "Adventism in America," edited by Land, 1107  
 Africa, Thomas W. (R), 1026  
 "Africa and the Second World War," edited by Killingray and Rathbone, 473  
 "African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean," by Klein, 800  
 Aftalion, Florin, "L'économie de la Révolution française," 1063  
 "After Removal," edited by Wells and Tubby, 219  
 "After the West Was Won," by Nelson, 513  
 "The Ages of Man," by Burrow, 677  
 "Agrarian Bengal," by Bose, 1101  
 "Agrarian Reform and Public Enterprise in Mexico," by Brannon and Baklanoff, 1149  
 "'Agrarians' and 'Aristocrats,'" by Ashworth, 1115  
 "Ai Ssu-chi's Contribution to the Development of Chinese Marxism," by Fogel, 1380  
 Ajello, R., *et al.*, editors, "L'età dei Lumi: Studi storici sul Settecento europeo in onore di Franco Venturi" (E), 539  
 Albanese, Catherine L. (R), 765  
 Albertson, Dean (R), 1420  
 Albisetti, James C. (R), 172  
 Aldcroft, Derek H. (R), 1336  
 Alexander, J. T. (R), 737  
 Alexander, June Granatir, "The Immigrant Church and Community: Pittsburgh's Slovak Catholics and Lutherans, 1880-1915," 1410  
 Alexander, Robert J. (R), 534  
 "Alexander Crummell," by Rigsby, 670  
 "Alexander Kerensky," by Abraham, 1369  
 Alföldy, Géza, "Römische Heeresgeschichte: Beiträge 1962-1985" (E), 267  
 "Alfred Gilbert," by Dorment, 1054  
 Allen, Calvin H., Jr., "Oman: The Modernization of the Sultanate," 748  
 Allen, Gay Wilson, and Roger Asselineau, "St. John de Crèvecoeur: The Life of an American Farmer," 1395  
 Allen, James B., "Trials of Discipleship: The Story of William Clayton, a Mormon," 1400  
 Allen, James Smith (R), 1061  
 Alpern, Sara, "Freda Kirchwey: A Woman of *The Nation*," 1132  
 Alvarez, David, and Carl Guarneri, editors, "Religion and Society in the American West: Historical Essays" (E), 543  
 Amann, Peter H. (R), 1342  
 "The Amateur and the Professional," by Levine, 1330  
 "The Ambiguous Relationship," by Turk, 1413  
 Amdur, Kathryn E., "Syndicalist Legacy: Trade Unions and Politics in Two French Cities in the Era of World War I," 432  
 Amelang, James S. (R), 164  
 "American Bullion in the European World Trade, 1600-1800," by Attman, 680  
 "American Frontier and Western Issues," edited by Nichols, 759  
 "American High," by O'Neill, 525  
 "American Humor," edited by Dudden (E), 543

- "American Immigrant Leaders, 1800–1910," by Greene, 761
- "The American Indian and the Problem of History," edited by Martin, 217
- "American Indian Policy and American Reform," by Bolt, 1103
- "American Indians, Time, and the Law," by Wilkinson, 529
- "American Literature and the Academy," by Vanderbilt, 517
- "American Philosophy," edited by Singer (E), 271
- "The American President Lines and Its Forebears, 1848–1984," by Niven, 1109
- "The American Revolution and Eighteenth-Century Culture," edited by Korshin, 230
- "The American Synagogue," edited by Wertheimer (E), 1438
- "The American Victorian Woman," by Donnelly, 222
- "American Writers and Radical Politics, 1900–39," by Homberger, 1128
- "America—One Land, One People," edited by Baron (E), 271
- Am I a Camera? Other Reflections on Films and History*, by Herlihy, 1186–92
- Ammerman, David L. (R), 231
- "Amministrazione della giustizia e poteri di polizia dagli stati preunitari alla caduta della destra" (E), 817
- Amundsen, Darrel W., and Ronald L. Numbers, editors, "Caring and Curing: Health Medicine in the Western Religious Traditions" (E), 266
- Anani, Ahmad, and Ken Whittingham, "The Early History of the Gulf Arabs," 1093
- "The Ancient Arabs," by Eph'al, 673
- Anderson, Alan B., and George W. Pickering, "Confronting the Color Line: The Broken Promise of the Civil Rights Movement in Chicago," 797
- Anderson, Catherine, and Caroline Loughlin, "Forest Park," 515
- Anderson, James E., and Jared E. Hazleton, "Managing Macroeconomic Policy: The Johnson Presidency," 528
- Anderson, Margaret Lavinia (R), 173
- Anderson, Rodney D. (R), 264
- "And My Children Did Not Know Me," by Bukowczyk, 488
- Andreyev, Catherine, "Vlasov and the Russian Liberation Movement: Soviet Reality and Emigré Theories," 744
- Andrieu, Claire, *et al.*, editors, "Les nationalisations de la Libération: De l'utopie au compromis," 1346
- "And We Are Not Saved," by Bell, 1386
- "The Anglo-Russian Entente Cordiale of 1697–1698," by Barany, 410
- "The Anglo-Saxon Church," edited by Butler and Morris (E), 267
- Angras, Werner T. (R), 1072
- Annas, Julia, editor, "Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy." Volume 5 (E), 1156
- Anthon, Carl G. (R), 450
- "Anthony Eden," by James, 1057
- "Anthony Eden at the Foreign Office, 1931–1938," by Peters, 707
- "The Anthracite Aristocracy," by Davies, 237
- "Anticipations of the Enlightenment in England, France, and Germany," edited by Kors and Korshin (E), 1157
- Antler, Joyce, "Lucy Sprague Mitchell: The Making of a Modern Woman," 251
- Antoine, Michel, "Le dur métier de Roi: Etudes sur la civilisation politique de la France d'Ancien Régime," 714
- "Apostle of Russian Liberalism," by Roosevelt, 463
- Appleman, Roy E., "East of Chosin: Entrapment and Breakout in Korea, 1950," 526
- "Apples on the Flood," by Cunningham, 1388
- "Appointment of Judges," by McFeeley, 1421
- Arad, Yitzhak, "Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps," 450
- "Arbeiterkulturen zwischen Alltag und Politik," edited by Boll (E), 817
- "Arbeitsmarktpolitik im deutschen Kaiserreich," by Faust, 1354
- "Arbeitszeitverkürzung und sozialer Wandel," by Steinisch, 1016
- Archer, Christon I. (R), 1428
- "The Architecture of the Roman Empire," by MacDonald, 398
- "Aristocrat-Librarian in Service to the Tsar," by Stuart, 193
- "The Armenian Genocide in Perspective," edited by Hovannisian (E), 270
- "Armia i flot Rossii v nachale XX v.," by Beskrovnyi, 1090
- "Arms at Rest," edited by Challinor and Beisner (E), 543
- Armstrong, John A. (C), 1171
- Arnold, Morris S., "Unequal Laws unto a Savage Race: European Legal Traditions in Arkansas, 1686–1836," 494
- Arnstein, Walter L. (R), 1052
- Aron, Cindy Sondik, "Ladies and Gentlemen of the Civil Service: Middle-Class Workers in Victorian America," 779
- Arrom, Silvia Marina (R), 806
- Arteus, Gunnar, "Till Militärstatens Förhistoria: Krig, professionalisering och social förändring under Vasasönernas regering," 720
- "Art in Action," edited by White (E), 1160
- "The Art of Prophesying," by Toulouse, 764
- Artola, Miguel, "La Hacienda del siglo XIX: Progresistas y moderados," 1347
- Asenjo González, María, "Segovia: La ciudad y su tierra a fines del medievo," 1035
- Ashcraft, Richard, "Revolutionary Politics and Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*," 145
- Ashworth, John, "'Agrarians' and 'Aristocrats': Party Political Ideology in the United States, 1837–1846," 1115
- Askew, William C. (R), 1321
- "Aspects of India," edited by Case and Barrier (E), 1159
- "Aspects of International Socialism," by Haupt, 410
- Asprey, Robert B., "Frederick the Great: The Magnificent Enigma," 440
- Asselineau, Roger, and Gay Wilson Allen, "St. John de Crèvecoeur: The Life of an American Farmer," 1395
- Astbury, Leigh, "City Bushmen: The Heidelberg School and the Rural Mythology," 212
- Atack, Jeremy, and Fred Bateman, "To Their Own Soil: Agriculture in the Antebellum North," 501
- Ate, Bassey E., "Decolonization and Dependence: The Development of Nigerian-U.S. Relations, 1960–1984," 475

- "Die athenische Volksversammlung im Zeitalter des Demosthenes," by Hansen, 1301  
 "Athens after the Peloponnesian War," by Strauss, 397  
 "At Home in Texas," by Doughty, 1396  
 "At the Nexus of Philosophy and History," edited by Dauenhauer (E), 266  
 Attman, Artur, "American Bullion in the European World Trade, 1600–1800," 680  
 "Auf dem Weg zu einer europäischen Gesellschaft," by Kaelble, 1320  
 "Auf dem Weg zur Grossstadt," by Hubbard, 457  
 "Aufklärung und Geschichte," edited by Bödeker *et al.* (E), 269  
 "Auschwitz," by Nyiszli, 182  
 Ausmus, Harry J. (R), 1293  
 "Authority, Liberty, and Automatic Machinery in Early Modern Europe," by Mayr, 136  
 "Autonomy and Community," by McIntosh, 400  
 "Auto Slavery," by Gartman, 785  
 "L'aveu: Antiquité et Moyen Age" (E), 267  
 Avrigh, Paul (R), 738  
 Axtell, James (C), 284  
 Ayadi, Toufik, "Mouvement reformiste et mouvements populaires à Tunis, 1906–1912," 203
- Babelon, Jean-Pierre, "Paris au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle," 713  
 "Back to the Soil," by Goldberg, 788  
 "Bacon, Beans, and Galantines," by Conlin, 508  
 Bacon, Margaret Hope, "Let This Life Speak: The Legacy of Henry Joel Cadbury," 513  
 Bacon, Margaret Hope, "Mothers of Feminism: The Story of Quaker Women in America," 1391  
 Bagley, F. R. C. (R), 199  
 Bailey, Fred Arthur, "Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation," 774  
 Bailey, Stephen (R), 1008  
 Bailyn, Bernard, "The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction," 225  
 Bailyn, Bernard, "Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution," 225  
 Baird, Jay W. (R), 178  
 Bajohr, Frank, and Detlev J. K. Peukert, "Spuren des Widerstands: Die Bergarbeiterbewegung im Dritten Reich und im Exil; Mit Dokumenten aus dem IISG Amsterdam," 1358  
 Baker, Keith Michael, editor, "The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture." Volume 1, "The Political Culture of the Old Regime" (E), 816  
 Baklanoff, Eric N., and Jeffery Brannon, "Agrarian Reform and Public Enterprise in Mexico: The Political Economy of Yucatán's Henequen Industry," 1149  
 Balard, Michel, *et al.*, "Les Italiens à Byzance: Edition et présentation de documents," 1313  
 Baldwin, John W. (R), 1308  
 Baldwin, John W., "The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages," 130  
 "Balkanite v globalnata politika na SA.Sh., 1945–1975," by Boev, 1367  
 Ball, Larry D. (R), 494  
 Ballabriga, Alain, "Le Soleil et le Tartare: L'image mythique du monde en Grèce archaïque," 124  
 "The *Baltimore* Affair," by Goldberg, 1124  
 Banac, Ivo, and Frank E. Sysyn, editors, "Concepts of Nationhood in Early Modern Eastern Europe" (E), 1158  
 "Bandidos," edited by Slatta, 1144  
 "Banditry, Rebellion, and Social Protest in Africa," edited by Crummey, 472  
 Banner, Lois W. (R), 222, 1289  
 "The Banner of Battle," by Palmer, 680  
 Bannister, Robert C. (R), 1329  
 Banta, Martha, "Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History," 1123  
 Barany, George, "The Anglo-Russian Entente Cordiale of 1697–1698," 410  
 Barclay, David E. (R), 177  
 Barkin, Kenneth (R), 1353  
 Barnard, John (R), 522  
 Barnes, John Robert, "An Introduction to Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire," 746  
 Barnett, Suzanne Wilson (R), 753  
 Barnhart, Michael, editor, "Congress and United States Foreign Policy: Controlling the Use of Force in the Nuclear Age" (E), 818  
 Barnhart, Michael A., "Japan Prepares for Total War: The Search for Economic Security, 1919–1941," 755  
 Baron, Lawrence (R), 450  
 Baron, Robert C., editor, "America—One Land, One People: Noted Historians Look at America" (E), 271  
 Baron, Samuel H. (R), 459  
 "Baron Joseph Eötvös," by Vardy, 734  
 "Barons of Labor," by Kazin, 511  
 Barrett, James R., "Work and Community in the Jungle: Chicago's Packinghouse Workers, 1894–1922," 1412  
 Barrier, N. Gerald, and Margaret Case, editors, "Aspects of India: Essays in Honor of Edward Cameron Dimock, Jr." (E), 1159  
 Barstow, Anne, "Joan of Arc: Heretic, Mystic, Shaman," 1032  
 "Bartók and Kodály Revisited," edited by Ránki (E), 542  
 Bateman, Fred, and Jeremy Atack, "To Their Own Soil: Agriculture in the Antebellum North," 501  
 Batinski, Michael C., "The New Jersey Assembly, 1738–1775: The Making of a Legislative Community," 1112  
 Baugh, Daniel A. (R), 147, 692  
 Bauman, John F., "Public Housing, Race, and Renewal: Urban Planning in Philadelphia, 1920–1974," 1130  
 Baumgarten, Paul M., "Die römische Kurie um 1900: Ausgewählte Aufsätze," 1042  
 Baumgartner, Frederic J., "Change and Continuity in the French Episcopate: The Bishops and the Wars of Religion, 1547–1610," 160  
 Baxter, Douglas Clark (R), 1061  
 Baxter, Stephen B. (R), 691  
 Bayly, C. A., and D. H. A. Kolff, editors, "Two Colonial Empires: Comparative Essays on the History of India and Indonesia in the Nineteenth Century" (E), 818  
 Bazzoli, Maurizio, "Il pensiero politico dell'assolutismo illuminato," 1318  
 Beales, Derek, "Joseph II." Volume 1, "In the Shadow of Maria Theresa, 1741–1780," 1363  
 "Bearing the Cross," by Garrow, 1418

- Beasley, Maurine H., "Eleanor Roosevelt and the Media: A Public Quest for Self-Fulfillment," 1133
- "Beating against the Barriers," by Blackett, 506
- Beatty, Bess, "A Revolution Gone Backward: The Black Response to National Politics, 1876-1896," 1408
- "Beauty, Health, and Permanence," by Hays, 1141
- Becher, Harvey W. (R), 1019
- Beck, Lois, "The Qashqa'i of Iran," 199
- Becker, Marvin B. (R), 1317
- Becker, Seymour (C), 286
- Beecher, Jonathan, "Charles Fourier: The Visionary and His World," 1065
- Beer, Barrett L. (R), 139
- Beezley, William H., "Judas at the Jockey Club and Other Episodes of Porfirian Mexico," 807
- "Behind the Lines," edited by Higonnet *et al.*, 1289
- Beisner, Robert L., and Joan R. Challinor, editors, "Arms at Rest: Peacemaking and Peacekeeping in American History" (E), 543
- Bekmakhanova, N. E., "Mnogonatsional'noe naselenie Kazakhstana i Kirgizii v epokhu kapitalizma (60-e gody XIX v.-1917 g.)," 1368
- Belich, James, "The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict," 485
- Belknap, Michal R. (R), 214
- Bell, Derrick, "And We Are Not Saved: The Elusive Quest for Racial Justice," 1386
- Bell, Donald Howard, "Sesto San Giovanni: Workers, Culture, and Politics in an Italian Town, 1880-1922," 454
- Bell, Leland V. (R), 1111
- Bell, P. M. H., "The Origins of the Second World War in Europe," 411
- Bellamy, J. G. (R), 140
- Belting, Hans, "The End of the History of Art?" 1295
- "Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka," by Arad, 450
- Benario, Herbert W. (R), 675
- Bender, Thomas, "New York Intellect: A History of Intellectual Life in New York City, from 1750 to the Beginnings of Our Own Time," 1392
- Bendix, Reinhard, "Force, Fate, and Freedom: On Historical Sociology," 1291
- Bengtson, Hermann, "Die Diadochen: Die Nachfolger Alexanders (323-281 v. Chr.)," 1303
- Benjamin, Thomas (R), 807
- Benko, Stephen (R), 130
- Bennett, Edward W. (R), 1014
- Bennett, Judith M. (R), 400
- Bennett, Judith M., "Women in the Medieval English Countryside: Gender and Household in Brigstock before the Plague," 1033
- Bennett, Norman R., editor, "Discovering the African Past: Essays in Honor of Daniel F. McCall" (E), 1437
- Bennigsen, Alexandre, and Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Le soufi et le commissaire: Les confréries musulmanes en URSS," 468
- Benson, Maxine, "Martha Maxwell: Rocky Mountain Naturalist," 508
- Benson, Susan Porter, "Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940," 242
- Bentfeldt, Ludwig, "Der Deutsche Bund als nationales Band 1815-1866," 170
- Berenger, Jean, "Turenne," 1061
- Berens, John F. (R), 230
- Berenson, Edward, *The Politics of Divorce in France of the Belle Epoque: The Case of Joseph and Henriette Caillaux*, 31-55
- "Bergen-Belsen," by Kolb, 1076
- Bergeron, Paul H., "The Presidency of James K. Polk," 1402
- Bergmann, Peter (R), 1353
- Bergmann, Peter, "Nietzsche, 'the Last Antipolitical German,'" 724
- Berkowitz, Edward D., "Disabled Policy: America's Programs for the Handicapped," 1128
- Berlatsky, Joel (R), 413, 1323
- "Berlin Diaries, 1940-1945," by Vassiltchikov, 1075
- Berlinguer, Luigi, editor, "La 'Leopoldina': Criminalità e giustizia criminale nelle riforme del settecento Europeo" (E), 815
- Berman, Constance Hoffmann, "Medieval Agriculture, the Southern French Countryside, and the Early Cistercians: A Study of Forty-three Monasteries," 1034
- Bernard, G. W., "War, Taxation, and Rebellion in Early Tudor England: Henry VIII, Wolsey, and the Amicable Grant of 1525," 141
- Berry, Jason, *et al.*, "Up from the Cradle of Jazz: New Orleans Music since World War II," 526
- "Bertha von Suttner," by Hamann, 1365
- Berthold, Richard M. (R), 1303
- Berthold, Richard M., "Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age," 1302
- Berthold, Rudolf, *et al.*, editors, "Geschichte der Produktivkräfte in Deutschland von 1800 bis 1945." Volume 2, "Produktivkräfte in Deutschland 1870 bis 1917/18," 170
- Bertin, Celia, "Marie Bonaparte: A Life," 1025
- Beskrovnyi, L. S., "Armiia i flot Rossii v nachale XX v.: Ocherki voenno-ekonomicheskogo potentsiala," 1090
- Best, Richard A., Jr., "'Co-operation with Like-Minded Peoples': British Influences on American Security Policy, 1945-1949," 388
- Beth, Loren P. (R), 498
- Bethell, Leslie, editor, "The Cambridge History of Latin America." Volume 3, "From Independence to c. 1870," 1428
- Bethell, Leslie, editor, "The Cambridge History of Latin America." Volume 4, c. 1870 to 1930; Volume 5, c. 1870 to 1930, 799
- Betts, Raymond F. (R), 1013
- Bezilla, Michael (R), 1108
- Bezucha, Robert J. (R), 1344
- Biddick, Kathleen (R), 401
- Bieder, Robert E., "Science Encounters the Indian, 1820-1880: The Early Years of American Ethnology," 770
- Biedermann, Hans, "Das verlorene Meisterwort: Bausteine zu einer Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte des Freimauertums," 1297
- Bierbrauer, Volker, and Carlo Guido Mor, editors, "Romani e Germani nell'arco alpino (secoli VI-VIII)" (E), 814
- Bijker, Wiebe E., *et al.*, editors, "The Social Construction of Technological Systems: New Directions in the Sociology and History of Technology" (E), 1155
- Binion, Rudolph (C), 552
- "Biography of Broken Fortunes," by Maher, 507
- Birn, Donald S. (R), 708, 1335



- "The Birth of Independent Air Power," by Cooper, 1332
- "The Birth of Particle Physics," edited by Brown and Hoddeson (E), 813
- "The Birth of Stalinism," by Reiman, 1092
- "The Birth of the Propaganda State," by Kenez, 467
- Bisson, T. N., "The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History," 1311
- Bix, Herbert P., "Peasant Protest in Japan, 1590–1884," 480
- Black, Earl, and Merle Black, "Politics and Society in the South," 790
- Black, Jeremy, editor, "Britain in the Age of Walpole," 147
- Black, J. L. (R), 193
- Black, J. L., "G. F. Müller and the Imperial Russian Academy," 192
- Black, Merle, and Earl Black, "Politics and Society in the South," 790
- "Black and White in Southern Zambia," by Vickery, 1099
- Blackburn, Gilmer W., "Education in the Third Reich: A Study of Race and History in Nazi Textbooks," 181
- Blackett, Richard (R), 234
- Blackett, R. J. M., "Beating against the Barriers: Biographical Essays in Nineteenth-Century Afro-American History," 506
- "Black Leaders of the Nineteenth Century," edited by Litwack and Meier (E), 1159
- "The Black Struggle for Public Schooling in Nineteenth-Century Illinois," by McCaul, 1117
- Blair, Karen J. (R), 238
- Blakeney, Michael (R), 1385
- Blanck, Dag, and Harald Runblom, editors, "Scandinavia Overseas: Patterns of Cultural Transformation in North America and Australia" (E), 269
- Blanco, Richard (R), 150
- Blanke, Richard (R), 1365
- Blanning, T. C. W. (R), 722
- "Blasphemy, Immorality, and Anarchy," by Friedman, 1045
- Blobaum, Robert (R), 735
- Bloch, Maurice, "From Blessing to Violence: History and Ideology in the Circumcision Ritual of the Merina of Madagascar," 206
- Bloch-Lainé, François, and Jean Bouvier, "La France restaurée 1944–1954: Dialogue sur les choix d'une modernisation," 1066
- Blockmans, Wim, and Walter Prevenier, "The Burgundian Netherlands," 132
- Bloom, Jack M., "Class, Race, and the Civil Rights Movement," 506
- Bloomfield, Maxwell (R), 1116
- Blue, Frederick J., "Salmon P. Chase: A Life in Politics," 1404
- Blumenson, Martin, "Patton: The Man behind the Legend, 1885–1945," 248
- Blumenthal, Henry, "Illusion and Reality in Franco-American Diplomacy, 1914–1945," 1299
- Bödeker, Hans Erich, *et al.*, editors, "Aufklärung und Geschichte: Studien zur deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft im 18. Jahrhundert" (E), 269
- De Boer, D. E. H., and J. W. Marsilje, editors, "De Nederlanden in de late middeleeuwen" (E), 1432
- Boev, Ivan L., "Balkanite v globalnata politika na SA.Sh., 1945–1975," 1367
- "Bold Dragoon," by Thomas, 505
- Boll, Friedhelm, editor, "Arbeiterkulturen zwischen Alltag und Politik: Beiträge zum europäischen Vergleich in der Zwischenkriegszeit" (E), 817
- Bolt, Christine, "American Indian Policy and American Reform: Case Studies of the Campaign to Assimilate the American Indians," 1103
- "Bombast and Broadides," by Fabel, 1327
- Bonavia, Michael R., "The Nationalisation of British Transport: The Early History of the British Transport Commission, 1948–53," 1336
- Bond, Gordon C. (R), 684
- Bondanella, Peter (R), 456
- Bonfante, Larissa (R), 126
- Bonfield, Lloyd, "Marriage Settlements, 1601–1740: The Adoption of the Strict Settlement," 1326
- Bonomi, Patricia U., "Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America," 765
- Bordin, Ruth (R), 251
- Bordin, Ruth, "Frances Willard: A Biography," 238
- Borgolte, Michael, *et al.*, editors, "Subsidia Sangallensia I: Materialien und Untersuchungen zu den Verbrüderungsbüchern und zu den älteren Urkunden des Stiftsarchivs St. Gallen," 1036
- Boris, Eileen (R), 1123
- Borisov, N. S., "Russkaia tserkov' v politicheskoi bor'be XIV–XV vekov," 737
- Boritt, Gabor S. (R), 1404
- Born, John D., Jr. (R), 1327
- Borowski, Harry R., editor, "Military Planning in the Twentieth Century" (E), 813
- Bose, Sugata, "Agrarian Bengal: Economy, Social Structure, and Politics, 1919–1947," 1101
- Boskin, Joseph, "Sambo: The Rise and Demise of an American Jester," 220
- Bothwell, Robert, *et al.*, "Canada, 1900–1945," 1426
- "Bourg-en-Bresse au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle," by Turrel, 713
- "The Bourgeois Experience," by Gay, 116
- "Bourgeoisies de province et révolution" (E), 269
- Bourne, J. M., "Patronage and Society in Nineteenth-Century England," 149
- Bouvier, Jean, and François Bloch-Lainé, "La France restaurée 1944–1954: Dialogue sur les choix d'une modernisation," 1066
- Bowden, Henry W., editor, "A Century of Church History: The Legacy of Philip Schaff" (E), 1431
- Bowler, Peter J., "Theories of Human Evolution: A Century of Debate, 1844–1944," 391
- Bowler, R. Arthur (R), 495
- Bowman, Kent A., "Voices of Combat: A Century of Liberty and War Songs, 1765–1865," 1114
- Bowsky, William M. (R), 1078
- Boxer, C. R. (R), 165
- Boxer, Marilyn J., and Jean H. Quataert, editors, "Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World, 1500 to the Present," 1314
- Boyd, Carolyn P. (R), 436
- Boyer-Xambeu, Marie-Therese, *et al.*, "Monnaie privée et pouvoir des princes: L'économie des relations monétaires à la Renaissance," 1316
- Bradford, James C. (R), 1126
- Bradley, James W., "Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois: Accommodating Change, 1500–1655," 1394
- Brady, Thomas A., Jr. (R), 166

- Brady, Thomas A., Jr., "Turning Swiss: Cities and Empire, 1450–1550," 167
- Brandes, Joseph (R), 788
- Brannon, Jeffery, and Eric N. Baklanoff, "Agrarian Reform and Public Enterprise in Mexico: The Political Economy of Yucatán's Henequen Industry," 1149
- Bratton, Mary Jo Jackson, "East Carolina University: The Formative Years, 1907–1982," 515
- Brault, Gerard J., "The French-Canadian Heritage in New England," 488
- Braunthal, Gerard (R), 451
- Bravo, Gian Mario, and Silvia Rota Ghibaudi, editors, "Il pensiero politico contemporaneo." Volume 3 (E), 812
- "Breaking the Silence," by Laqueur and Breitman, 184
- Bredero, Adriaan H., "Cluny et Cîteaux au douzième siècle: L'histoire d'une controverse monastique," 1306
- Breitman, Richard, and Walter Laqueur, "Breaking the Silence," 184
- Bremer, Francis J. (R), 764
- Brennan, James F., "Enlightened Despotism in Russia: The Reign of Elisabeth, 1741–1762," 737
- Brereton, J. M., "The British Soldier: A Social History from 1661 to the Present Day," 684
- Breslin, Thomas A., and Daniel M. Crane, "An Ordinary Relationship: American Opposition to Republican Revolution in China," 786
- Brett, Edward Tracy, "Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society," 1308
- Brett, Michael (R), 1096
- Brettell, Caroline B. (R), 435, 666, 1349
- Brettell, Caroline B., "Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait: Population and History in a Portuguese Parish," 434
- Briceland, Alan Vance, "Westward from Virginia: The Exploration of the Virginia-Carolina Frontier, 1650–1710," 765
- Brilliant, Richard (R), 398
- Bristow, Ann (R), 224
- "Britain, America, and Arms Control, 1921–1937," by Hall, 1014
- "Britain and the Vatican during the Second World War," by Chadwick, 707
- "Britain in the Age of Walpole," edited by Black, 147
- "Britain's Investment Overseas on the Eve of the First World War," by Platt, 419
- "'Britische Freiheit' und das Englandbild in der öffentlichen deutschen Diskussion in ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert," by Haikala, 722
- "The British Economy since 1700," by Lee, 693
- "The British Empire as a Superpower, 1919–39," by Clayton, 156
- "The British Fisheries Society, 1786–1893," by Dunlop, 1058
- "British Geography, 1918–1945," edited by Steel (E), 816
- "British Railways, 1948–73," by Gourvish, 1337
- "The British Soldier," by Brereton, 684
- "British Strategy and War Aims, 1914–1916," by French, 419
- Brizzi, Gian Paolo, editor, "Il catechismo e la grammatica." Volume 2, "Istituzioni scolastiche e riforme nell'area Emiliana e Romagnola nel '700," 1360
- Brock, Peter (R), 1365
- Broehl, Wayne G., Jr. (R), 1130
- Broehl, Wayne G., Jr., "Crisis of the Raj: The Revolt of 1857 through British Lieutenants' Eyes," 483
- Bromke, Adam, "The Meaning and Uses of Polish History," 1365
- Brooke, Christopher N. L., "The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages" (E), 1432
- Brooks, C. W., "Pettyfoggers and Vipers of the Commonwealth: The 'Lower Branch' of the Legal Profession in Early Modern England," 689
- Brose, Eric Dorn (R), 681
- "Brought to Bed," by Leavitt, 221
- Brousek, Karl M., "Die Grossindustrie Böhmens 1848–1918," 1364
- Brown, Dorothy M., "Setting a Course: American Women in the 1920s," 519
- Brown, Jennifer S. H. (R), 530
- Brown, John Sloan, "Draftee Division: The 88th Infantry Division in World War II," 523
- Brown, Judith C., "Immodest Acts: The Life of a Lesbian Nun in Renaissance Italy," 731
- Brown, Laurie M., and Lillian Hoddeson, editors, "The Birth of Particle Physics" (E), 813
- Brown, Robert Craig (R), 261
- Browning, Christopher R., "Fateful Months: Essays on the Emergence of the Final Solution," 1076
- Brownlee, W. Elliot (R), 528
- Brundage, Anthony (R), 1328
- Brundage, James A. (R), 133
- Brush, Stephen G. (R), 665
- Buccellati, Giorgio (R), 673
- Buchignani, Norman, *et al.*, "Continuous Journey: A Social History of South Asians in Canada," 261
- Buckler, John (R), 126
- Buckley, Suzann (R), 1424
- Budden, Julian, "Verdi," 1081
- "Buddhism under the T'ang," by Weinstein, 751
- Buhite, Russell D., "Decisions at Yalta: An Appraisal of Summit Diplomacy," 388
- "Building the Industrial City," edited by Doughty, 701
- Bukowczyk, John J., "And My Children Did Not Know Me: A History of the Polish-Americans," 488
- Bulliet, Richard W. (R), 470
- Bullough, Vern L. (R), 1023
- Bumsted, J. M., "Land, Settlement, and Politics on Eighteenth-Century Prince Edward Island," 1142
- Bunker, Stephen G., "Peasants against the State: The Politics of Market Control in Bugisu, Uganda, 1900–1983," 748
- Burbank, Jane (R), 1091
- Burbank, Jane, "Intelligentsia and Revolution: Russian Views of Bolshevism, 1917–1922," 741
- Burdick, Charles (R), 449
- "Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire," by Fleischer, 745
- "Bürgerliche Eliten in den Niederlanden und in Nordwestdeutschland," edited by Schilling and Diederiks, 1315
- "The Burger Years," edited by Schwartz (E), 271
- "The Burgundian Netherlands," by Prevenier and Blockmans, 132
- Burke, John G., "Cosmic Debris: Meteorites in History," 665
- Burke, Peter, "The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication," 1539

- Burkett, Tony, and Stephen Padgett, "Political Parties and Elections in West Germany: The Search for a New Stability," 730
- Burnham, John C., "Paths into American Culture: Psychology, Medicine, and Morals" (E), 1159
- Burns, E. Bradford, "Eadweard Muybridge in Guatemala, 1875: The Photographer as Social Recorder," 810
- Burns, Robert E. (R), 423
- Burns, Robert I., S.J., *The Crusade against Al-Azraq: A Thirteenth-Century Mudejar Revolt in International Perspective*, 80–106
- Burrin, Philippe, "La Dérive fasciste: Doriot, Déat, Bergery 1933–1945," 432
- Burrow, J. A., "The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought," 677
- Burt, Larry (R), 529
- Burton, Orville Vernon (R), 235
- Bury, J. P. T., and R. P. Tombs, "Thiers, 1797–1877: A Political Life," 162
- Bushaway, Bob, "By Rite: Custom, Ceremony, and Community in England, 1700–1880," 415
- Bushnell, John (R), 1090, 1369
- Busino, Giovanni, "La permanence du passé: Questions d'histoire de la sociologie et d'épistémologie sociologique," 1009
- Butler, L. A. S., and R. K. Morris, editors, "The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers on History, Architecture, and Archaeology in Honour of Dr. H. M. Taylor" (E), 267
- Byers, Edward, "The Nation of Nantucket: Society and Politics in an Early American Commercial Center, 1660–1820," 766
- Bynum, W. F., and Roy Porter, editors, "William Hunter and the Eighteenth-Century Medical World," 148
- "By Rite," by Bushaway, 415
- Caballero, Manuel, "Latin America and the Comintern, 1919–1943," 1145
- Cable, James, "The Geneva Conference of 1954 on Indochina," 708
- Cairncross, Alec, "The Price of War: British Policy on German Reparations, 1941–1949," 1055
- Calhoun, Frederick S., "Power and Principle: Armed Intervention in Wilsonian Foreign Policy," 249
- Callahan, Raymond (R), 1056
- "The Cambridge History of Africa," edited by Roberts, 202
- "The Cambridge History of China," edited by Fairbank and Feuerwerker, 209
- "The Cambridge History of Iran," edited by Jackson and Lockhart, 470
- "The Cambridge History of Latin America," edited by Bethell, 799, 1428
- Camp, Richard (R), 187
- Campbell, Ballard C. (R), 1125
- Campbell, Janet Bruce (R), 520
- Campbell, John C. (R), 1086
- Campbell, Randolph B. (R), 1397
- Campbell, Randolph B., and Richard G. Lowe, "Planters and Plain Folk: Agriculture in Antebellum Texas," 1115
- Campbell, Randolph B., *Slave Hiring in Texas*, 107–14
- "Campus Life," by Horowitz, 1389
- "Canada, 1900–1945," by Bothwell *et al.*, 1426
- "Canada and the Commonwealth Caribbean," edited by Tennyson (E), 1438
- Cannon, Byron D. (R), 198
- Cantarella, Eva, "Pandora's Daughters: The Role and Status of Women in Greek and Roman Antiquity," 674
- "Capitalism and Agriculture in the Haouz of Marrakesh," by Pascon, 1096
- "Capitalism and AntiSlavery," by Drescher, 1327
- "Le capitalisme français XIX<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècle," edited by Fridenson and Straus, 1066
- "Cardinal of Scotland," by Sanderson, 1339
- Cardoso, Lawrence A. (R), 243
- "Caring and Curing," edited by Numbers and Amundsen (E), 266
- Carlisle, Rodney (R), 1133
- Carmichael, Ann G., "Plague and the Poor in Renaissance Florence," 1078
- Carosso, Vincent P., "The Morgans: Private International Bankers, 1845–1913," 1406
- "Carpetbagger of Conscience," by Currie-McDaniel, 776
- Carr, Lois Green (R), 494
- "The Carrier Corps," by Hodges, 1098
- Carrillo, Elisa (R), 732
- Carroll, F. M. (R), 1333
- Carsten, F. L., "The First Austrian Republic, 1918–1938: A Study Based on British and Austrian Documents," 1083
- Carter, Carole J. (R), 158
- Carter, Harvey Lewis, "The Life and Times of Little Turtle: First Sagamore of the Wabash," 498
- Carter, L. B., "The Quiet Athenian," 125
- "Cartography in France, 1660–1848," by Konvitz, 1340
- Case, Margaret, and N. Gerald Barrier, editors, "Aspects of India: Essays in Honor of Edward Cameron Dimock, Jr." (E), 1159
- Cashdollar, Charles D. (R), 782
- Cassedy, James H., "Medicine and American Growth, 1800–1860," 502
- Cassel, Jay, "The Secret Plague: Venereal Disease in Canada, 1838–1939," 1424
- Cassels, Alan (R), 1044
- "Cassirer," by Krois, 1008
- Castle, Terry, "Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnavalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction," 694
- "Il catechismo e la grammatica," edited by Brizzi, 1360
- "Catholic Colonialism," by van Oss, 533
- "Catholic Immigrants in America," by Olson, 487
- "The Catholic Peace Tradition," by Musto, 389
- "Catholics, the State, and the European Radical Right, 1919–1945," edited by Wolff and Jörg (E), 268
- "Causa mortis," by Nörr, 1303
- "The Cautious Diplomat," by Ruddy, 525
- Cayleff, Susan E., "Wash and Be Healed: The Water-Cure Movement and Women's Health," 1401
- Cayton, Andrew R. L., "The Frontier Republic: Ideology and Politics in the Ohio Country, 1780–1825," 499
- Cecchi, Donatella Bolech, "Non bruciare i ponti con Roma: Le relazioni fra l'Italia, la Gran Bretagna e la Francia dall'accordo di Monaco allo scoppio della seconda guerra mondiale," 1044

- Celik, Zeynep, "The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century," 1094
- "Centre and Province in the People's Republic of China," by Goodman, 479
- "Centre Formation, Protest Movements, and Class Structure in Europe and the United States," edited by Eisenstadt *et al.* (E), 813
- "Les Cents Fleurs à l'Usine," by Gipouloux, 1381
- "A Century of Church History," edited by Bowden (E), 1431
- "A Century of the Scottish People, 1830–1950," by Smout, 709
- Chadwick, Owen, "Britain and the Vatican during the Second World War," 707
- "Chaim Weizmann," by Rose, 118
- Challener, Richard D. (R), 1124
- Challinor, Joan R., and Robert L. Beisner, editors, "Arms at Rest: Peacemaking and Peacekeeping in American History" (E), 543
- Champagne, Roger J. (R), 1112
- Chan, Sucheng, "This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860–1910," 1409
- "Chandigarh," by Kalia, 1102
- Chaney, William A. (R), 676
- Chang, Hao, "Chinese Intellectuals in Crisis: Search for Order and Meaning, 1890–1911," 1100
- Chang, K. C., editor, "Studies of Shang Archaeology: Selected Papers from the International Conference on Shang Civilization," 207
- "Change and Continuity," by Majors, 239
- "Change and Continuity in the French Episcopate," by Baumgartner, 160
- "Changing Boundaries of the Political," edited by Maier (E), 1433
- "Changing Faces of Madness," by Jimenez, 1111
- Chao, Kang, "Man and Land in Chinese History: An Economic Analysis," 477
- "Charles Fourier," by Beecher, 1065
- "Charles Grandison Finney, 1792–1875," by Hardman, 771
- "Charles N. Hunter and Race Relations in North Carolina," by Haley, 1119
- Charmley, John, "Duff Cooper: The Authorized Biography," 421
- Chartier, Roger, editor, "Les usages de l'imprimé (XV<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle)," 679
- Chazan, Naomi, and Deborah Pellow, "Ghana: Coping with Uncertainty," 474
- Chazan, Robert, "European Jewry and the First Crusade," 1031
- Ch'en, Jerome (R), 1380
- Cheng, J. Chester (R), 1382
- "Cherokee Renaissance in the New Republic," by McLoughlin, 769
- "Chesterton, A Seer of Science," by Jaki, 1055
- "Chicago's Pride," by Wade, 777
- Chickering, Roger P. (R), 166
- "Childbearing in American Society, 1650–1850," by Scholten, 221
- Childers, Thomas, editor, "The Formation of the Nazi Constituency, 1919–1933," 1072
- Childs, William R., "Trucking and the Public Interest: The Emergence of Federal Regulation, 1914–1940," 247
- "China and Vietnam," by Duiker, 482
- "China through the Ages," by Michael, 1375
- "China's Art of Revolution," by Ristaino, 1379
- "China's Continuous Revolution," by Dittmer, 1380
- "China's Cultural Heritage," by Smith, 751
- "The Chinese Army after Mao," by Joffe, 1382
- "The Chinese Experience in America," by Tsai, 783
- "Chinese Intellectuals in Crisis," by Chang, 1100
- "Chosen," by Rubinstein, 1385
- Christensen, Lawrence O. (R), 253
- "The Christians and the Roman Empire," by Sordi, 130
- Christianson, Eric H. (R), 502
- Christianson, Gale E. (R), 406
- Christoff, Peter (R), 462
- Christoph, James B. (R), 707
- Church, Roy, "The History of the British Coal Industry," Volume 3, "1830–1913; Victorian Pre-eminence," 417
- "The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages," by Brooke (E), 1432
- Churchill, Frederick B. (R), 414
- "Churchill and Roosevelt," edited by Kimball, 120
- Cinel, Dino (R), 783
- "City Bushmen," by Astbury, 212
- "City in the Woods," by Weiss, 1121
- "City of Women," by Stansell, 500
- "Civilizing the West," by den Otter, 798
- "The Civil Rights Movement in America," edited by Eagles, 1418
- "Civil Servants and the Politics of Inflation in Germany," by Kunz, 175
- Clagett, Marshall (E), 268
- Clanton, Gene (R), 1125
- Clark, Burton R., editor, "The Academic Profession: National, Disciplinary, and Institutional Settings" (E), 537
- Clark, J. C. D., "Revolution and Rebellion: State and Society in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 1047
- Clark, John G., "Energy and the Federal Government: Fossil Fuel Policies, 1900–1946," 788
- Clark, Linda L. (R), 1039, 1314
- Clark, Priscilla Parkhurst, "Literary France: The Making of a Culture," 1061
- Clark-Jones, Melissa, "A Staple State: Canadian Industrial Resources in Cold War," 1144
- Clary, David A., "Timber and the Forest Service," 246
- Clasen, Claus-Peter (R), 167
- "Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation," by Bailey, 774
- "Class Conflict and Cultural Consensus," by Edsforth, 253
- "Class, Power, and Social Structure in British Nineteenth-Century Towns," edited by Morris, 416
- "Class, Race, and the Civil Rights Movement," by Bloom, 506
- "Claude McKay, Rebel Sojourner in the Harlem Renaissance," by Cooper, 1131
- Clausen, Meredith L., "Frantz Jourdain and the Samaritaine: Art Nouveau Theory and Criticism," 1344
- Clay, C. G. A., "Economic Expansion and Social Change: England, 1500–1700," Volume 1, "People, Land, and Towns"; volume 2, "Industry, Trade, and Government," 685
- Clayton, Anthony, "The British Empire as a Superpower, 1919–39," 156
- Clayton, Bruce, "Forgotten Prophet: The Life of Randolph Bourne," 250

- Clayton, Bruce, and John A. Salmond, editors, "The South Is Another Land: Essays on the Twentieth-Century South," 1411
- Clegg, Hugh Armstrong, "A History of British Trade Unions since 1889," Volume 2, "1911–1933," 418
- Clements, Barbara Evans (R), 741
- Clifford, J. Garry, and Samuel R. Spencer, Jr., "The First Peacetime Draft," 793
- Cline, Catherine Ann (R), 155
- Cline, S. L., "Colonial Culhuacan, 1580–1600: A Social History of an Aztec Town," 1147
- Clive, John (R), 697
- Clogg, Richard, "Politics and the Academy: Arnold Toynbee and the Koraes Chair," 420
- "Close Neighbors, Distant Friends," by Findling, 763
- "Cluny et Cîteaux au douzième siècle," by Bredero, 1306
- Coalter, Milton J., Jr., "Gilbert Tennent, Son of Thunder: A Case Study of Continental Pietism's Impact on the First Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies," 1110
- Coerver, Don M., and Linda B. Hall, "Texas and the Mexican Revolution: A Study in State and National Border Policy, 1910–1920," 243
- Cohen, Fay G., *et al.*, "Treaties on Trial: The Continuing Controversy over Northwest Indian Fishing Rights," 258
- Cohen, I. Bernard (R), 495, 664
- Cohen, Jeremy (R), 1031
- Cohen, Lucy M. (R), 783
- Cohen, Martin A. (R), 129
- Cohen, Michael J. (R), 118
- Cohen, Patricia Cline (R), 116
- Cohen, Warren I. (R), 1416
- Cohn, Samuel, Jr. (R), 731, 1359
- Cole, James H., "Shaohsing: Competition and Cooperation in Nineteenth-Century China," 752
- Cole, Jeffrey A. (R), 1150
- Cole, Juan R. I. (R), 200
- Coleman, Peter J., "Progressivism and the World of Reform: New Zealand and the Origins of the American Welfare State," 1410
- Coleman, William, "Yellow Fever in the North: The Methods of Early Epidemiology," 1017
- Coletta, Paolo E. (R), 1413
- "The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations," edited by Yoffee and Cowgill (E), 1432
- "The Collapse of the Grand Alliance, 1945–1948," by Gormly, 1299
- "The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill," by Hill, 690
- "Collected Works," by Meyer (E), 817
- Collier, Christopher (R), 1113
- Collier, Peter, and Edward Timms, editors, "Visions and Blueprints: Avant-garde Culture and Radical Politics in Early Twentieth-Century Europe" (E), 1158
- Collins, Robert O. (R), 1375
- Colls, Robert, and Philip Dodd, editors, "Englishness: Politics and Culture, 1880–1920" (E), 1433
- "Colonial American Portraiture," by Craven, 227
- "Colonial Bureaucrats and the Mexican Economy," by Leiby, 1147
- "Colonial Culhuacan, 1580–1600," by Cline, 1147
- "Colonialism and Migration," edited by Emmer (E), 537
- Combs, Diana Williams, "Early Gravestone Art in Georgia and South Carolina," 226
- Combs, William L., "The Voice of the SS: A History of the SS Journal *Das Schwarze Korps*," 448
- Comments on Stern's Critical Tests*, by Wallerstein, 873–85
- "Competitive Elections in Developing Countries," edited by Weiner and Ozbudun (E), 538
- "El comte-duc d'Olivares i el Regne de València," by de Lario, 164
- "Concepts of Nationhood in Early Modern Eastern Europe," edited by Banac and Sysyn (E), 1158
- "Confronting the Color Line," by Anderson and Pickering, 797
- "Congress and United States Foreign Policy," edited by Barnhart (E), 818
- "A Conjunction of Interests," by Forster, 260
- Conlin, Joseph R., "Bacon, Beans, and Galantines: Food and Foodways on the Western Mining Frontier," 508
- Conlin, Joseph R. (C), 1172
- "Connecting Spheres," edited by Boxer and Quataert, 1314
- Conquest, Robert (C), 1171
- Conrad, Margaret, "George Nowlan: Maritime Conservative in National Politics," 531
- "The Conseil Privé and the Parlements in the Age of Louis XIV," by Hamscher, 1341
- "Constitutional History of the American Revolution," by Reid, 767
- "The Content of the Form," by White, 1007
- "Continuity and Change," edited by Vestergaard, 1036
- "Continuity and Change in Electoral Politics, 1893–1928," by Kleppner, 1125
- "The Continuity of Cotton," by Wynne, 1405
- "Continuous Journey," by Buchignani *et al.*, 261
- Contosta, David R. (R), 507
- "Contours of Canadian Thought," by McKillop, 1143
- Cook, Ann Jennalie (R), 1322
- Cook, Noble David (R), 535
- Cooney, Jerry W. (R), 1153
- Cooney, Terry A. (R), 791
- Coontz, Stephanie, and Peta Henderson (C), 551
- Cooper, Carolyn C. (R), 232
- Cooper, Malcolm, "The Birth of Independent Air Power: British Air Policy in the First World War," 1332
- Cooper, Patricia A., "Once a Cigar Maker: Men, Women, and Work Culture in American Cigar Factories, 1900–1919," 1412
- Cooper, Sandi E. (R), 389
- Cooper, Wayne F., "Claude McKay, Rebel Sojourner in the Harlem Renaissance: A Biography," 1131
- "Co-operation with Like-Minded Peoples," by Best, 388
- Coox, Alvin D. (R), 387
- Coquillet, Daniel R., *et al.*, editors, "Law in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630–1800," 228
- Cosgrove, Richard A., "Our Lady the Common Law: An Anglo-American Legal Community, 1870–1930," 1298
- "Cosmic Debris," by Burke, 665
- "The Cost of Conquest," by Newson, 809
- Costa Bona, Enrica, "Helsinki-Ginevra: Dicembre 1939–Marzo 1940: La guerra d'inverno e la società delle nazioni," 1321
- "Costa Rica before Coffee," by Gudmundson, 263
- Coulter, E. Merton, "Abraham Baldwin: Patriot, Educator, and Founding Father," 1113



- "Counter Cultures," by Benson, 242  
 "Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England," by Smuts, 1323  
 Coutouvidis, John, and Jaime Reynolds, "Poland, 1939–1947," 1084  
 Couvares, Francis G. (R), 515  
 "The Covenant of Grace in Puritan Thought," by Rohr, 1325  
 Cowgill, George L., and Norman Yoffee, editors, "The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations" (E), 1432  
 Cox, Jeffrey (R), 702  
 "Cracking the Monolith," by Mayers, 255  
 Crampton, R. J., "A Short History of Modern Bulgaria," 1366  
 Crane, Daniel M., and Thomas A. Breslin, "An Ordinary Relationship: American Opposition to Republican Revolution in China," 786  
 Crapol, Edward P., editor, "Women and American Foreign Policy: Lobbyists, Critics, and Insiders" (E), 271  
 Craven, Wayne, "Colonial American Portraiture: The Economic, Religious, Social, Cultural, Philosophical, Scientific, and Aesthetic Foundations," 227  
 Cravens, Hamilton (R), 1118, 1392  
 Crecelius, Daniel (R), 747  
 "Crime in Trinidad," by Trotman, 532  
 "Crises in the Caribbean Basin," edited by Tardanico (E), 544  
 "Crisis of the Raj," by Broehl, 483  
 Critchlow, Donald T., editor, "Socialism in the Heartland: The Midwestern Experience, 1900–1925," 245  
 Crone, Patricia, and Martin Hinds, "God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam," 469  
 Crosby, Alfred W., "Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900," 1021  
 Crosby, Travis L., "The Impact of Civilian Evacuation in the Second World War," 421  
 Cross, Gary (R), 432  
*The Crowd in the French Revolution of February, 1848*, by Traugott, 638–52  
 Crowe, Michael J., "The Extraterrestrial Life Debate, 1750–1900: The Idea of a Plurality of Worlds from Kant to Lowell," 1020  
 "The Crucible of Socialism," edited by Patsouras (E), 266  
 Crummey, Donald, editor, "Banditry, Rebellion, and Social Protest in Africa," 472  
 Crunden, Robert M. (R), 510  
*The Crusade against Al-Azraq: A Thirteenth-Century Mudejar Revolt in International Perspective*, by Burns, 80–106  
 "Cuban Foreign Policy," edited by Suchlicki and Fernandez (E), 1160  
 "Cuba under the Platt Amendment, 1902–1934," by Pérez, 803  
 Cuff, Robert D. (R), 1144  
 "Culture Builders," by Frykman and Löfgren, 1349  
 "The Culture of Capital," edited by Wolff and Seed (E), 1157  
 Cunliffe, Marcus (R), 1395  
 Cunningham, Rodger, "Apples on the Flood: The Southern Mountain Experience," 1388  
 Currie-McDaniel, Ruth, "Carpetbagger of Conscience: A Biography of John Emory Bryant," 776  
 Curtin, Philip D. (R), 666  
 Curtis, George M. III (R), 767  
 Cutter, Charles R., "The Protector de Indios in Colonial New Mexico, 1659–1821," 262  
 "The Cycles of American History," by Schlesinger, 213  
 Dain, Norman (R), 492  
 "The D'Aligres de la Rivière," by Sturdy, 425  
 Daly, M. W. (R), 204  
 Daly, M. W., "Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1898–1934," 1097  
 Damberg, Wilhelm, "Der Kampf um die Schulen in Westfalen 1933–1945," 1074  
 Danbom, David B., "'The World of Hope': Progressives and the Struggle for an Ethical Public Life," 510  
 "Daniel Defoe and Diplomacy," by Roosen, 146  
 Daniel, E. Randolph (R), 1036  
 Daniel, Elton L. (R), 1093  
 Daniels, Bruce C. (R), 766  
 Daniels, Roger (R), 254  
 Daniels, Roger, *et al.*, editors, "Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress," 1136  
 "Darwin's Metaphor," by Young, 1329  
 Dauenhauer, Bernard P., editor, "At the Nexus of Philosophy and History" (E), 266  
 Davidow, Robert P., editor, "Natural Rights and Natural Law: The Legacy of George Mason," 231  
 "David Williams," by Jones, 696  
 Davies, Edward J. II, "The Anthracite Aristocracy: Leadership and Social Change in the Hard Coal Regions of Northeastern Pennsylvania, 1800–1930," 237  
 Davies, Malcolm, and Jeyaraneey Kathirithamby, "Greek Insects," 1026  
 Davies, Wendy, and Paul Fouracre, editors, "The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe," 1029  
 Davis, David Brion, "From Homicide to Slavery: Studies in American Culture," 757  
 Davis, J. C., "Fear, Myth, and History: The Ranters and the Historians," 688  
 Davis, Kenneth S., "FDR: The New Deal Years, 1933–1937; A History," 792  
 Davis, Lance E., and Robert A. Huttenback, "Mammon and the Pursuit of Empire: The Political Economy of British Imperialism, 1860–1912," 704  
 Davis, Moshe, editor, "With Eyes toward Zion." Volume 2, "Themes and Sources in the Archives of the United States, Great Britain, Turkey, and Israel," 119  
 Davis, Natalie Zemon, *History's Two Bodies*, 1–30  
 Davis, Natalie Zemon, "On the Lame," 572–603  
 Davison, Roderic H. (R), 1094  
 Davis, Richard W. (R), 700  
*The Debates over the Asiatic Mode of Production in Soviet Russia, China, and Japan*, by Fogel, 55–79  
 De Bedts, Ralph F. (R), 1415  
 De Bertier de Sauvigny, Guillaume, "Metternich," 732  
 "Decisions at Yalta," by Buhite, 388  
 "Decolonization and Dependence," by Ate, 475  
 "Defeat and Disarmament," by Dixon, 190  
 De Grand, Alexander (R), 668  
 De Grand, Alexander J., "In Stalin's Shadow: Angelo Tasca and the Crisis of the Left in Italy and France, 1910–1945," 683

- De Jong, L., "Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog," Volume 11b, Parts 1 and 2, "Nederlands-Indië II," 211
- "Dekabrist M. S. Lunin," by Okun', 196
- De Krey, Gary S. (R), 145
- De Lario, Dámaso, "El comte-duc d'Olivares i el Regne de València," 164
- Delatte, Carolyn E. (R), 772
- Del Castillo, Richard Griswold (R), 782
- Delille, Gerard, "Famille et propriété dans le royaume de Naples (XV<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle)," 1080
- De Lutiis, Giuseppe, "Storia dei servizi segreti in Italia," 732
- Delzell, Charles F. (R), 1082
- "Democracy and Religion," by Parry, 1052
- "Demokratie in Gefahr?" by Schneider, 452
- Demos, John, "Past, Present, and Personal: The Family and Life Course in American History," 221
- Dennison, Charles G., and Richard C. Gamble, editors, "Pressing toward the Mark: Essays Commemorating Fifty Years of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church" (E), 819
- Den Otter, A. A., "Civilizing the West: The Galts and the Development of Western Canada," 798
- "La Dérive fasciste," by Burrin, 432
- De Silva, K. M., "Managing Ethnic Tensions in Multi-Ethnic Societies: Sri Lanka, 1880-1985," 1384
- Desramaut, Francis, "L'Orphelinat Jésus-Adolescent de Nazareth en Galilée: Au temps des Turcs, puis des Anglais (1896-1948)," 746
- "Der Deutsche Bund als nationales Band 1815-1866," by Bentfeldt, 170
- "Die deutsche Industrie und die Industrialisierung Russlands 1815-1914," by Kirchner, 461
- "Der Deutsche Nationalverein," by Na'aman, 1351
- "Deutsche und englische Gewerkschaften," by Eisenberg, 681
- "Die Deutschen im Zarenreich," by Fleischhauer, 194
- "The Development of American Physiology," by Fye, 778
- "The Development of a Modern Navy," by Ropp, 1345
- Devlin, D. D., "The Novels and Journals of Fanny Burney," 1329
- "Die Diadochen," by Bengtson, 1303
- "Diary of a Disaster," by Higham, 157
- Dickens, A. G., and John Tonkin, "The Reformation in Historical Thought," 408
- Dickerson, Dennis C. (R), 789
- Dickman, Howard, "Industrial Democracy in America: Ideological Origins of National Labor Relations Policy," 1133
- "Dictionary of Concepts in History," by Ritter, 390
- Diederiks, Herman, and Heinz Schilling, editors, "Bürgerliche Eliten in den Niederlanden und in Nordwestdeutschland: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte des europäischen Bürgertums im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit," 1315
- Diefendorf, Barbara B. (R), 713
- "Diesel," by Thomas, 1353
- Dietrich, Craig (R), 479
- Dietz, James L., "Economic History of Puerto Rico: Institutional Change and Capitalist Development," 804
- Di Iorio, Anthony (R), 1320
- Dimock, Edward Cameron, Jr. (E), 1159
- Diner, Hasia R. (R), 1122
- "Disabled Policy," by Berkowitz, 1128
- "Disaffected Patriots," by Sainsbury, 1049
- "Discovering the African Past," edited by Bennett (E), 1437
- "Disease and Discovery," by Fee, 1129
- Dittmer, Lowell, "China's Continuous Revolution: The Post-Liberation Epoch, 1949-1981," 1380
- "Divided Counsel," by Martin, 1300
- Divine, Robert A., editor, "The Johnson Years." Volume 2, "Vietnam, the Environment, and Science" (E), 1160
- Divine, Robert A. (R), 524
- Dixon, Joe C., "Defeat and Disarmament: Allied Diplomacy and the Politics of Military Affairs in Austria, 1918-1922," 190
- Dobbert, G. A. (R), 761
- Dobson, John M. (R), 1406
- "The Dockers' Union," by Taplin, 705
- "Doctors and Medicine in Medieval England, 1340-1530," by Gottfried, 1312
- "Documenten uit de praktijk van de gedingbeslissende rechtspraak van de officialiteit van Doornik," by Vleschouwers-van Melkebeek, 1306
- Dodd, Philip, and Robert Colls, editors, "Englishness: Politics and Culture, 1880-1920" (E), 1433
- Doerries, Reinhard R., "Iren und Deutsche in der neuen Welt: Akkulturationsprozesse in der amerikanischen Gesellschaft im späten neunzehnten Jahrhundert," 509
- Dolezel, Stephan, and K. R. M. Short, editors, "Hitler's Fall: The Newsreel Witness" (E), 1434
- Dolkart, Ronald H. (R), 535
- "Domestic Tyranny," by Pleck, 1105
- Domínguez, Jorge I. (R), 803
- Donakowski, Conrad L. (R), 1048
- Donaldson, Gordon (R), 1339
- Donham, Donald, and Wendy James, editors, "The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology" (E), 270
- Donnelly, Mabel Collins, "The American Victorian Woman: The Myth and the Reality," 222
- "Der doppelte Militarismus," by Förster, 443
- Dorment, Richard, "Alfred Gilbert," 1054
- Dorpalen, Andreas, "German History in Marxist Perspective: The East German Approach," 166
- Dorsen, Norman, editor, "The Evolving Constitution: Essays on the Bill of Rights and the U.S. Supreme Court" (E), 1159
- Doughty, Martin, editor, "Building the Industrial City," 701
- Doughty, Robin W., "At Home in Texas: Early Views of the Land," 1396
- Dower, John W., "War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War," 387
- Dowling, Maria, "Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII," 141
- "Draftee Division," by Brown, 523
- Drago, Edmund L. (R), 236
- "The Dragon's Tail," by Hacker, 1415
- Drake, Paul W. (R), 1145
- Drescher, Seymour (R), 803
- Drescher, Seymour, "Capitalism and AntiSlavery: British Mobilization in Comparative Perspective," 1327
- Drinnon, Richard, "Keeper of Concentration Camps: Dillon S. Myer and American Racism," 254
- Dublin, Thomas (R), 499

- Dubofsky, Melvyn, and Warren Van Tine, editors, "Labor Leaders in American History," 784
- Dudden, Arthur Power, editor, "American Humor" (E), 543
- "Duff Cooper," by Charmley, 421
- Duffy, John (R), 1017
- Duggan, John P., "Neutral Ireland and the Third Reich," 158
- Duignan, Peter J., and L. H. Gann, "The Hispanics in the United States: A History," 782
- Duiker, William J., "China and Vietnam: The Roots of Conflict," 482
- "The Duke of Anjou and the Politique Struggle during the Wars of Religion," by Holt, 159
- Duncan, Russell, "Freedom's Shore: Tunis Campbell and the Georgia Freedmen," 236
- Dunlop, Jean, "The British Fisheries Society, 1786–1893," 1058
- Duplessis, Robert S. (R), 149
- Duram, James C. (R), 1408
- "Le dur métier de Roi," by Antoine, 714
- "Düsseldorf im Bismarckreich," by Schlossmacher, 173
- "The Dutch Gentry, 1500–1650," by Marshall, 719
- Dyer, Thomas G. (R), 515
- "Eadweard Muybridge in Guatemala, 1875," by Burns, 810
- "The Eagle in Splendour," by Mansel, 1064
- "The Eagle's Nest," by Porter, 233
- Eagles, Charles W., editor, "The Civil Rights Movement in America," 1418
- "Early Gravestone Art in Georgia and South Carolina," by Combs, 226
- "Early Greek Law," by Gagarin, 394
- "The Early History of the Gulf Arabs," by Anani and Whittingham, 1093
- "East Carolina University," by Bratton, 515
- "East Central European War Leaders," edited by Kiraly and Nofi (E), 1435
- "East of Chosin," by Appleman, 526
- Eaves, Richard Glen, "Henry VIII and James V's Regency, 1524–1528: A Study in Anglo-Scottish Diplomacy," 1339
- Eckes, Alfred E. (R), 794
- Eckstein, Arthur M., "Senate and General: Individual Decision Making and Roman Foreign Relations, 264–194 B.C.," 1304
- "Ecological Imperialism," by Crosby, 1021
- "Economic Expansion and Social Change," by Clay, 685
- "Economic History of Puerto Rico," by Dietz, 804
- "Economic Imperialism in China," by Eng, 208
- "Economic Structures of the Ancient Near East," by Silver, 123
- "L'économie de la Révolution française," by Aftalion, 1063
- "The Economies of Eastern Europe and Their Foreign Economic Relations/L'économie des pays d'Europe de l'Est et leurs relations économiques extérieures," edited by Joseph (E), 1435
- "The Economies of Mexico and Peru during the Late Colonial Period, 1760–1810," edited by Jacobsen and Puhle (E), 544
- "Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland, 1500–1939," edited by Mitchinson and Roebuck (E), 1433
- Eddy, Samuel K. (R), 1302
- Edmonds, Robin, "Setting the Mould: The United States and Britain, 1945–1950," 255
- Edmondson, C. Earl (R), 190
- Edsall, Nicholas C., "Richard Cobden: Independent Radical," 699
- Edsforth, Ronald, "Class Conflict and Cultural Consensus: The Making of a Mass Consumer Society in Flint, Michigan," 253
- "Education in the Third Reich," by Blackburn, 181
- "The Education of Julius Caesar," by Kahn, 128
- "Educational Exchanges," edited by Kallgren and Simon (E), 818
- "Edward Stafford," by Harris, 139
- Egan, Clifford (R), 769
- Egerton, George (R), 1426
- "Egypt and the Arabs," by Gershoni and Jankowski, 747
- Eisenberg, Christiane, "Deutsche und englische Gewerkschaften: Entstehung und Entwicklung bis 1878 im Vergleich," 681
- Eisenstadt, S. N., *et al.*, editors, "Centre Formation, Protest Movements, and Class Structure in Europe and the United States" (E), 813
- Eklof, Ben (R), 1088
- Eklof, Ben, "Russian Peasant Schools: Officialdom, Village Culture, and Popular Pedagogy, 1861–1914," 464
- "Eleanor Roosevelt and the Media," by Beasley, 1133
- "Elections in Independent Africa," edited by Hayward (E), 270
- Eley, Geoff (R), 1069
- Eley, Geoff, "From Unification to Nazism: Reinterpreting the German Past," 172
- "Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China," by Rankin, 753
- Ellersieck, Heinz E. (R), 720
- Ellis, Frank H. (R), 146
- Ellis, Kail C., editor, "The Vatican, Islam, and the Middle East" (E), 1158
- Ellis, Richard E., "The Union at Risk: Jacksonian Democracy, States' Rights, and the Nullification Crisis," 771
- Ellis, Steven G., "Reform and Revival: English Government in Ireland, 1470–1534," 423
- Ellis, Steven G., "Tudor Ireland: Crown, Community, and the Conflict of Cultures, 1470–1603," 157
- Eltis, David, and Lawrence C. Jennings, *Trade between Western Africa and the Atlantic World in the Pre-Colonial Era*, 936–59
- Elton, Geoffrey (E), 1157
- Elton, G. R., "The Parliament of England, 1559–1581," 686
- Elwitt, Sanford, "The Third Republic Defended: Bourgeois Reform in France, 1880–1914," 431
- "Emergence of a Bureaucracy," by Litchfield, 731
- "Emily Dickinson," by Wolff, 780
- Emmer, P. C., editor, "Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour before and after Slavery" (E), 537
- Emmons, Terence (R), 466
- "Empire on the Nile," by Daly, 1097
- "Empress Taytu and Menilek II," by Prouty, 1374
- Endelman, Todd M., editor, "Jewish Apostasy in the Modern World" (E), 1431
- "The End of the History of Art?" by Belting, 1295

- "The End of the State," by Levine, 1011  
 "Energy and the Federal Government," by Clark, 788  
 Eng, Robert Y. (R), 477  
 Eng, Robert Y., "Economic Imperialism in China: Silk Production and Exports, 1861–1932," 208  
 Engel, Arthur (R), 420  
 "Engines of Change," by Hindle and Lubar, 232  
 "England, Slaves, and Freedom, 1776–1838," by Walvin, 1049  
 English, Donald E., "Political Uses of Photography in the Third French Republic, 1871–1914," 718  
 English, Peter C. (R), 778  
 "The English Atlantic, 1675–1740," by Steele, 692  
 "An English Diplomat in the Low Countries, by Haley, 691  
 "The English Housewife," by Markham, 144  
 "Englishness," edited by Colls and Dodd (E), 1433  
 "The English Reformation Revised," edited by Haigh (E), 268  
 "The English Settlements," by Myres, 399  
 Engs, Robert F. (R), 506  
 "Enlightened Despotism in Russia," by Brennan, 737  
 "Entangling Alliances with None," by Kaplan (E), 543  
 "L'envers de l'Eldorado," by Gomez, 1150  
 Eph'al, Israel, "The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent, 9th–5th Centuries B.C.," 673  
 Epstein, Mark A. (R), 471  
 Epstein, Steven (R), 1032  
 Erdödy, Gábor, editor, "Das Parteienwesen Österreich-Ungarns" (E), 1435  
 Erlich, Mark, "With Our Hands: The Story of Carpenters in Massachusetts," 762  
 "Errand to the World," by Hutchison, 780  
 Escobar, Edward J., and James B. Lane, editors, "Forging a Community: The Latino Experience in Northwest Indiana, 1919–1975" (E), 1438  
 Esler, Anthony (R), 1296  
 "Esperienze religiose e opere assistenziali nei secoli XII e XIII," edited by Merlo, 1032  
 "Essays in Jewish Social and Economic History," by Kahan, 682  
 "Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects," by Ward, 123  
 Estes, J. Worth (R), 665  
 "Estonia and the Estonians," by Raun, 1367  
 "Estudios en homenaje a Don Claudio Sanchez Albornoz en sus 90 años: Anexos de cuadernos de historia de España" (E), 815  
 "E. Sylvia Pankhurst," by Romero, 1056  
 "L'età dei Lumi," edited by Ajello *et al.* (E), 539  
 "Eternal Victory," by McCormick, 1028  
 Eubank, Keith (R), 388  
 "Eureka Summit," by Mayle, 1015  
 "European Jewry and the First Crusade," by Chazan, 1031  
 "European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism," by Israel, 135  
 Evans, J. A. S. (R), 675  
 Evans, J. A. S., and R. W. Unger, editors, "Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History" (E), 540  
 Evans, R. J. W. (R), 1038  
 Evans, Richard J., and Dick Geary, editors, "The German Unemployed: Experiences and Consequences of Mass Unemployment from the Weimar Republic to the Third Reich," 445  
 Evergates, Theodore (R), 1029  
 "Everything That Floats," by Kaplan, 798  
 "Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois," by Bradley, 1394  
 "The Evolving Constitution," edited by Dorsen (E), 1159  
 "Expanding the Past," edited by Stearns (E), 1431  
 "Explaining Religion," by Preus, 1293  
 "The Extraterrestrial Life Debate, 1750–1900," by Crowe, 1020  
 Fabel, Robin F. A., "Bombast and Broadides: The Lives of George Johnstone," 1327  
 Fabian, Johannes, "Language and Colonial Power: The Appropriation of Swahili in the Former Belgian Congo, 1880–1938," 204  
 Fahey, John, "The Inland Empire: Unfolding Years, 1879–1929," 241  
 Fahey, John, "The Kalispel Indians," 490  
 Fair, John D. (R), 712  
 Fairbank, John K., and Albert Feuerwerker, editors, "The Cambridge History of China." Volume 13, Part 2, "Republican China 1912–1949," 209  
 Fairbank, John King, "The Great Chinese Revolution, 1800–1985," 754  
 Fairchilds, Cissie (R), 427  
 Fairclough, Adam, "To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr.," 1419  
 Falcón, Romana, "Revolución y Caciquismo: San Luis Potosí, 1910–1938," 808  
 "Fama e infamia," by Migliorino, 131  
 Famiglietti, R. C., "Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI, 1392–1420," 1310  
 "Famille et propriété dans le royaume de Naples (XV<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle)," by Delille, 1080  
 "Family Life in Western Societies," by Goldthorpe, 1291  
 "The Fantastic Life of Walter Murray Gibson," by Adler and Kamins, 1407  
 Faragher, John Mack (R), 513, 759  
 Faragher, John Mack, "Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie," 501  
 Farmer, James O., Jr. (R), 236  
 Farmer, Sharon (R), 1032  
 Farquharson, J. (R), 1078  
 "Fascism in Film," by Landy, 456  
 "Fascism in Popular Memory," by Passerini, 1082  
 Fass, Paula S. (R), 519, 1389  
 "A Fatal Friendship," by Llewellyn-Jones, 1384  
 "Fateful Months," by Browning, 1076  
 Faust, Anselm, "Arbeitsmarktpolitik im deutschen Kaiserreich: Arbeitsvermittlung, Arbeitsbeschaffung und Arbeitslosenunterstützung 1890–1918," 1354  
 "FDR," by Davis, 792  
 "Fear, Myth, and History," by Davis, 688  
 Feaver, George (R), 706  
 Fee, Elizabeth, "Disease and Discovery: A History of the Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health, 1916–1939," 1129  
 Fehrenbacher, Don E., "Lincoln in Text and Context: Collected Essays," 1404  
 Feingold, Henry L. (R), 119  
 Feldman, Gerald D. (R), 445  
 Fell, A. London, "Origins of Legislative Sovereignty and the Legislative State." Volume 3, "Bodin's Humanistic Legal System and Rejection of 'Medieval Political Theology,'" 1039

- Fellman, Michael (R), 763  
 "Female Felons," by Hull, 1111  
 "Feminism and Democracy," by Holton, 1331  
 Ferguson, Margaret W., et al., editors, "Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe," 407  
 Fermer, Douglas, "James Gordon Bennett and the *New York Herald*: A Study of Editorial Opinion in the Civil War Era, 1854–1867," 492  
 Fernandez, Damian J., and Jaime Suchlicki, editors, "Cuban Foreign Policy: The New Internationalism" (E), 1160  
 Fernando, Tissa (R), 1384  
 Ferrell, Robert H. (R), 249  
 Ferrill, Arther (R), 1304  
*Feudalism, Capitalism, and the World-System in the Perspective of Latin America and the Caribbean*, by Stern, 829–72  
 Feuer, Lewis, "Imperialism and the Anti-Imperialist Mind," 1013  
 Feuerwerker, Albert (R), 477  
 Feuerwerker, Albert, and John K. Fairbank, editors, "The Cambridge History of China," Volume 13, Part 2, "Republican China 1912–1949," 209  
 Field, Alexander J., editor, "The Future of Economic History" (E), 266  
 Field, Phyllis F. (R), 1403  
*The Filmmaker as Historian*, by Toplin, 1210–27  
 Findling, John E., "Close Neighbors, Distant Friends: United States–Central American Relations," 763  
 Fink, Gary M (R), 238  
 "Finland between East and West," by Polvinen, 1350  
 Finlay, Robert, *The Refashioning of Martin Guerre*, 553–71  
 "Fire across the Sea," by Havens, 1100  
 "The First Austrian Republic, 1918–1938," by Carsten, 1083  
 "The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading," by Riley-Smith, 133  
 "The First Peacetime Draft," by Clifford and Spencer, 793  
 Fishbein, Leslie (R), 1128  
 Fisher, Andrew, "William Wallace," 1312  
 Fisher, Ralph T., Jr. (R), 744  
 "The Fisherman's Problem," by McEvoy, 491  
 Fitzgerald, Oscar P., and Edward J. Marolda, "The United States Navy and the Vietnam Conflict," Volume 2, "From Military Assistance to Combat, 1959–1965," 527  
 Fitzsimmons, Michael P., "The Parisian Order of Barristers and the French Revolution," 1064  
 "Five Political Leaders of Modern Japan," by Oka, 481  
 Fixico, Donald L., "Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945–1960," 257  
 Fladeland, Betty (R), 504  
 "Flanders and England," by Murray, 142  
 Fleischer, Cornell H., "Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541–1600)," 745  
 Fleischhauer, Ingeborg, and Benjamin Pinkus, "The Soviet Germans: Past and Present," 194  
 Fleischhauer, Ingeborg, "Die Deutschen im Zarenreich: Zwei Jahrhunderte deutsch-russische Kulturgemeinschaft," 194  
 Flint, John (R), 202  
 "Florilegium Columbianum," edited by Selig and Somerville (E), 538  
 Fogel, Joshua A., "Ai Ssu-chi's Contribution to the Development of Chinese Marxism," 1380  
 Fogel, Joshua A., *The Debates over the Asiatic Mode of Production in Soviet Russia, China, and Japan*, 56–79  
 Foglesong, Richard E. (R), 778  
 Foley, Patrick (R), 117  
 Foner, Philip S. (C), 551, 1172  
 Foner, Philip S. (R), 784  
 Fontana, Bernard L., and Clifton B. Kroeber, "Massacre on the Gila: An Account of the Last Major Battle between American Indians, with Reflections on the Origin of War," 502  
 Fontana, Biancamaria, "Rethinking the Politics of Commercial Society: The *Edinburgh Review*, 1802–1832," 697  
 Forbes, Andrew D. W., "Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia: A Political History of Republican Sinkiang, 1911–1949," 1377  
 "Force, Fate, and Freedom," by Bendix, 1291  
 Forcey, Charles (R), 250  
 "Fordson, Farmall, and Poppin' Johnny," by Williams, 1130  
 "Foreign and Female," by Weatherford, 1122  
 "Foreign Policy and Human Rights," edited by Vincent (E), 266  
 "Foreign Policy in the Early Republic," by Lang, 769  
 "Forest Park," by Loughlin and Anderson, 515  
 "Forging a Community," edited by Lane and Edward (E), 1438  
 "The Forging of the Union, 1781–1789," by Morris, 768  
 "Forgotten Prophet," by Clayton, 250  
 "The Formation of the Nazi Constituency, 1919–1933," edited by Childers, 1072  
 Forster, Ben, "A Conjunction of Interests: Business, Politics, and Tariffs, 1825–1879," 260  
 Forster, Robert (R), 160, 1066  
 Förster, Stig, "Der doppelte Militarismus: Die deutsche Heeresrüstungspolitik zwischen Status-Quo-Sicherung und Aggression 1890–1913," 443  
 "For the Common Defense," by Millett and Maslowski, 489  
 Foster, Benjamin R. (R), 123  
 Foster, Gaines M., "Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913," 776  
 Fouracre, Paul, and Wendy Davies, editors, "The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe," 1029  
 Fox, Alistair, and John Guy, "Reassessing the Henrician Age: Humanism, Politics, and Reform, 1500–1550," 141  
 Fox, Daniel M., "Health Policies, Health Politics: The British and American Experience, 1911–1965," 1017  
 Fox, Richard Wightman (R), 1127  
 "Framing the Criminal," by Papke, 1116  
 "France," by Weber, 164  
 "La France restaurée 1944–1954," by Bloch-Lainé and Bouvier, 1066  
 "Frances Willard," by Bordin, 238  
 Frank, Douglas, "Less Than Conquerors: How Evangelicals Entered the Twentieth Century," 781  
 "Franklin of Philadelphia," by Wright, 495  
 "Frantz Jourdain and the Samaritaine," by Clausen, 1344  
 Frazee, Charles A. (R), 469  
 "Freda Kirchwey," by Alpern, 1132



- "Frederick the Great," by Asprey, 440  
 Fredriksson, Kristine (R), 1396  
 Freed, John B. (R), 403, 1029, 1309  
 "Freedom's Shore," by Duncan, 236  
 Freehling, William W. (R), 771  
 Freidel, Frank (R), 213  
 "Die freien Gewerkschaften im Ruhrkampf 1923," by Ruck, 445  
 French, David, "British Strategy and War Aims, 1914-1916," 419  
 French, Roger, and Frank Greenaway, editors, "Science in the Early Roman Empire: Pliny the Elder, His Sources and Influence," 398  
 "The French-Canadian Heritage in New England," by Brault, 488  
 "The French Generation of 1820," by Spitzer, 1342  
 "The French Parlements and the Crisis of the Old Regime," by Stone, 160  
 "The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture," edited by Baker (E), 816  
 Frenz, Thomas, "Die Kanzlei der Päpste der Hochrenaissance (1471-1527)," 185  
 "Freud," edited by Stepansky (E), 1156  
 "Freud and His Father," by Krüll, 671  
 Freudenberg, Herman (R), 170, 1319  
 Frey, Linda, and Marsha Frey, "Societies in Upheaval: Insurrections in France, Hungary, and Spain in the Early Eighteenth Century," 678  
 Frey, Marsha, and Linda Frey, "Societies in Upheaval: Insurrections in France, Hungary, and Spain in the Early Eighteenth Century," 678  
 Freyer, Tony (R), 1298  
 Fridenson, Patrick, and André Straus, editors, "Le capitalisme français XIX<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle: Blocages et dynamismes d'une croissance," 1066  
 Fried, Richard (R), 1140  
 Friedman, Edward (R), 1380  
 Friedman, Jean E. (R), 1391  
 Friedman, Jerome, "Blasphemy, Immorality, and Anarchy: The Ranters and the English Revolution," 1045  
 Friedman, Jerome, editor, "Regnum, Religio et Ratio: Essays Presented to Robert M. Kingdon" (E), 1432  
 Friedrich, Paul, "The Princes of Naranja: An Essay in Anthrohistorical Method," 1429  
 Frier, Bruce W. (R), 1026  
 Friesen, Jean (R), 1423  
 Frisch, Michael (R), 1106  
 Fröbe, Rainer, *et al.*, "Konzentrationslager in Hannover: KZ-Arbeit und Rüstungsindustrie in der Spätphase des Zweiten Weltkriegs," 183  
 "From Blessing to Violence," by Bloch, 206  
 "From Homicide to Slavery," by Davis, 757  
 "From Humanism to the Humanities," by Grafton and Jardine, 405  
 "From Insurrection to Revolution in Mexico," by Tutino, 805  
 "From Progressivism to Prosperity," by Wynn, 518  
 "From Scandinavia to America," edited by Jørgensen *et al.* (E), 819  
 "From Slave South to New South," by Wallenstein, 1120  
 "From Unification to Nazism," by Eley, 172  
 "From Waterloo to Balaclava," by Strachan, 150  
 "The Frontier Republic," by Cayton, 499  
 Fryer, Peter, "Staying Power: Black People in Britain since 1504," 412  
 Frykman, George A. (R), 258  
 Frykman, Jonas, and Orvar Löfgren, "Culture Builders: A Historical Anthropology of Middle-Class Life," 1349  
 Fuchs, Rachel G. (R), 431  
 Fuhrmann, Horst, "Germany in the High Middle Ages, c. 1050-1200," 403  
 Fuhrmann, Joseph T. (R), 410  
 "Fukuzawa Yukichi on Education," edited by Kiyooka, 210  
 Fulcher, Jane F., "The Nation's Image: French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art," 1343  
 Fuller, Ken, "Radical Aristocrats: London Busworkers from the 1880s to the 1980s," 152  
 Fuller, Wayne E. (R), 521  
 Furet, François, editor, "Jules Ferry, fondateur de la République: Actes du colloque organisé par l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales," 430  
 Fursenko, A. A., "Nef'tianye voyny (konets XIX-nachalo XX v.)," 1013  
 "The Future of Economic History," edited by Field (E), 266  
 Fye, W. Bruce, "The Development of American Physiology: Scientific Method in the Nineteenth Century," 778  
 Gaffield, Chad, "Language, Schooling, and Cultural Conflict: The Origins of the French-Language Controversy in Ontario," 1425  
 Gagarin, Michael, "Early Greek Law," 394  
 Gagliardo, John G. (R), 441  
 Gagnier, Regenia, "Idylls of the Marketplace: Oscar Wilde and the Victorian Public," 152  
 Galishoff, Stuart (R), 1129  
 Gallagher, Gary W. (R), 505  
 "Gamaliel Bailey and Antislavery Union," by Harrold, 504  
 Gamble, Richard C., and Charles G. Dennison, editors, "Pressing toward the Mark: Essays Commemorating Fifty Years of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church" (E), 819  
 Gann, L. H., and Peter J. Duignan, "The Hispanics in the United States: A History," 782  
 "Ganymede in the Renaissance," by Saslow, 185  
 García Arancón, María Raquel, "Teobaldo II de Navarra (1253-1270): Gobierno de la Monarquía y recursos financieros," 1311  
 García, Mario T. (R), 240  
 Gardner, Lloyd C., editor, "Redefining the Past: Essays in Diplomatic History in Honor of William Appleman Williams," 216  
 Gargan, Edward T. (R), 717  
 Garner, Richard L., *Long-Term Silver Mining Trends in Spanish America: A Comparative Analysis of Peru and Mexico*, 898-935  
 Garon, Sheldon (R), 481  
 Garrett, Clarke (R), 1316  
 Garrett, Clarke, "Spirit Possession and Popular Religion: From the Camisards to the Shakers," 1294  
 Garrioch, David, "Neighbourhood and Community in Paris, 1740-1790," 427  
 Garrow, David J., "Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference," 1418  
 Gartman, David, "Auto Slavery: The Labor Process in the American Auto Industry, 1897-1950," 785  
 Gatewood, Willard B., Jr. (R), 795

- "Gathering Rare Ores," by Helmreich, 794  
 Gati, Charles, "Hungary and the Soviet Bloc," 736  
 Gawantka, Wilfried, "Die sogenannte Polis: Entstehung, Geschichte und Kritik der modernen althistorischen Grundbegriffe der griechische Staat, die griechische Staatsidee, die Polis," 396  
 Gay, Peter, "The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud." Volume 2, "The Tender Passion," 116  
 Geary, Dick, and Richard J. Evans, editors, "The German Unemployed: Experiences and Consequences of Mass Unemployment from the Weimar Republic to the Third Reich," 445  
 Gebara, Ademir, "O mercado de trabalho livre no Brasil (1871–1888)," 1152  
 Gehrke, Hans-Joachim, "Jenseits von Athen und Sparta: Das Dritte Griechenland und seine Staatenwelt," 126  
 Geiger, Roger L. (R), 1138  
 Geiger, Roger L., "To Advance Knowledge: The Growth of American Research Universities, 1900–1940," 244  
 Geiger, Virginia, editor, "Maryland Our Maryland: From the Maryland Our Maryland Symposium at the College of Notre Dame of Maryland" (E), 271  
 Gellately, Robert (R), 1358  
 "Gender at Work," by Milkman, 522  
 "General A. P. Hill," by Robertson, 1119  
 "Genèse médiévale de l'état moderne," edited by Rucquoi (E), 1432  
 "The Genesis of Czechoslovakia," by Kalvoda, 189  
 "The Geneva Conference of 1954 on Indochina," by Cable, 708  
 "Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe," edited by Jones, 1034  
 "George C. Marshall," by Pogue, 1135  
 "George Nowlan," by Conrad, 531  
 "George S. Messersmith," by Stiller, 1415  
 Gerber, Haim, "The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East," 1095  
 "Gerbert d'Aurillac, le pape de l'an mil," by Riché, 1307  
 Gerbi, Antonello, "Nature in the New World: From Christopher Columbus to Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo," 390  
 "The German-American Experience in Missouri," edited by Marshall and Goodrich (E), 543  
 "German History in Marxist Perspective," by Dorpalen, 166  
 "German Peasants and Agrarian Politics, 1914–1924," by Moeller, 443  
 "The German Slump," by James, 176  
 "The German Student Corps in the Third Reich," by Weber, 448  
 "The German Unemployed," edited by Evans and Geary, 445  
 "Germany between East and West," edited by Moreton (E), 817  
 "Germany in the High Middle Ages," by Fuhrmann, 403  
 "Germany's Vision of Empire in Venezuela," by Herwig, 174  
 Gershoni, Israel, and James P. Jankowski, "Egypt and the Arabs: The Search for Egyptian Nationhood, 1900–1930," 747  
 Gerteis, Louis S., "Morality and Utility in American Antislavery Reform," 1117  
 Gerwing, Manfred, "Malogranatum oder der dreifache Weg zur Vollkommenheit: Ein Beitrag zur Spiritualität des Spätmittelalters," 1305  
 "Geschichte der Produktivkräfte in Deutschland von 1800 bis 1945," edited by Berthold *et al.*, 170  
 "Gesellschaft und Politik in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone," by Woller, 1358  
 "Gestalten der Bismarckzeit," edited by Seeber, 1069  
 Gestrich, Andreas, "Traditionelle Jugendkultur und Industrialisierung: Sozialgeschichte der Jugend in einer ländlichen Arbeitergemeinde Württembergs 1800–1920," 171  
 Geyer, Dietrich, "The Russian Revolution: Historical Problems and Perspectives," 1370  
 Geyer, Michael (R), 168, 443  
 "G. F. Müller and the Imperial Russian Academy," by Black, 192  
 "Ghana," by Pellow and Chazan, 474  
 Ghibaudi, Silvia Rota, and Gian Mario Bravo, editors, "Il pensiero politico contemporaneo." Volume 3 (E), 812  
 "Ghosts of the Confederacy," by Foster, 776  
 Gibbons, William Conrad, "The U.S. Government and the Vietnam War: Executive and Legislative Roles and Relationships." Volume 1, "1945–1960"; volume 2, "1961–1964," 796  
 Gibson, James William, "The Perfect War: Technowar in Vietnam," 528  
 Gibson, Mary (R), 1041  
 Gibson, Mary, "Prostitution and the State in Italy, 1860–1915," 187  
 Gienapp, William E., "The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852–1856," 1402  
 Gilbert, Trond (R), 1350  
 Gilbert, Bentley Brinkerhoff (R), 421, 1334  
 "Gilbert Tennent, Son of Thunder," by Coalter, 1110  
 Gilderhus, Mark T., "Pan American Visions: Woodrow Wilson in the Western Hemisphere, 1913–1921," 248  
 Gilkeson, John S., Jr., "Middle-Class Providence, 1820–1940," 762  
 Gillis, John R. (R), 1291  
 Gillis, R. Peter, and Thomas R. Roach, "Lost Initiatives: Canada's Forest Industries, Forest Policy, and Forest Conservation," 531  
 Gillispie, Charles C. (R), 136  
 Gillon, Steven M., "Politics and Vision: The ADA and American Liberalism, 1947–1985," 1420  
 Gipouloux, François, "Les Cents Fleurs à l'Usine: Agitation ouvrière et crise du modèle soviétique en Chine 1956–1957," 1381  
 Giraud, Marcel, "The Métis in the Canadian West," 1423  
 Glad, Paul W. (R), 518  
 "Gladstone, Home Rule, and the Ulster Question," by Loughlin, 710  
 Glandon, Virginia E. (R), 711  
 Glazer, Penina Migdal (R), 223  
 Glazer, Penina Migdal, and Miriam Slater, "Unequal Colleagues: The Entrance of Women into the Professions, 1890–1940," 518  
 "Glencoe and the End of the Highland War," by Hopkins, 424  
 "Godly Learning," by Morgan, 1324  
 "Godly Zeal and Furious Rage," by Quaipe, 1316  
 "God's Caliph," by Crone and Hinds, 469  
 Goetz, Hans-Werner, "Leben im Mittelalter: Vom 7. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert," 1308

- Goetzmann, William H., and William N. Goetzmann, "The West of the Imagination," 215
- Goetzmann, William N., and William H. Goetzmann, "The West of the Imagination," 215
- Gold, Penny S. (R), 677
- Goldberg, Joyce S., "The Baltimore Affair," 1124
- Goldberg, Robert Alan, "Back to the Soil: The Jewish Farmers of Clarion, Utah, and Their World," 788
- Goldsmith, James L. (R), 713
- Goldthorpe, J. E., "Family Life in Western Societies: A Historical Sociology of Family Relationships in Britain and North America," 1291
- Goldwin, Robert A., and Art Kaufman, editors, "How Does the Constitution Protect Religious Freedom?" (E), 1437
- Gomez, Thomas, "L'envers de l'Eldorado: Economie coloniale et travail indigene dans la Colombie du XVI<sup>eme</sup> siècle," 1150
- Gómez-Mendoza, A. (R), 1347
- "Good Families of Barcelona," by McDonogh, 435
- Goodman, David S. G., "Centre and Province in the People's Republic of China: Sichuan and Guizhou, 1955-1965," 479
- Goodrich, James W., and Howard Wight Marshall, editors, "The German-American Experience in Missouri: Essays in Commemoration of the Tricentennial of German Immigration to America, 1683-1983" (E), 543
- Goody, Jack, "The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society," 667
- Gorham, Deborah (R), 1051
- Goria, Wade R., "Sovereignty and Leadership in Lebanon, 1943-1976," 201
- Gormly, James L. (R), 388, 1015
- Gormly, James L., "The Collapse of the Grand Alliance, 1945-1948," 1299
- Gorn, Elliott J., "The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America," 1398
- Gotoda, Teruo, "The Local Politics of Kyoto," 211
- Gottfried, Robert S., "Doctors and Medicine in Medieval England, 1340-1530," 1312
- Gottlieb, Peter, "Making Their Own Way: Southern Blacks' Migration to Pittsburgh, 1916-1930," 789
- Gough, Austin, "Paris and Rome: The Gallican Church and the Ultramontane Campaign, 1848-1853," 163
- Gourevitch, Peter, "Politics in Hard Times: Comparative Responses to International Economic Crises," 1288
- Gourvish, T. R., "British Railways, 1948-73: A Business History," 1337
- "The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa," edited by Long and Reich, 393
- "The Government of England under Henry I," by Green, 402
- "The Government of Philip Augustus," by Baldwin, 130
- Graebner, Norman A., editor, "The National Security: Its Theory and Practice, 1945-1960," 524
- Graff, Harvey J., "The Legacies of Literacy: Continuities and Contradictions in Western Culture and Society," 1012
- Grafton, Anthony, and Lisa Jardine, "From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe," 405
- Graham, Helen, and Paul Preston, editors, "The Popular Front in Europe," 1043
- Graham, Hugh Davis (R), 1419
- Graham, Hugh F. (R), 192
- Graham, Otis L., Jr. (R), 247
- Granatstein, J. L. (R), 1143
- Grandner, Margarete, and Gerald Stourzh, editors, "Historische Wurzeln der Sozialpartnerschaft" (E), 542
- Grant, Edward (R), 1018
- Grant, Edward, and John E. Murdoch, editors, "Mathematics and Its Applications to Science and Natural Philosophy in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Marshall Clagett" (E), 268
- Granzow, Uwe, "Quadrant, Kompass und Chronometer: Technische Implikationen des euro-asiatischen Seehandels von 1500 bis 1800," 1021
- Grasso, June M., "Truman's Two-China Policy, 1948-1950," 1416
- Grathwol, Robert P. (R), 725
- "The Great American Housewife," by Ogden, 222
- "The Great Chinese Revolution, 1800-1985," by Fairbank, 754
- Greaves, Richard L. (R), 1045
- "Greek Insects," by Davies and Kathirithamby, 1026
- "Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt," by Lewis, 1302
- Green, Judith A., "The Government of England under Henry I," 402
- Green, William A. (R), 532
- Greenaway, Frank, and Roger French, editors, "Science in the Early Roman Empire: Pliny the Elder, His Sources and Influence," 398
- Greenbaum, Louis S. (R), 716
- Greene, Jack P., "Peripheries and Center: Constitutional Development in the Extended Politics of the British Empire and the United States, 1607-1788," 496
- Greene, John C. (R), 391
- Greene, Victor R., "American Immigrant Leaders, 1800-1910: Marginality and Identity," 761
- Greenough, Paul (R), 1101
- Greenstein, Lewis J. (R), 1098
- Gregory, Paul R. (R), 195
- Gregory, Robert G. (R), 749
- "Grenzen der Sozialdisziplinierung," by Peukert, 172
- Gressley, Gene M. (R), 217
- Grieder, Jerome B. (R), 209
- "Der Griff nach der Bevölkerung," edited by Kaupen-Haas, 1356
- Grill, Johnpeter H. (R), 725
- Grindle, Merilee (R), 1149
- Griswold, Wendy, "Renaissance Revivals: City Comedy and Revenge Tragedy in the London Theatre, 1576-1980," 1322
- Gross, Hanns (R), 721, 1318
- Gross, James A. (R), 1133
- Grossberg, Lawrence, and Cary Nelson, editors, "Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture" (E), 1155
- Grossberg, Michael (R), 1105
- "Die Grossindustrie Böhmens 1848-1918," by Brousek, 1364
- Grosskurth, Phillis, "Melanie Klein: Her World and Her Work," 671
- Guarini, Elena Fasano, editor, "Prato: Storia di una città." Volume 2, "Un microcosmo in movimento (1494-1815)," 453
- Guarneri, Carl, and David Alvarez, editors, "Religion and Society in the American West: Historical Essays" (E), 543

- Gudmundson, Lowell (R), 810  
 Gudmundson, Lowell, "Costa Rica before Coffee: Society and Economy on the Eve of the Export Boom," 263  
 Gullickson, Gay L., "Spinners and Weavers of Auffay: Rural Industry and the Sexual Division of Labor in a French Village, 1750–1850," 715  
 Gunn, J. A. W. (R), 696  
 "Gunnar Myrdal and Black-White Relations," by Southern, 795  
 Das Gupta, Ashin, and M. N. Pearson, editors, "India and the Indian Ocean, 1500–1800" (E), 1437  
 Gutmann, Myron P. (R), 1347  
 Guttmann, Allen, "Sports Spectators," 1024  
 Guy, John, and Alistair Fox, "Reassessing the Henrician Age: Humanism, Politics, and Reform, 1500–1550," 141  
 Gwyn, Julian (R), 695
- Hachey, Thomas E. (R), 707  
 "La Hacienda del siglo XIX," by Artola, 1347  
 Hacker, Barton C., "The Dragon's Tail: Radiation Safety in the Manhattan Project, 1942–1946," 1415  
 Haddad, William W. (R), 201  
 Hagan, William T. (R), 1103  
 Hagen, William W. (R), 733  
 Hager, Hellmut (R), 186  
 Hahn, Steven (R), 1405  
 Haigh, Christopher, editor, "The English Reformation Revised" (E), 268  
 Haikala, Sisko, "'Britische Freiheit' und das Englandbild in der öffentlichen deutschen Diskussion im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert," 722  
 "Haile Sellassie I.," by Marcus, 1375  
 Halevi, Ran, "Les loges maçonniques dans la France d'Ancien Régime: Aux origines de la sociabilité démocratique," 716  
 Haley, John, "Charles N. Hunter and Race Relations in North Carolina," 1119  
 Haley, K. H. D., "An English Diplomat in the Low Countries: Sir William Temple and John De Witt, 1665–1672," 691  
 Hall, Christopher, "Britain, America, and Arms Control, 1921–1937," 1014  
 Hall, John A., editor, "States in History" (E), 1155  
 Hall, Kermit L. (R), 1422  
 Hall, Linda B. (R), 532  
 Hall, Linda B., and Don M. Coerver, "Texas and the Mexican Revolution: A Study in State and National Border Policy, 1910–1920," 243  
 Hallman, Barbara McClung (R), 185  
 Halperin, Charles J., "The Tatar Yoke," 192  
 Halpern, Paul G. (R), 1345  
 Haltunen, Karen (R), 762  
 Hamalainen, Pekka Kalevi (R), 1367  
 Hamann, Brigitte, "Bertha von Suttner: Ein Leben für den Frieden," 1365  
 Hamburg, Gary M. (C), 286  
 Hamilton, Annette (R), 212, 484  
 Hamilton, Richard F. (R), 1072  
 Hamilton, Roberta (R), 1056  
 Hamilton, Virginia V. (R), 1411  
 Hamm, Thomas D. (R), 513  
 Hammack, David C. (R), 237  
 Hanscher, Albert N., "The Conseil Privé and the Parlements in the Age of Louis XIV: A Study in French Absolutism," 1341  
 Hanawalt, Barbara A., editor, "Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe," 406  
 "Hands and Hearts," by Rothman, 1105  
 Handy, Robert T., "A History of Union Theological Seminary in New York," 782  
 Hanning, Barbara R. (R), 1080  
 Hanscher, Albert N. (R), 426  
 Hansen, Arthur A. (R), 1136  
 Hansen, Emmanuel (R), 474  
 Hansen, Holger Bernt, "Mission, Church, and State in a Colonial Setting: Uganda, 1890–1925," 205  
 Hansen, Klaus J. (R), 1121  
 Hansen, Mogens Herman, "Die athenische Volksversammlung im Zeitalter des Demosthenes," 1301  
 Han Sung-Joo, and Robert A. Scalapino, editors, "United States-Korea Relations" (E), 542  
 Hao, Yen-p'ing (R), 1099  
 Harbutt, Fraser (R), 1335  
 Harbutt, Fraser H., "The Iron Curtain: Churchill, America, and the Origins of the Cold War," 794  
 "A Hard Country and a Lonely Place," by Link, 239  
 Hardach, Gerd (R), 443  
 Hardman, Keith J., "Charles Grandison Finney, 1792–1875: Revivalist and Reformer," 771  
 Hardy, Deborah (R), 196  
 Harley, J. B. (R), 1340  
 Harms, Robert (R), 204  
 Harnetty, Peter (R), 704  
 Harrell, David Edwin, Jr. (R), 781  
 Harris, Barbara J., "Edward Stafford: Third Duke of Buckingham, 1478–1521," 139  
 Harris, J. William (R), 1115  
 Harris, Robert D., "Necker and the Revolution of 1789," 716  
 Harrison, James P. (R), 482, 1378  
 Harrold, Stanley, "Gamaliel Bailey and Antislavery Union," 504  
 Hartley, Stephen, "The Irish Question as a Problem in British Foreign Policy, 1914–18," 1333  
 Hartley, William (C), 825  
 "Hasidism and the Jewish Enlightenment," by Mahler, 1364  
 Haskell, Thomas, L. (C), 826  
 Hassig, Ross (R), 1147  
 Hatch, Nathan O., and Harry S. Stout, editors, "Jonathan Edwards and the American Experience" (E), 1159  
 Hathaway, Robert M. (R), 672  
 Haupt, Georges, "Aspects of International Socialism: Essays by Georges Haupt," 410  
 Havens, Thomas R. H. (R), 755  
 Havens, Thomas R. H., "Fire across the Sea: The Vietnam War and Japan, 1965–1975," 1100  
 Hawley, Ellis W. (R), 792  
 Haycock, Ronald G., "Sam Hughes: The Public Career of a Controversial Canadian, 1885–1916," 261  
 Hayden, Dolores (R), 1121  
 Hayden, J. Michael (R), 160  
 Hayes, Peter (R), 176  
 Haygood, Tamara Miner, "Henry William Ravenel, 1814–1887: South Carolina Scientist in the Civil War," 1399  
 Hays, Samuel P., "Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955–1985," 1141

- Hayward, Fred M., editor, "Elections in Independent Africa" (E), 270
- Hazard, Harry W., and Norman P. Zacour, editors, "A History of the Crusades." Volume 5, "The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East," 134
- Hazleton, Jared E., and James E. Anderson, "Managing Macroeconomic Policy: The Johnson Presidency," 528
- "Health Policies, Health Politics," by Fox, 1017
- Hearden, Patrick J., "Roosevelt Confronts Hitler: America's Entry into World War II," 792
- Heick, Welf H. (R), 531
- Heller, Henry (C), 286
- Heller, Mikhail, and Aleksandr M. Nekrich, "Utopia in Power: The History of the Soviet Union from 1917 to the Present," 742
- Heller, Thomas C., *et al.*, editors, "Reconstructing Individualism: Autonomy, Individuality, and the Self in Western Thought" (E), 537
- Helmreich, Jonathan E. (R), 121
- Helmreich, Jonathan E., "Gathering Rare Ores: The Diplomacy of Uranium Acquisition, 1943–1954," 794
- "Helsinki-Ginevra," by Costa Bona, 1321
- Henderson, Peta, and Stephanie Coontz (C), 551
- Henderson, William Otto, "Manufactories in Germany," 170
- Henneman, John Bell, Jr. (R), 1310
- Hennis, Wilhelm, "Max Webers Fragestellung: Studien zur Biographie des Werks," 1069
- Henny, Sue, and Jean-Pierre Lehmann, editors, "Themes and Theories in Modern Japanese History: Essays in Memory of Richard Storry" (E), 1437
- "Henry VIII and James V's Regency, 1524–1528," by Eaves, 1339
- "Henry VIII and the English Nobility," by Miller, 140
- "Henry William Ravenel, 1814–1887," by Haygood, 1399
- Herbst, Jurgen (R), 1389
- Hercus, Luise, and Peter Sutton, editors, "This Is What Happened: Historical Narratives by Aborigines," 484
- Herlihy, David (R), 1316
- Herlihy, David, *Am I a Camera? Other Reflections on Films and History*, 1186–92
- Herlihy, Patricia, "Odessa: A History, 1794–1914," 1087
- Herr, Pamela, "Jessie Benton Fremont: A Biography," 772
- Herwig, Holger H., "Germany's Vision of Empire in Venezuela, 1871–1914," 174
- Hess, Gary (R), 1300
- Hess, Gary R., "The United States' Emergence as a Southeast Asian Power, 1940–1950," 1137
- Hetnal, Adam A. (R), 1362
- Heyck, Thomas William (R), 152
- Hezel, Francis X. (R), 1297
- "H. G. Wells," by Smith, 706
- Higgins, Trumbull (R), 157
- Higgs, David, "Nobles in Nineteenth-Century France: The Practice of Inegalitarianism," 1066
- Higham, Robin (R), 153
- Higham, Robin, "Diary of a Disaster: British Aid to Greece, 1940–1941," 157
- "Highroad to the Stake," by Kunze, 440
- Higonnet, Margaret Randolph, *et al.*, editors, "Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars," 1289
- Hill, Christopher, "The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill." Volume 3, "People and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century England," 690
- Hill, Samuel S., editor, "Varieties of Southern Religious Experience" (E), 1438
- Hillgarth, J. N. (R), 1311
- Hinde, Wendy, "Richard Cobden: A Victorian Outsider," 700
- Hindle, Brooke, and Steven Lubar, "Engines of Change: The American Industrial Revolution, 1790–1860," 232
- Hinds, Martin, and Patricia Crone, "God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam," 469
- Hirsch, Arnold R. (R), 797
- Hirsch, Herbert, and Jack D. Spiro, editors, "Persistent Prejudice: Perspectives on Anti-Semitism" (E), 1431
- Hirsch, Susan E. (R), 500
- "The Hispanics in the United States," by Gann and Duignan, 782
- "Histoire sociale des populations étudiantes," edited by Julia *et al.*, 1039
- "The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy," by Burke, 1539
- "Historical Anthropology of the Family," by Segalen, 666
- "The Historical Method of Flavius Josephus," by Villalba i Varneda, 1305
- Historiography and Historiophoty*, by White, 1193–99
- "Historische Wurzeln der Sozialpartnerschaft," edited by Stourzh and Grandner (E), 542
- History in Images/Images in History: Reflections on the Importance of Film and Television Study for an Understanding of the Past*, by O'Connor, 1200–09
- History in Images/History in Words: Reflections on the Possibility of Really Putting History onto Film*, by Rosenstone, 1173–85
- "A History of British Trade Unions since 1889," by Clegg, 418
- "A History of German Social Democracy from 1848 to the Present," by Miller and Potthoff, 723
- "History of Missouri," by Kirkendall, 253
- "The History of Statistics," by Stigler, 1019
- "History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad," by Stover, 1108
- "The History of the British Coal Industry," by Church, 417
- "A History of the Crusades," edited by Zacour and Hazard, 134
- "The History of the Medical College of Georgia," by Spalding, 1107
- "A History of Union Theological Seminary in New York," by Handy, 782
- "A History of U.S. Military Forces in Germany," by Nelson, 796
- History's Two Bodies*, by Davis, 1–30
- "Hitler," by Schreiber, 178
- "Hitler," by Zitelmann, 1355
- "Hitler and the Quest for World Dominion," by Stoakes, 1355
- "Hitler's Fall," edited by Short and Dolezel (E), 1434
- "Hitlers Herrschaft," by Jäckel, 178
- Hoak, Dale (R), 686
- Hoberman, John M. (R), 1024
- Hobhouse, Henry, "Seeds of Change: Five Plants That Transformed Mankind," 1022



- Hoch, Steven (R), 464, 1287  
Hoch, Steven L., "Serfdom and Social Control in Russia: Petrovskoe: A Village in Tambov," 196  
Hoddeson, Lillian, and Laurie M. Brown, editors, "The Birth of Particle Physics" (E), 813  
Hodges, Donald C., "Intellectual Foundations of the Nicaraguan Revolution," 534  
Hodges, Geoffrey, "The Carrier Corps: Military Labor in the East African Campaign, 1914-1918," 1098  
Hoensch, Jörg K., and Richard J. Wolff, editors, "Catholics, the State, and the European Radical Right, 1919-1945" (E), 268  
"Der Hof der Kurfürsten von Köln 1688-1794," by Winterling, 721  
Hoffmann, Peter (R), 1075  
Hoffmann, Richard C. (R), 1034  
Hofsommer, Don L., "The Southern Pacific, 1901-1985," 243  
Hogan, Michael J. (R), 255  
Holcombe, Lee, "Wives and Property: Reform of the Married Women's Property Law in Nineteenth-Century England," 1051  
Holley, I. B., Jr. (R), 523  
"The Hollywood Feature Film in Postwar Britain," by Swann, 1338  
Holoka, James P. (R), 124  
Holsinger, Donald C. (R), 393  
Holt, Mack P., "The Duke of Anjou and the Politique Struggle during the Wars of Religion," 159  
Holton, Sandra Stanley, "Feminism and Democracy: Women's Suffrage and Reform Politics in Britain, 1900-1918," 1331  
"Holy Things and Profane," by Upton, 494  
Homan, Gerlof D. (R), 211  
Homberger, Eric, "American Writers and Radical Politics, 1900-39: Equivocal Commitments," 1128  
Hoock, J., and B. Lepetit, editors, "La Ville et l'innovation: Relais et réseaux de diffusion en Europe 14<sup>e</sup>-19<sup>e</sup> siècles" (E), 268  
Hooglund, Eric, and Nikki R. Keddie, editors, "The Iranian Revolution and the Islamic Republic," 200  
Hoover, Dwight W. (R), 1130  
Hoover, Herbert T. (R), 1387  
"Hope among Us Yet," by Peeler, 1134  
Hopkins, Paul, "Glencoe and the End of the Highland War," 424  
"Horace Plunkett," by West, 711  
Horn, Pamela, "Rural Life in England in the First World War," 155  
Horowitz, Helen Lefkowitz, "Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present," 1389  
"Horses, Oxen, and Technological Innovation," by Langdon, 401  
Horsman, Reginald (R), 498, 1396  
Horsman, Reginald, "Josiah Nott of Mobile: Southerner, Physician, and Racial Theorist," 1118  
Horvath-Peterson, Sandra (R), 163  
Hoston, Germaine A., "Marxism and the Crisis of Development in Prewar Japan," 481  
Hovannisian, Richard G., editor, "The Armenian Genocide in Perspective" (E), 270  
"How Does the Constitution Protect Religious Freedom?" edited by Goldwin and Kaufman (E), 1437  
Howe, John, *The Nobility's Reform of the Medieval Church*, 317-39  
Howell, David, "A Lost Left: Three Studies in Socialism and Nationalism," 155  
Howell, Martha C., "Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities," 677  
Hu, C. T. (R), 1375  
Hubbard, William H., "Auf dem Weg zur Grossstadt: Eine Sozialgeschichte der Stadt Graz 1850-1914," 457  
Huch, Ronald K. (R), 699  
Huch, Ronald K., and Paul R. Ziegler, "Joseph Hume: The People's M.P.," 698  
Hucker, Charles O. (R), 756  
Hudson, Anne (R), 687  
Hudson, Hugh D., Jr., "The Rise of the Demidov Family and the Russian Iron Industry in the Eighteenth Century," 738  
Huel, Raymond (R), 1425  
Huey, Gary L. (R), 251  
"Hugh Dalton," by Pimlott, 422  
Hull, N. E. H., "Female Felons: Women and Serious Crime in Colonial Massachusetts," 1111  
Hulse, James W. (R), 410  
"Humanism and History," by Levine, 1046  
"Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII," by Dowling, 141  
"Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam," by Kraemer, 199  
"Humbert of Romans," by Brett, 1308  
"Hungary and the Soviet Bloc," by Gati, 736  
Hunt, Lynn (R), 161  
Hunt, Lynn, "Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution," 427  
Hunt, Michael H., "Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy," 1103  
Hunter, James, "The Making of the Crofting Community," 1060  
Hunter, Jean E. (R), 1329  
Huppert, George (R), 405  
Hutchison, I. G. C., "A Political History of Scotland, 1832-1924: Parties, Elections, and Issues," 1059  
Hutchison, William R., "Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions," 780  
Huttenback, Robert A. (R), 154  
Huttenback, Robert A., and Lance E. Davis, "Mammon and the Pursuit of Empire: The Political Economy of British Imperialism, 1860-1912," 704  
Hutton, Paul Andrew, editor, "Soldiers West: Biographies from the Military Frontier," 777  
Hyde, Charles K. (R), 693, 1015  
Hymes, Robert P., "Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-Chou, Chiang-Hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung," 1376  
Hyrkkänen, Markku, "Sozialistische Kolonialpolitik: Eduard Bernsteins Stellung zur Kolonialpolitik und zum Imperialismus 1882-1914; Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Revisionismus," 1070  
"Ich gehe nicht leichten Herzens . . .," by Osterheld, 450  
"Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy," by Hunt, 1103  
"Idylls of the Marketplace," by Gagnier, 152  
"If I Had a Hammer . . .," by Isserman, 1140  
"Illuminismo e rivoluzioni," by Tortarolo, 669  
"Illusion and Reality in Franco-American Diplomacy, 1914-1945," by Blumenthal, 1299  
"Imaging American Women," by Banta, 1123

- Immerman, Richard H. (R), 256  
 "The Immigrant Church and Community," by Alexander, 1410  
 "The Immigrant World of Ybor City," by Mormino and Pozzetta, 783  
 "Immodest Acts," by Brown, 731  
 "The Impact of Civilian Evacuation in the Second World War," by Crosby, 421  
 "Imperialism and the Anti-Imperialist Mind," by Feuer, 1013  
 "Independent Women," by Vicinus, 151  
 "India and the Indian Ocean, 1500–1800," edited by Das Gupta and Pearson (E), 1437  
 "Industrial Democracy in America," by Dickman, 1133  
 "Industrialisation and Social Inequality in 19th-Century Europe," by Kaelble, 1319  
 Ingle, H. Larry, "Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation," 234  
 Ingrao, Charles (R), 188, 1351  
 "In Its Corporate Capacity," by Young, 259  
 "The Inland Empire," by Fahey, 241  
 "In-Laws and Outlaws," by Wolfram, 693  
 "L'innovation technologique," edited by Hentenryk and Stengers (E), 539  
 "Inside Nazi Germany," by Peukert, 728  
 "In Stalin's Shadow," by De Grand, 683  
 "Intellectual Foundations of the Nicaraguan Revolution," by Hodges, 534  
 "An Intellectual History of Wartime Japan, 1931–1945," by Tsurumi, 210  
 "Intellectual Mastery of Nature," by Jungnickel and McCormmach, 664  
 "Intellectuals and the Future in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1890–1914," edited by Péter and Pynsent (E), 1435  
 "Intelligentsia and Revolution," by Burbank, 741  
 International Auschwitz Committee, "Nazi Medicine: Doctors, Victims, and Medicine in Auschwitz," 182  
 "The Interpretation of Material Shapes in Puritanism," by Kibbey, 1109  
 "Intimacy and Power in the Old South," by Stowe, 774  
 "An Introduction to Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire," by Barnes, 746  
 "The Invention of Athens," by Loraux, 396  
 "The Invisible Bar," by Morello, 223  
 "De l'iqta' étatique à l'iqta' militaire," by Abdallah, 744  
 "Iranian Jewry's Hour of Peril and Heroism," by Moreen, 1371  
 "The Iranian Revolution and the Islamic Republic," edited by Keddie and Hooglund, 200  
 "Iren und Deutsche in der neuen Welt," by Doerries, 509  
 "The Irish in Chicago," by McCaffrey, 1393  
 "The Irish Question as a Problem in British Foreign Policy, 1914–18," by Hartley, 1333  
 Iriye, Akira (R), 1103  
 "The Iron Curtain," by Harbutt, 794  
 Irschick, Eugene F. (R), 483  
 Isaacman, Allen (R), 472  
 Isherwood, Robert M. (R), 1341  
 "Islamic and Middle Eastern Societies," edited by Olson (E), 818  
 İslamoğlu-Inan, Huri, editor, "The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy" (E), 1436  
 "Islands of White," by Kennedy, 749  
 Israel, Jonathan I., "European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550–1750," 135  
 Isserman, Maurice (R), 1421  
 Isserman, Maurice, "If I Had a Hammer . . . : The Death of the Old Left and the Birth of the New Left," 1140  
 "Italia Judaica: 'Gli ebrei in Italia tra Riascimento ed Ete barocca'" (E), 1434  
 "Italian Politics," edited by Leonardi and Nanetti (E), 270  
 "Italian Politics," edited by Nanetti *et al.* (E), 1434  
 "Italien als Verbündeter," by Ropponen, 1320  
 "Les Italiens à Byzance," by Balard *et al.*, 1313  
 "Iudzhin Skailür i Bülgarite," edited by Traikov *et al.* (E), 542  
 Izenberg, Gerald N. (R), 671  
 Jäckel, Eberhard, "Hitlers Herrschaft: Vollzug einer Weltanschauung," 178  
 Jackson, Gabriel, *et al.*, "Octubre 1934: Cincuenta años para la reflexión," 436  
 Jackson, Peter, and Laurence Lockhart, editors, "The Cambridge History of Iran." Volume 6, "The Timurid and Safavid Periods," 470  
 Jackson, William, "Withdrawal from Empire: A Military View," 1335  
 "Jacob's Ladder and the Tree of Life," edited by Kuntz and Kuntz (E), 538  
 Jacobs, Sylvia M. (R), 670  
 Jacobs, Wilbur R. (C), 283  
 Jacobsen, Nils, and Hans-Jürgen Puhle, editors, "The Economies of Mexico and Peru during the Late Colonial Period, 1760–1810" (E), 544  
 Jacoby, Russell, "The Last Intellectuals: American Culture in the Age of Academe," 1421  
 Jaffe, Lorna S. (R), 419  
 Jaher, Frederic Cople (R), 777  
 Jaki, Stanley L., "Chesterton, A Seer of Science," 1055  
 James, Harold, "The German Slump: Politics and Economics, 1924–1936," 176  
 James, Mervyn, "Society, Politics, and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England," 413  
 James, Robert Rhodes, "Anthony Eden," 1057  
 James, Wendy, and Donald Donham, editors, "The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology" (E), 270  
 "James Gordon Bennett and the *New York Herald*," by Fermer, 492  
 "James Lick's Monument," by Wright, 509  
 Janiewski, Dolores (R), 522  
 Jankowski, James P., and Israel Gershoni, "Egypt and the Arabs: The Search for Egyptian Nationhood, 1900–1930," 747  
 "Japan Prepares for Total War," by Barnhart, 755  
 "Japanese Americans," edited by Daniels *et al.*, 1136  
 Jardine, Lisa, and Anthony Grafton, "From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe," 405  
 "Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux," by Wagner, 429  
 Jefferys, Steve, "Management and Managed: Fifty Years of Crisis at Chrysler," 522  
 Jenkins, Rhys, "Transnational Corporations and the Latin American Automobile Industry," 802

- Jennings, Lawrence C., and David Eltis, *Trade between Western Africa and the Atlantic World in the Pre-Colonial Era*, 936–59
- “Jenseits von Athen und Sparta,” by Gehrke, 126
- Jensen, Birgit Bjerre, “Udnævnelsesretten i enevældens magtpolitiske system 1660–1730,” 1348
- Jensen, Joan M. (R), 501
- Jenson, Carol E. (R), 1421
- “Jessie Benton Fremont,” by Herr, 772
- “Jewish Apostasy in the Modern World,” edited by Endelman (E), 1431
- Jewsiewicki, B. (R), 1096
- “The Jews in Russia,” by Leskov, 197
- “The Jews of the Ottoman Empire in the Late Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries,” by Shmuelewitz, 471
- Jimenez, Mary Ann, “Changing Faces of Madness: Early American Attitudes and Treatment of the Insane,” 1111
- “Joan of Arc,” by Barstow, 1032
- Jochens, Jenny M. (R), 1036
- Jockel, Joseph T., “No Boundaries Upstairs: Canada, the United States, and the Origins of North American Air Defense, 1945–1958,” 1427
- Joffe, Ellis, “The Chinese Army after Mao,” 1382
- Joffe, Richard (C), 825
- Johanson, Christine, “Women’s Struggle for Higher Education in Russia, 1855–1900,” 1088
- Johnson, Charles W. (R), 1415
- Johnson, Dale A. (R), 416
- Johnson, Hubert C. (R), 440
- Johnson, Owen V. (R), 1082
- Johnson, R. E. (R), 1089
- “The Johnson Years,” edited by Divine (E), 1160
- Johnston, William M. (R), 189, 734
- “John Stuart Mill and the Pursuit of Virtue,” by Semmel, 700
- Jonas, Manfred (R), 792
- “Jonathan Edwards and the American Experience,” edited by Hatch and Stout (E), 1159
- Jones, George Hilton (R), 1318
- Jones, Howard, “Mutiny on the *Amistad*: The Saga of a Slave Revolt and Its Impact on American Abolition, Law, and Diplomacy,” 234
- Jones, Michael, editor, “Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe,” 1034
- Jones, Robert E. (R), 738
- Jones, Terry L., “Lee’s Tigers: The Louisiana Infantry in the Army of Northern Virginia,” 775
- Jones, Whitney R. D., “David Williams: The Anvil and the Hammer,” 696
- Jordan, H. Glenn (R), 219
- Jordan, Winthrop D. (R), 220, 757
- Jørgensen, Steffen Elmer, *et al.*, editors, “From Scandinavia to America: Proceedings from a Conference Held at Gl. Holtegaard” (E), 819
- Jorgenson, Lloyd P., “The State and the Non-Public School, 1825–1925,” 1390
- “José Martí,” edited by Abel and Torrents, 1146
- Joseph, Gilbert M. (R), 808
- Joseph, Philip, editor, “The Economies of Eastern Europe and Their Foreign Economic Relations/L’économie des pays d’Europe de l’Est et leurs relations économiques extérieures” (E), 1435
- “Joseph Hume,” by Huch and Ziegler, 698
- “Joseph II,” by Beales, 1363
- “Joseph McCarthy,” by Landis, 1140
- “Josiah Nott of Mobile,” by Horsman, 1118
- “The Journey of Sir Walter Scott to Malta,” by Sultana, 1050
- Jowett, Garth S. (R), 1338
- “The Juárez Myth in Mexico,” by Weeks, 1149
- “Judas at the Jockey Club and Other Episodes of Porfirian Mexico,” by Beezley, 807
- “The Judgment of Sense,” by Summers, 1317
- “The Judicial Power of the United States,” by Orth, 760
- Juergens, George (R), 492
- “Jugoslawien in Strategie und Politik der Alliierten 1940–1943,” by Knoll, 1086
- “Jules Ferry, fondateur de la République,” edited by Furet, 430
- Julia, Dominique, *et al.*, editors, “Histoire sociale des populations étudiantes.” Volume 1, “Bohème, Espagne, Etats italiens, Pay germaniques, Pologne, Provinces-Unies,” 1039
- Jungnickel, Christa, and Russell McCormmach, “Intellectual Mastery of Nature: Theoretical Physics from Ohm to Einstein.” Volume 1, “The Torch of Mathematics, 1800–1870”; volume 2, “The Now Mighty Theoretical Physics, 1870–1925,” 664
- Junípero Serra’s Canonization and the Historical Record*, by Sandos, 1253–69
- “The Just Polity,” by Pollack, 1125
- “Justus Möser and the German Enlightenment,” by Knudsen, 441
- Jwaideh, Wadie (E), 818
- Kaelble, Hartmut, “Auf dem Weg zu einer europäischen Gesellschaft: Eine Sozialgeschichte Westeuropas 1880–1980,” 1320
- Kaelble, Hartmut, “Industrialisation and Social Inequality in 19th-Century Europe,” 1319
- Kagan, Richard C. (R), 255
- Kahan, Arcadius, “Essays in Jewish Social and Economic History,” 682
- Kahn, Arthur D., “The Education of Julius Caesar: A Biography, A Reconstruction,” 128
- Kaiser, Daniel H. (R), 460
- “Der Kaiser und Amerika,” by Pommerin, 1071
- Kalia, Ravi, “Chandigarh: In Search of an Identity,” 1102
- “The Kalispel Indians,” by Fahey, 490
- Kallgren, Joyce K., and Denis Fred Simon, editors, “Educational Exchanges: Essays on the Sino-American Experience” (E), 818
- Kalvoda, Josef, “The Genesis of Czechoslovakia,” 189
- Kamenka, Eugene, editor, “Utopias” (E), 1155
- Kamins, Robert M., and Jacob Adler, “The Fantastic Life of Walter Murray Gibson: Hawaii’s Minister of Everything,” 1407
- Kammen, Michael, “A Machine That Would Go of Itself: The Constitution in American Culture,” 215
- “Der Kampf um die Schulen in Westfalen 1933–1945,” by Damberg, 1074
- Kantowicz, Edward R. (R), 488, 1410
- “Die Kanzlei der Päpste der Hochrenaissance (1471–1527),” by Frenz, 185
- Kaplan, Karel, “Die politischen Prozesse in der Tschechoslowakei 1948–1954,” 191
- Kaplan, Lawrence S., “Entangling Alliances with None: American Foreign Policy in the Age of Jefferson” (E), 543

- Kaplan, Steven Laurence, and Cynthia J. Koepp, editors, "Work in France: Representations, Training, Organization, and Practice," 162
- Kaplan, William, "Everything That Floats: Pat Sullivan, Hal Banks, and the Seamen's Unions of Canada," 798
- "Karl Kraus," by Timms, 189
- Karniel, Joseph, "Die Toleranzpolitik Kaiser Josephs II," 457
- Kaspi, Andre (R), 1299
- Kater, Michael H. (R), 182, 1356
- Kathirithamby, Jeyaraney, and Malcolm Davies, "Greek Insects," 1026
- Katz, Jacob, editor, "Toward Modernity: The European Jewish Model," 1042
- Katz, Michael B., "Reconstructing American Education," 1389
- Kaufman, Art, and Robert A. Goldwin, editors, "How Does the Constitution Protect Religious Freedom?" (E), 1437
- Kaufman, Peter Iver, "The 'Polytyque Church': Religion and Early Tudor Political Culture, 1485–1516," 413
- Kaufman, Stuart B., *et al.*, editors, "The Samuel Gompers Papers." Volume 1, "The Making of a Union Leader, 1850–86," 238
- Kaupen-Haas, Hejdrun, editor, "Der Griff nach der Bevölkerung: Aktualität und Kontinuität nazistischer Bevölkerungspolitik," 1356
- Kaye, Harvey J. (R), 690
- Kazin, Michael, "Barons of Labor: The San Francisco Building Trades and Union Power in the Progressive Era," 511
- Keddie, Nikki R., and Eric Hooglund, editors, "The Iranian Revolution and the Islamic Republic," 200
- Keep, John (R), 1370
- "Keeper of Concentration Camps," by Drinnon, 254
- Kelikian, Alice A., "Town and Country under Fascism: The Transformation of Brescia, 1915–1926," 454
- Kelley, Donald R. (R), 1024
- Kelley, Robert (C), 284
- Kelley, Robert (R), 497
- Kelly, Thomas (R), 125
- Kelsall, Helen, and Keith Kelsall, "Scottish Lifestyle 300 Years Ago: New Light on Edinburgh and Border Families," 709
- Kelsall, Keith, and Helen Kelsall, "Scottish Lifestyle 300 Years Ago: New Light on Edinburgh and Border Families," 709
- Kendall, John C. (R), 488
- Kendle, John (R), 703
- Kendrick, Walter, "The Secret Museum: Pornography in Modern Culture," 1023
- Kenez, Peter, "The Birth of the Propaganda State: Soviet Methods of Mass Mobilization, 1917–1929," 467
- Kennedy, Dane, "Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890–1939," 749
- Kennedy, Thomas L. (R), 208
- Kenny, Michael G., "The Passion of Ansel Bourne: Multiple Personality in American Culture," 492
- Kent, Christopher A. (R), 1330
- Kent, Raymond K. (R), 206
- Kent, Susan Kingsley, "Sex and Suffrage in Britain, 1860–1914," 1051
- "The Kenya Pioneers," by Trzebinski, 476
- Kerr, James E. (R), 1148
- Kerridge, Eric, "Textile Manufactures in Early Modern England," 149
- Kessell, John L. (R), 502
- Kett, Joseph F. (R), 221, 1105
- Kettering, Sharon (R), 714
- Keuls, Eva C. (R), 394
- "Khlebnye tseny v Rossii za dva stoletia (XVIII–XIX vv.)," by Mironov, 195
- Khoury, Philip S., "Syria and the French Mandate: The Politics of Arab Nationalism," 1372
- Kibbey, Ann, "The Interpretation of Material Shapes in Puritanism: A Study of Rhetoric, Prejudice, and Violence," 1109
- Kieswetter, James K. (R), 1064
- Kiger, Joseph C. (R), 244
- Killingray, David, and Richard Rathbone, editors, "Africa and the Second World War," 473
- Kimball, Stanley B. (R), 1400
- Kimball, Warren F., editor, "Churchill and Roosevelt: The Complete Correspondence." Volume 1, "Alliance Emerging: October 1933–November 1942"; volume 2, "Alliance Forged: November 1942–February 1944"; volume 3, "Alliance Declining: February 1944–April 1945," 120
- Kindleberger, Charles P. (R), 1066
- Kinsbruner, Jay, "Petty Capitalism in Spanish America: The Pulperos of Puebla, Mexico City, Caracas, and Buenos Aires," 801
- "Kinship and Politics," by Kollmann, 460
- "Kinship, Business, and Politics," by Walker, 806
- The Kinship Domain in an East European Peasant Community: Pinkenhof, 1833–1850*, by Plakans and Wetherell, 359–386
- Kiple, Kenneth F. (R), 1022
- "Kipling and 'Orientalism,'" by Moore-Gilbert, 483
- Kiraly, Béla K., and Albert A. Nofi, editors, "East Central European War Leaders: Civilian and Military" (E), 1435
- Kirby, Jack Temple, "Rural Worlds Lost: The American South, 1920–1960," 789
- Kirchner, Walther, "Die deutsche Industrie und die Industrialisierung Russlands 1815–1914," 461
- Kirk, Elise K., "Music at the White House: A History of the American Spirit," 491
- Kirkendall, Richard S., "History of Missouri." Volume 5, "1919 to 1953," 253
- Kirkland, John (R), 1010
- Kirschbaum, Stanislav J., and Anne C. R. Roman, editors, "Reflections on Slovak History" (E), 817
- Kirschner, Don S. (R), 520
- Kishlansky, Mark A., "Parliamentary Selection: Social and Political Choice in Early Modern England," 686
- Kiss, Endre "Der Tod der k.u.k. Weltordnung in Wien: Ideengeschichte Österreichs um die Jahrhundertwende," 734
- Kiyooka, Eiichi, editor, "Fukuzawa Yukichi on Education: Selected Works," 210
- Klachko, Mary, "Admiral William Shepherd Benson: First Chief of Naval Operations," 1126
- Klaiber, Jeffrey (R), 1151
- Klausner, Samuel Z., and Victor M. Lidz, editors, "The Nationalization of the Social Sciences," 1138
- Klein, Herbert S., "African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean," 800
- Klein, Maury (R), 1406
- Kleinbauer, W. Eugene (R), 1295

- Kleppner, Paul, "Continuity and Change in Electoral Politics, 1893–1928," 1125
- Klier, John Doyle, "Russia Gathers Her Jews: The Origins of the 'Jewish Question' in Russia, 1772–1825," 195
- Kluger, Richard, "The Paper: The Life and Death of the *New York Herald Tribune*," 492
- Knight, Alan (R), 805, 1429
- Knight, Franklin W. (R), 800
- Knight, Isabel F. (R), 1025
- Knoll, Hans, "Jugoslawien in Strategie und Politik der Alliierten 1940–1943," 1086
- Knott, John, "Popular Opposition to the 1834 Poor Law," 1328
- Knudsen, Jonathan B., "Justus Möser and the German Enlightenment," 441
- Koehler, Lyle (R), 229, 1111
- Koepp, Cynthia J., and Steven Laurence Kaplan, editors, "Work in France: Representations, Training, Organization, and Practice," 162
- Köhler, Henning, "Adenauer und die rheinische Republik: Der erste Anlauf 1918–1924," 725
- Kohlstedt, Sally Gregory (R), 1399
- Kolb, Eberhard, "Bergen-Belsen: From 'Detention Camp' to Concentration Camp, 1943–1945," 1076
- Kolchin, Peter, "Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom," 1287
- Kolff, D. H. A., and C. A. Bayly, editors, "Two Colonial Empires: Comparative Essays on the History of India and Indonesia in the Nineteenth Century" (E), 818
- Kolinsky, Eva, editor, "Opposition in Western Europe" (E), 540
- Kollmann, Nancy Shields (R), 737
- Kollmann, Nancy Shields, "Kinship and Politics: The Making of the Muscovite Political System, 1345–1547," 460
- Komlos, John (R), 457, 1364
- König, Stefan, "Vom Dienst am Recht: Rechtsanwälte als Strafverteidiger im Nationalsozialismus," 1357
- "Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog," by de Jong, 211
- Konvitz, Josef W., "Cartography in France, 1660–1848: Science, Engineering, and Statecraft," 1340
- "Konzentrationslager in Hannover," by Fröbe *et al.*, 183
- Koonz, Claudia, "Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics," 727
- Koot, Gerard M. (R), 419, 1337
- Korboński, Andrzej (R), 1084
- Kors, Alan Charles, and Paul J. Korshin, editors, "Anticipations of the Enlightenment in England, France, and Germany" (E), 1157
- Korshin, Paul J., and Alan Charles Kors, editors, "Anticipations of the Enlightenment in England, France, and Germany" (E), 1157
- Korshin, Paul J., editor, "The American Revolution and Eighteenth-Century Culture: Essays from the 1976 Bicentennial Conference of the American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies," 230
- Kortepeter, C. Max, and Renda Günsel, editors, "The Transformation of Turkish Culture: The Atatürk Legacy" (E), 270
- Koschmann, J. Victor, "The Mito Ideology: Discourse, Reform, and Insurrection in Late Tokugawa Japan, 1790–1864," 1382
- Koshar, Rudy (R), 728
- Koshar, Rudy, "Social Life, Local Politics, and Nazism: Marburg, 1880–1935," 725
- Koszyk, Kurt, "Pressepolitik für Deutsche 1945–1949," 1078
- Kouri, E. I., and Tom Scott, editors, "Politics and Society in Reformation Europe: Essays for Sir Geoffrey Elton on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday" (E), 1157
- Kracht, Klaus (R), 1382
- Kraehe, Enno E. (R), 170
- Kraemer, Joel L., "Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam: The Cultural Revival during the Buyid Age," 199
- Krautheimer, Richard, "The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655–1667," 186
- Kren, George M. (R), 729
- Krentz, Peter (R), 125
- "Krest'iane i gorod v kapitalisticheskoi Rossii vtoroi poloviny XIX veka," by Ryndziunskii, 1089
- Krippendorff, Ekkehart, "Staat und Krieg: Die historische Logik politischer Unvernunft," 1011
- Kristeller, Paul Oskar (E), 538
- Kroeber, Clifton B., and Bernard L. Fontana, "Massacre on the Gila: An Account of the Last Major Battle between American Indians, with Reflections on the Origin of War," 502
- Krois, John Michael, "Cassirer: Symbolic Forms and History," 1008
- Krüll, Marianne, "Freud and His Father," 671
- Kube, Alfred, "Pour le mérite und Hakenkreuz: Hermann Göring im Dritten Reich," 180
- Kubicek, Robert (R), 750
- Kuisel, Richard F. (R), 1346
- "Kultur Analysen," edited by Lorenzer (E), 812
- Kunisch, Johannes, "Absolutismus: Europäische Geschichte vom Westfälischen Frieden bis zur Krise des Ancien Régime," 409
- Kunt, I. Metin (R), 745
- Kuntz, Marion Leathers, and Paul Grimley Kuntz, editors, "Jacob's Ladder and the Tree of Life: Concepts of Hierarchy and the Great Chain of Being" (E), 538
- Kuntz, Paul Grimley, and Marion Leathers Kuntz, editors, "Jacob's Ladder and the Tree of Life: Concepts of Hierarchy and the Great Chain of Being" (E), 538
- Kunz, Andreas, "Civil Servants and the Politics of Inflation in Germany, 1914–1924," 175
- Kunze, Michael, "Highroad to the Stake: A Tale of Witchcraft," 440
- Kurgen-Van Hentenryk, G., and J. Stengers, "L'innovation technologique: Facteur de changement (XIX<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècles)" (E), 539
- Kusmer, Kenneth L. (R), 246
- Kutler, Stanley I. (R), 215
- Kuznesof, Elizabeth (R), 801
- Labarge, Margaret Wade, "A Small Sound of the Trumpet: Women in Medieval Life," 400
- "Labor Leaders in American History," edited by Dubofsky and Van Tine, 784
- LaCapra, Dominick (R), 1007
- "Ladies and Gentlemen of the Civil Service," by Aron, 779
- Lamberti, Marjorie (R), 181, 1074
- Lambroza, Shlomo (R), 682
- Lampe, John R. (R), 1085



- Lamphear, John (R), 476  
 "Land, Freedom, and Fiction," by Maughan-Brown, 206  
 Land, Gary, editor, "Adventism in America: A History," 1107  
 "Land, Settlement, and Politics on Eighteenth-Century Prince Edward Island," by Bumsted, 1142  
 Landen, Robert G. (R), 748  
 Landis, Mark, "Joseph McCarthy: The Politics of Chaos," 1140  
 "Landtag und Ausschuss," by Lange, 721  
 "Landwirtschaft und Agrarpolitik in Russland vor der Revolution," by Moritsch, 1369  
 Landy, Marcia, "Fascism in Film: The Italian Commercial Cinema, 1931–1943," 456  
 Lane, James B., and Edward J. Escobar, editors, "Forging a Community: The Latino Experience in Northwest Indiana, 1919–1975" (E), 1438  
 Lang, Daniel G. (R), 1395  
 Lang, Daniel George, "Foreign Policy in the Early Republic: The Law of Nations and the Balance of Power," 769  
 Langdon, John, "Horses, Oxen, and Technological Innovation: The Use of Draught Animals in English Farming from 1066 to 1500," 401  
 Lange, Ulrich, "Landtag und Ausschuss: Zum Problem der Handlungsfähigkeit landständischer Versammlungen im Zeitalter der Entstehung des frühmodernen Staates; Die welfischen Territorien als Beispiel (1500–1629)," 721  
 Langley, Harold D. (R), 120  
 Langley, Lester D. (R), 763  
 "Language, Schooling, and Cultural Conflict," by Gaffield, 1425  
 "Language and Colonial Power," by Fabian, 204  
 "The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe," edited by Pagden (E), 268  
 Langum, David J., "Law and Community on the Mexican California Frontier: Anglo-American Expatriates and the Clash of Legal Traditions, 1821–1846," 1148  
 Lapidus, Ira M. (R), 199, 469  
 Laqueur, Thomas W. (R), 148  
 Laqueur, Walter, and Richard Breitman, "Breaking the Silence," 184  
 Lasser, Carol (R), 508  
 "The Last Happy Men," by Leland, 535  
 "The Last Intellectuals," by Jacoby, 1421  
 "Latin America and the Comintern, 1919–1943," by Caballero, 1145  
 "Latin American Debt and the Adjustment Crisis," edited by Thorp and Whitehead (E), 271  
 "Law and Community on the Mexican California Frontier," by Langum, 1148  
 "Law and the Shaping of Public Education, 1785–1954," by Tyack *et al.*, 1104  
 "Law and the State in Traditional East Asia," by McKnight, 756  
 "Law in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630–1800," edited by Coquillette *et al.*, 228  
 Lawless, Richard, and Laila Monahan, editors, "War and Refugees: The Western Sahara Conflict" (E), 818  
 "Law, Resistance, and the State," by Strauss, 439  
 Lawson, Ronald, editor, "The Tenant Movement in New York City, 1904–1980," 246  
 Lawson, Steven F. (R), 506  
 "Learning and a Liberal Education," by Slee, 702  
 Leavitt, Judith Walzer (R), 486  
 Leavitt, Judith Walzer, "Brought to Bed: Childbearing in America, 1750–1950," 221  
 "Leben im Mittelalter," by Goetz, 1308  
 "Der 'Lebensborn e. V.'," by Lilienthal, 729  
 Lebow, Richard Ned, "Nuclear Crisis Management: A Dangerous Illusion," 672  
 Lee, C. H., "The British Economy since 1700: A Macroeconomic Perspective," 693  
 Lee, David D. (R), 239  
 Lee, Loyd E. (R), 169  
 Lee, Maurice, Jr. (R), 134  
 Lee, Robert H. G. (R), 1377  
 "Lee Boo of Belau," by Peacock, 1297  
 "Lee's Tigers," by Jones, 775  
 Lefkowitz, Mary R., "Women in Greek Myth," 394  
 "The Legacies of Literacy," by Graff, 1012  
 "The Legacy of Conquest," by Limerick, 1387  
 LeGrand, Catherine (R), 1144  
 Lehmann, Jean-Pierre, and Sue Henny, editors, "Themes and Theories in Modern Japanese History: Essays in Memory of Richard Storry" (E), 1437  
 Lehmberg, Stanford E. (R), 141, 1339  
 Leiby, John S., "Colonial Bureaucrats and the Mexican Economy: Growth of a Patrimonial State, 1763–1821," 1147  
 Leighninger, Leslie, "Social Work: Search for Identity," 520  
 Leland, Christopher Towne, "The Last Happy Men: The Generation of 1922, Fiction, and the Argentine Reality," 535  
 Lemerrier-Quelquej, Chantal, and Alexandre Bennigsen, "Le soufi et le commissaire: Les confréries musulmanes en URSS," 468  
 Lenger, Friedrich, "Zwischen Kleinbürgertum und Proletariat: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der Düsseldorfer Handwerker 1816–1878," 1068  
 Lenihan, John H. (R), 1392  
 Lenman, Bruce P. (R), 709  
 Leonardi, Robert, and Raffaella Y. Nanetti, editors, "Italian Politics: A Review," Volume 1. (E), 270  
 Leopold, Richard W. (R), 216  
 "La 'Leopoldina,'" edited by Berlinguer (E), 815  
 Lepetit, B., and J. Hoock, editors, "La Ville et l'innovation: Relais et réseaux de diffusion en Europe 14<sup>e</sup>–19<sup>e</sup> siècles" (E), 268  
 Leprohon, Ronald J. (R), 123, 1302  
 Leskov, Nikolai S., "The Jews in Russia: Some Notes on the Jewish Question," 197  
 "Less Than Conquerors," by Frank, 781  
 "Let This Life Speak," by Bacon, 513  
 Levack, Brian P. (R), 689  
 Levack, Brian P., "The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe," 1037  
 Leventhal, F. M. (R), 422  
 Levin, Miriam R., "Republican Art and Ideology in Late Nineteenth-Century France," 1344  
 Levine, Andrew, "The End of the State," 1011  
 Levine, Joseph M. (R), 141  
 Levine, Joseph M., "Humanism and History: Origins of Modern English Historiography," 1046  
 Levine, Kenneth (R), 667  
 Levine, Philippa, "The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians, and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838–1886," 1330  
 Levine, Steven I. (R), 1381

- Levy, F. J. (R), 1324  
 Lewenhak, Sheila (R), 1051  
 Lewis, Donald M., "Lighten Their Darkness: The Evangelical Mission to Working-Class London, 1828–1860," 702  
 Lewis, Gordon K. (R), 804  
 Lewis, Naphtali, "Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt: Case Studies in the Social History of the Hellenistic World," 1302  
 Lewis, Norman N., "Nomads and Settlers in Syria and Jordan, 1800–1980," 1371  
 "Liberalism and Naval Strategy," by Semmel, 153  
 "Liberalism in Modern Japan," by Nolte, 1383  
 "Liberty and Order in Early Modern Europe," by Shennan, 678  
 Lichtenstein, Nelson (R), 785  
 Lidtke, Vernon L. (R), 172  
 Lidz, Victor M., and Samuel Z. Klausner, editors, "The Nationalization of the Social Sciences," 1138  
 Liebel-Weckowicz, Helen (R), 409, 1297  
 "The Life and Times of Little Turtle," by Carter, 498  
 "Life Histories of African Women," edited by Romero (E), 1158  
 "Lighten Their Darkness," by Lewis, 702  
 "Like Engend'ring Like," by Russell, 414  
 Lilienthal, Georg, "Der 'Lebensborn e. V.': Ein Instrument nationalsozialistischer Rassenpolitik," 729  
 "Lillian Smith," by Loveland, 251  
 Limerick, Patricia Nelson, "The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West," 1387  
 "Lincoln in Text and Context," by Fehrenbacher, 1404  
 Lindberg, Carter (R), 1305  
 Lindemann, Albert S. (R), 682  
 Lindner, Rudi Paul (R), 746, 1094  
 "Lindow Man," by Stead *et al.* (E), 814  
 Link, William A., "A Hard Country and a Lonely Place: Schooling, Society, and Reform in Rural Virginia, 1870–1920," 239  
 Lis, Catharina, "Social Change and the Labouring Poor: Antwerp, 1770–1860," 1347  
 Liss, Sheldon B. (R), 174, 1146  
 Litchfield, R. Burr, "Emergence of a Bureaucracy: The Florentine Patricians, 1530–1790," 731  
 "Literary France," by Clark, 1061  
 "The Literature of American Legal History," by Nelson and Reid (E), 544  
 Litoff, Judy Barrett (R), 221  
 Litwack, Leon, and August Meier, editors, "Black Leaders of the Nineteenth Century" (E), 1159  
 Liu, Tai "Puritan London: A Study of Religion and Society in the City Parishes," 1325  
 Llewellyn-Jones, Rosie, "A Fatal Friendship: The Nawabs, the British, and the City of Lucknow," 1384  
 Lloyd, Christopher (R), 1291  
 Lloyd, Susan McIntosh, "The Putney School: A Progressive Experiment," 1130  
 Loades, David, "The Tudor Court," 1045  
 "Local Merchants and the Chinese Bureaucracy, 1750–1950," by Mann, 1099  
 "The Local Politics of Kyoto," by Gotoda, 211  
 Locke, Robert R. (R), 162  
 Lockhart, Laurence, and Peter Jackson, editors, "The Cambridge History of Iran." Volume 6, "The Timurid and Safavid Periods," 470  
 Lofgren, Charles A., "The Plessy Case: A Legal-Historical Interpretation," 1408  
 Löfgren, Orvar, and Jonas Frykman, "Culture Builders: A Historical Anthropology of Middle-Class Life," 1349  
 "Les loges maçonniques dans la France d'Ancien Régime," by Halevi, 716  
 "The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society," by Goody, 667  
 "Lollard Themes in the Reformation Theology of William Tyndale," by Smeeton, 687  
 Long, David E., and Bernard Reich, editors, "The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa," 393  
 "The Longing for Total Revolution," by Yack, 1010  
*Long-Term Silver Mining Trends in Spanish America: A Comparative Analysis of Peru and Mexico*, by Garner, 898–935  
 Loraux, Nicole, "The Invention of Athens: The Funeral Oration in the Classical City," 396  
 Lorenzer, Alfred, editor, "Kultur Analysen: Psychoanalytische Studien zur Kultur" (E), 812  
 Lorimer, Douglas A. (R), 412  
 "Lost Initiatives," by Gillis and Roach, 531  
 "A Lost Left," by Howell, 155  
 Lothrop, Gloria Ricci (R), 490  
 Lotman, Herbert R., "The Purge: The Purification of French Collaborators after World War II," 433  
 Loubere, Leo A. (R), 683  
 Lougee, Carolyn C. (R), 716  
 Loughlin, Caroline, and Catherine Anderson, "Forest Park," 515  
 Loughlin, James, "Gladstone, Home Rule, and the Ulster Question: 1882–93," 710  
 "Louis William DuBourg," by Melville, 117  
 "Louis XIII," by Marvick, 426  
 "Love as Passion," by Luhmann, 1294  
 Lovejoy, Paul E., "Salt of the Desert Sun: A History of Salt Production and Trade in the Central Sudan," 204  
 Loveland, Anne C., "Lillian Smith: A Southerner Confronting the South," 251  
 Lowe, James Trapier, "Our Colonial Heritage: Diplomatic and Military," 1395  
 Lowe, Richard G., and Randolph B. Campbell, "Planters and Plain Folk: Agriculture in Antebellum Texas," 1115  
 Lubar, Steven, and Brooke Hindle, "Engines of Change: The American Industrial Revolution, 1790–1860," 232  
 "Lucy Sprague Mitchell," by Antler, 251  
 Luhmann, Niklas, "Love as Passion: The Codification of Intimacy," 1294  
 Lund, Thomas (R), 491  
 Lunin, M. S., 196  
 Lurie, Edward (R), 233  
 Lutz, Christopher H. (R), 809  
 Luža, Radomir V. (R), 191, 1075  
 Lyman, Edward Leo, "Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood," 1121  
 MacCormack, Sabine, "*Pachacuti*": *Miracles, Punishments, and Last Judgment: Visionary Past and Prophetic Future in Early Colonial Peru*, 960–1006  
 MacCulloch, Diarmaid, "Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County, 1500–1600," 1323

- MacDonald, William L., "The Architecture of the Roman Empire." Volume 2, "An Urban Appraisal," 398
- Macfarlane, Leslie J., "William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland, 1431–1514: The Struggle for Order," 134
- "A Machine That Would Go of Itself," by Kammen, 215
- MacKenzie, John M., and Jeffrey Richards, "The Railway Station: A Social History," 122
- MacKinnon, Neil, "This Unfriendly Soil: The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia, 1783–1791," 258
- Macleod, Dianne Sachko (R), 1054
- Maćzak, Antoni, "Rządzący i rządzeni: Władza i społeczeństwo w Europie wczesnonowożytnej," 1038
- Magen, Ferdinand, "Protestantische Kirche und Politik in Bayern: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen in der Zeit von Revolution und Reaktion 1848–1859," 722
- Magner, Lois N. (R), 787
- Magocsi, Paul R. (R), 1364
- Maher, Jane, "Biography of Broken Fortunes: Wilkie and Bob, Brothers of William, Henry, and Alice James," 507
- Mahler, Raphael, "Hasidism and the Jewish Enlightenment: Their Confrontation in Galicia and Poland in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," 1364
- Maier, Charles S., editor, "Changing Boundaries of the Political: Essays on the Evolving Balance between the State and Society, Public and Private in Europe" (E), 1433
- Main, Gloria L. (R), 1112
- Main, Jackson Turner (R), 225
- "Les Maîtres de l'histoire, 1815–1850," by Walch, 429
- Majeska, George P. (R), 191
- Majors, William R., "Change and Continuity: Tennessee Politics since the Civil War," 239
- "The Making of the Crofting Community," by Hunter, 1060
- "Making Their Own Way," by Gottlieb, 789
- Malmgreen, Gail (R), 416
- Malmgreen, Gail, editor, "Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760–1930," 416
- "Malogranatum oder der dreifache Weg zur Vollkommenheit," by Gerwing, 1305
- Malone, Henry O., "Adam von Trott zu Solz: Werdegang eines Verschwörers 1909–1938," 447
- Mamatey, Victor S. (R), 189
- Mammach, Klaus, "Widerstand 1939–1945: Geschichte der deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandsbewegung im Inland und in der Emigration," 1075
- "Mammon and the Pursuit of Empire," by Davis and Huttenback, 704
- "Management and Managed," by Jefferys, 522
- "Managing Ethnic Tensions in Multi-Ethnic Societies," by de Silva, 1384
- "Managing Macroeconomic Policy," by Anderson and Hazleton, 528
- "Man and Land in Chinese History," by Chao, 477
- Mandle, Jay R. (R), 512
- "The Manly Art," by Gorn, 1398
- Mann, Susan, "Local Merchants and the Chinese Bureaucracy, 1750–1950," 1099
- Mannion, John (R), 530
- Mansel, Philip, "The Eagle in Splendour: Napoleon I and His Court," 1064
- "Manufactories in Germany," by Henderson, 170
- "Mao Zedong: Biography, Assessment, Reminiscences," 1378
- Mappen, Ellen F. (R), 151
- Marcus, Harold G., "Haile Sellassie I: The Formative Years, 1892–1936," 1375
- "Marie Bonaparte," by Bertin, 1025
- Marino, John A. (R), 1080
- Markham, Gervase, "The English Housewife: Containing the Inward and Outward Virtues Which Ought to Be in a Complete Woman; As Her Skill in Physic, Cookery, Banqueting-stuff, Distillation, Perfumes, Wool, Hemp, Flax, Dairies, Brewing, Baking, and All Other Things Belonging to a Household," 144
- Markovits, Andrei S., "The Politics of the West German Trade Unions: Strategies of Class and Interest Representation in Growth and Crisis," 451
- Marks, Sally (R), 411
- Marling, Karal Ann (R), 1134
- Marolda, Edward J., and Oscar P. Fitzgerald, "The United States Navy and the Vietnam Conflict." Volume 2, "From Military Assistance to Combat, 1959–1965," 527
- "The Maronites in History," by Moosa, 469
- Marr, William L. (R), 260
- "Marriage Settlements, 1601–1740," by Bonfield, 1326
- Marsden, George M. (R), 1400
- Marshall, Howard Wight, and James W. Goodrich, editors, "The German-American Experience in Missouri: Essays in Commemoration of the Tricentennial of German Immigration to America, 1683–1983" (E), 543
- Marshall, Sherrin (R), 1315
- Marshall, Sherrin, "The Dutch Gentry, 1500–1650: Family, Faith, and Fortune," 719
- Marsilje, J. W., and D. E. H. de Boer, editors, "De Nederlanden in de late middeleeuwen" (E), 1432
- "Martha Maxwell," by Benson, 508
- Martin, B. G. (R), 203
- Martin, Benjamin F. (R), 430
- Martin, Calvin, editor, "The American Indian and the Problem of History," 217
- Martin, Edwin W., "Divided Counsel: The Anglo-American Response to Communist Victory in China," 1300
- Martin, Janet, "Treasure of the Land of Darkness: The Fur Trade and Its Significance for Medieval Russia," 459
- Martines, Lauro (R), 1323
- Marty, Martin E., "Religion and the Republic: The American Circumstance," 757
- Marvick, Elizabeth Wirth, "Louis XIII: The Making of a King," 426
- "Marxism and the Crisis of Development in Prewar Japan," by Hoston, 481
- "Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture," edited by Nelson and Grossberg (E), 1155
- "The Marx-Weber Debate," edited by Wiley (E), 538
- "Maryland Our Maryland," edited by Geiger (E), 271
- The Mask of Obedience: Male Slave Psychology in the Old South*, by Wyatt-Brown, 1228–52
- Maslowski, Peter, and Allan R. Millett, "For the Common Defense: A Military History of the United States of America," 489
- Mason, Roger A., editor, "Scotland and England, 1286–1815" (E), 1433

- "Masquerade and Civilization," by Castle, 694  
 "Massacre on the Gila," by Kroeber and Fontana, 502  
 Massa-Pairault, Françoise-Hélène, "Recherches sur l'art et l'artisanat étrusco-italiques à l'époque hellénistique," 126  
 Masterson, James R., compiler, "Writings on American History, 1962–1973: A Subject Bibliography of Books and Monographs," 758  
 Mastny, Vojtech, editor, "Soviet–East European Survey, 1986–1987: Selected Research and Analysis from Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty" (E), 1436  
 "Maternity in Dispute," by Smith, 486  
 "Mathematics and Its Applications to Science and Natural Philosophy in the Middle Ages," edited by Grant and Murdoch (E), 268  
 Mattingly, Paul H. (R), 503  
 Maughan-Brown, David, "Land, Freedom, and Fiction: History and Ideology in Kenya," 206  
 Maurer, Trude, "Ostjuden in Deutschland 1918–1933," 1072  
 Mauskopf, Seymour H. (R), 1020  
 "Max III. Joseph und die europäischen Mächte," by Schmid, 1351  
 Maxon, Robert M. (R), 748  
 "Max Webers Fragestellung," by Hennis, 1069  
 Mayer, Henry, "A Son of Thunder: Patrick Henry and the American Republic," 231  
 Mayers, David Allan, "Cracking the Monolith: U.S. Policy against the Sino-Soviet Alliance, 1949–1955," 255  
 Mayle, Paul D., "Eureka Summit: Agreement in Principle and the Big Three in Tehran, 1943," 1015  
 Maynes, Mary Jo (R), 171  
 Mayr, Otto, "Authority, Liberty, and Automatic Machinery in Early Modern Europe," 136  
 McCaffrey, Lawrence J. (R), 710  
 McCaffrey, Lawrence J., *et al.*, "The Irish in Chicago," 1393  
 McCagg, William O., Jr. (R), 736  
 McCall, Daniel F. (E), 1437  
 McCann, James C. (R), 1374  
 McCaul, Robert L., "The Black Struggle for Public Schooling in Nineteenth-Century Illinois," 1117  
 McClellan, James W. III, "Science Reorganized: Scientific Societies in the Eighteenth Century," 137  
 McClelland, James C. (R), 467  
 McCormick, Michael, "Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West," 1028  
 McCormmach, Russell, and Christa Jungnickel, "Intellectual Mastery of Nature: Theoretical Physics from Ohm to Einstein." Volume 1, "The Torch of Mathematics, 1800–1870"; volume 2, "The Now Mighty Theoretical Physics, 1870–1925," 664  
 McDonald, Terrence J., "The Parameters of Urban Fiscal Policy: Socioeconomic Change and Political Culture in San Francisco, 1860–1906," 510  
 McDonogh, Gary Wray, "Good Families of Barcelona: A Social History of Power in the Industrial Era," 435  
 McEvoy, Arthur F., "The Fisherman's Problem: Ecology and Law in the California Fisheries, 1850–1980," 491  
 McFeeley, Neil D., "Appointment of Judges: The Johnson Presidency," 1421  
 McGucken, William (R), 1055  
 McGuire, Brian Patrick, editor, "War and Peace in the Middle Ages" (E), 814  
 McGuire, Thomas R., "Politics and Ethnicity on the Rio Yaqui: Potam Revisited," 808  
 McIntosh, Marjorie Keniston, "Autonomy and Community: The Royal Manor of Havering, 1200–1500," 400  
 McKale, Donald M. (R), 1357  
 McKay, John P. (R), 1013  
 McKillop, A. B., "Contours of Canadian Thought," 1143  
 McKinley, P. Michael, "Pre-Revolutionary Caracas: Politics, Economy, and Society, 1777–1811," 262  
 McKnight, Brian E., editor, "Law and the State in Traditional East Asia: Six Studies on the Sources of East Asian Law," 756  
 McLaurin, Ann M., and William D. Pederson, editors, "The Rating Game in American Politics: An Interdisciplinary Approach" (E), 544  
 McLellan, David S. (R), 1135  
 McLoughlin, William G., "Cherokee Renaissance in the New Republic," 769  
 McMurry, Linda O. (R), 474  
 McMurry, Richard M. (R), 1119  
 McNamara, Jo Ann (R), 1033  
 McNeal, Robert H. (R), 1369  
 McNeal, Robert H., "Tsar and Cossack, 1855–1914," 738  
 McShane, Joseph M., "'Sufficiently Radical': Catholicism, Progressivism, and the Bishops' Program of 1919," 252  
 Mead, Peter, "Orde Wingate and the Historians," 1056  
 "The Meaning and Uses of Polish History," by Bromke, 1365  
 "Medicine and American Growth," by Cassidy, 502  
 "Medicine in the New World," edited by Numbers, 665  
 "Medieval Agriculture, the Southern French Countryside, and the Early Cistercians," by Berman, 1034  
 "The Medieval Crown of Aragon," by Bisson, 1311  
 Meier, August, and Leon Litwack, editors, "Black Leaders of the Nineteenth Century" (E), 1159  
 Meister, Richard J. (R), 1423  
 Meja, Volker, *et al.*, editors, "Modern German Sociology" (E), 541  
 "Melanie Klein," by Grosskurth, 671  
 Mellon, Stanley (R), 429  
 Melton, Frank T. (R), 685  
 Melville, Annabelle M., "Louis William DuBourg: Bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas, Bishop of Montauban, and Archbishop of Besançon, 1766–1833." Volume 1, "Schoolman, 1766–1818"; volume 2, "Bishop in Two Worlds: 1818–1833," 117  
 "Melville's Confidence Men and American Politics in the 1850s," by Trimpi, 1403  
 "La mémoire de Prague," by Michel, 1082  
 "Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait," by Brettell, 434  
 "O mercado de trabalho livre no Brasil (1871–1888)," by Gebara, 1152  
 Merkl, Peter H. (R), 452, 1320  
 Merlo, G., editor, "Esperienze religiose e opere assistenziali nei secoli XII e XIII," 1032  
 "The Métis in the Canadian West," by Giraud, 1423  
 "Metternich," by de Bertier de Sauvigny, 732



- Meyer, Donald, "Sex and Power: The Rise of Women in America, Russia, Sweden, and Italy," 1289
- Meyer, Henry Cord, "Collected Works." Volume 1, "Essays and Articles, 1937–1960" (E), 817
- Meyer, Michael A. (R), 442
- Michael, Franz, "China through the Ages: History of a Civilization," 1375
- Michel, Bernard, "La mémoire de Prague: Conscience nationale et intelligentsia dans l'histoire tchèque et slovaque," 1082
- Mickel, Stanley (R), 207
- Middlebrook, Kevin J. (R), 802
- "Middle-Class Providence, 1820–1940," by Gilkeson, 762
- Middlemas, Keith, "Power, Competition, and the State," Volume 1, "Britain in Search of Balance, 1940–61," 1334
- Migliorino, Francesco, "Fama e infamia: Problemi della società medievale nel pensiero giuridico nei secoli XII e XIII," 131
- "Migrant Laborers," by Stichter, 1096
- "Military Planning in the Twentieth Century," edited by Borowski (E), 813
- Milkman, Ruth, "Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex during World War II," 522
- Miller, Helen, "Henry VIII and the English Nobility," 140
- Miller, Kerby A. (R), 1393
- Miller, Martin A., "The Russian Revolutionary Emigres, 1825–1870," 1087
- Miller, Michael (R), 1344
- Miller, Samuel J. (R), 1360
- Miller, Stuart Creighton (R), 1409
- Miller, Susanne, and Heinrich Potthoff, "A History of German Social Democracy from 1848 to the Present," 723
- Millett, Allan R. (R), 528
- Millett, Allan R., and Peter Maslowski, "For the Common Defense: A Military History of the United States of America," 489
- "The Mills of Manayunk," by Shelton, 499
- Milner, Clyde A. II (R), 215
- Minear, Richard H. (R), 1100
- Minichiello, Sharon (R), 1383
- Mironov, B. N., "Khlebnye tseny v Rossii za dva stoletii (XVIII–XIX vv.)," 195
- "Miscellanea historiae ecclesiasticae." Volume 7 (E), 812
- "Miseria del marxismo," by Pellicani, 668
- "Mission, Church, and State in a Colonial Setting," by Hansen, 205
- Mitchell, Harvey (R), 137
- Mitchinson, Rosalind and Peter Roebuck, editors, "Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland, 1500–1939" (E), 1433
- Mitchison, Rosalind (R), 424
- "The Mito Ideology," by Koschmann, 1382
- "Mnogonatsional'noe naselenie Kazakhstana i Kirgizii v epokhu kapitalizma (60–e gody XIX v.–1917 g.)," by Bekmakhanova, 1368
- "Modern France," by Phillips, 719
- "Modern German Sociology," edited by Meja *et al.* (E), 541
- "The Modern Presidency," edited by Shaw (E), 819
- Moeller, Robert G., "German Peasants and Agrarian Politics, 1914–1924: The Rhineland and Westphalia," 443
- Mohr, Clarence L. (R), 773
- Mohr, Clarence L., "On the Threshold of Freedom: Masters and Slaves in Civil War Georgia," 235
- Moldow, Gloria, "Women Doctors in Gilded Age Washington: Race, Gender, and Professionalization," 1123
- Mollat, Michel, "The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History," 1029
- Monahan, Laila, and Richard Lawless, editors, "War and Refugees: The Western Sahara Conflict" (E), 818
- "Monnaie privée et pouvoir des princes," by Boyer-Xambeu *et al.*, 1316
- Monter, William (R), 440
- "Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance," by Tomlinson, 1080
- Mooers, Stephanie L., *A Reevaluation of Royal Justice under Henry I of England*, 340–58
- Moore, Bob, "Refugees from Nazi Germany in the Netherlands, 1933–1940," 438
- Moore-Gilbert, B. J., "Kipling and 'Orientalism,'" 483
- Moosa, Matti, "The Maronites in History," 469
- Mor, Carlo Guido, and Volker Bierbrauer, editors, "Romani e Germani nell'arco alpino (secoli VI–VIII)" (E), 814
- "Moral Imperium," by Richardson, 803
- "Morality and Utility in American Antislavery Reform," by Gerteis, 1117
- Morantz-Sanchez, Regina (R), 1123
- Moreen, Vera Basch, "Iranian Jewry's Hour of Peril and Heroism: A Study of Bābāi ibn Lutf's Chronicle (1617–1662)," 1371
- Morello, Karen Berger, "The Invisible Bar: The Woman Lawyer in America, 1638 to the Present," 223
- Moreton, Edwina, editor, "Germany between East and West" (E), 817
- Morgan, David W. (R), 444
- Morgan, John, "Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes toward Reason, Learning, and Education, 1560–1640," 1324
- "The Morgans," by Carosso, 1406
- Moritsch, Andreas, "Landwirtschaft und Agrarpolitik in Russland vor der Revolution," 1369
- Mormino, Gary R., and George E. Pozzetta, "The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885–1985," 783
- "Moroccan Mirages," by Swearingen, 1373
- Morony, Michael G. (R), 744
- Morris, R. J., editor, "Class, Power, and Social Structure in British Nineteenth-Century Towns," 416
- Morris, R. K., and L. A. S. Butler, editors, "The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers on History, Architecture, and Archaeology in Honour of Dr. H. M. Taylor" (E), 267
- Morris, Richard B., "The Forging of the Union, 1781–1789," 768
- Morton, Desmond, and Glenn Wright, "Winning the Second Battle: Canadian Veterans and the Return to Civilian Life, 1915–1930," 1426
- Moses, Wilson J. (R), 1397
- Moss, Alfred (R), 1131
- "Mothers in the Fatherland," by Koonz, 727
- "Mothers of Feminism," by Bacon, 1391
- Moulton, Gary E. (R), 769
- "Le mouvement confraternel au Moyen Age: France, Italie, Suisse" (E), 1156



- "Mouvement reformiste et mouvements populaires à Tunis, 1906–1912," by Ayadi, 203
- "Mr. Attorney," by Romney, 259
- Mroczo, Marian, "Polska myśl zachodnia 1918–1939 (Kształtowanie i upowszechnienie)," 1084
- Mruck, Armin (R), 447
- Muir, Edward (R), 731
- Mulhall, David, "Will to Power: The Missionary Career of Father Morice," 530
- Mulholland, Daniel (R), 1092
- Mullaney, Marie Marmo (R), 137
- Müller-Aenis, Martin, "Sozialdemokratie und Rätebewegung in der Provinz: Schwaben und Mittelfranken in der bayerischen Revolution 1918–1919," 444
- Murdoch, John E., and Edward Grant, editors, "Mathematics and Its Applications to Science and Natural Philosophy in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Marshall Clagett" (E), 268
- Murphy, Marjorie, *What Women Have Wrought*, 653–63
- Murray, John J., "Flanders and England: A Cultural Bridge: The Influence of the Low Countries on Tudor-Stuart England," 142
- "Music at the White House," by Kirk, 491
- Musto, Ronald G., "The Catholic Peace Tradition," 389
- "Mutiny on the *Amistad*," by Jones, 234
- Myres, J. N. L., "The English Settlements," 399
- Myres, Sandra L. (R), 508
- "The Myth of Revolution," by O'Malley, 532
- "Les Mythologies révolutionnaires," by Poitrineau, 668
- "The NAACP's Legal Strategy against Segregated Education, 1925–1950," by Tushnet, 1417
- Na'aman, Shlomo, "Der Deutsche Nationalverein: Die politische Konstituierung des deutschen Bürgertums 1859–1867," 1351
- Naidis, Mark (R), 1384
- Naimark, Norman M. (R), 1087
- Nanetti, Raffaella Y., and Robert Leonardi, editors, "Italian Politics: A Review." Volume 1. (E), 270
- Nanetti, Raffaella Y., et al., editors, "Italian Politics: A Review." Volume 2. (E), 1434
- "Die nationalen Beziehungen im Grossherzogtum Posen (1815–1848)," by Streiter, 733
- "National Inventory of Documentary Sources in the United States," 224
- "The Nationalisation of British Transport," by Bonavia, 1336
- "Les nationalisations de la Libération," edited by Andrieu et al., 1346
- "Nationalism and Popular Protest in Ireland," edited by Philpin (E), 816
- "The Nationalization of the Social Sciences," edited by Klausner and Lidz, 1138
- "The National Security," edited by Graebner, 524
- "The Nation of Nantucket," by Byers, 766
- "The Nation's Image," by Fulcher, 1343
- "Native Lords of Quito in the Age of the Incas," by Salomon, 535
- "Natural Rights and Natural Law," edited by Davidow, 231
- "Nature in the New World," by Gerbi, 390
- Naylor, John F. (R), 421
- "Nazi Medicine," by International Auschwitz Committee, 182
- "Nazismo y fascismo en el Paraguay," by Seiferheld, 1153
- "Necker and the Revolution of 1789," by Harris, 716
- "De Nederlanden in de late middeleeuwen," edited by de Boer and Marsilje (E), 1432
- "Neftianye voyny (konets XIX–nachalo XX v.)," by Fursenko, 1013
- "Neighbourhood and Community in Paris, 1740–1790," by Garrioch, 427
- Neitmann, Klaus, "Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen 1230–1449: Studien zur Diplomatie eines spätmittelalterlichen deutschen Territorialstaates," 404
- Nekrich, Aleksandr M., and Mikhail Heller, "Utopia in Power: The History of the Soviet Union from 1917 to the Present," 742
- Nelles, H. V. (R), 531
- Nelson, Cary, and Lawrence Grossberg, editors, "Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture" (E), 1155
- Nelson, Daniel J., "A History of U.S. Military Forces in Germany," 796
- Nelson, Lynn H. (R), 1311
- Nelson, Paula M., "After the West Was Won: Homesteaders and Town-Builders in Western South Dakota, 1900–1917," 513
- Nelson, Paul David, "William Alexander, Lord Stirling," 495
- Nelson, William E., and John Phillip Reid, "The Literature of American Legal History" (E), 544
- Neenner, Howard (R), 686
- Neu, Charles E. (R), 786
- "Neutral Ireland and the Third Reich," by Duggan, 158
- "Never Satisfied," by Schwartz, 736
- "New Deal Labor Policy and the American Industrial Economy," by Vittoz, 1414
- Newell, Dianne (R), 798
- "The New Jersey Assembly, 1738–1775," by Batinski, 1112
- Newman, Gerald, "The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740–1830," 1048
- "New School," by Rutkoff and Scott, 516
- Newson, Linda, "The Cost of Conquest: Indian Decline in Honduras under Spanish Rule," 809
- "The New Urban Landscape," by Schuyler, 778
- "New York Intellect," by Bender, 1392
- "The New York Intellectuals," by Wald, 791
- "The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict," by Belich, 485
- "The Next Time We Strike," by Powell, 242
- Nguyen Tien Hung and Jerrold L. Schecter, "The Palace File," 257
- Nicholas, David (R), 132, 719, 1034, 1306
- Nichols, J. Alden, "The Year of the Three Kaisers: Bismarck and the German Succession, 1887–88," 1353
- Nichols, Roger L., editor, "American Frontier and Western Issues: A Historiographical Review," 759
- Nicosia, Francis R. (R), 1071
- "Nietzsche, 'the Last Antipolitical German,'" by Bergmann, 724
- "Nietzsche in Russia," edited by Rosenthal, 739
- Niewyk, Donald L. (R), 1352
- "Nineteenth-Century Ecuador," by Spindler, 1151
- Nish, Cameron (R), 259

- Niven, John, "The American President Lines and Its Forebears, 1848–1984: From Paddlewheelers to Containerships," 1109  
*The Nobility's Reform of the Medieval Church*, by Howe, 317–39  
 Noble, Thomas F. X. (R), 1307  
 "Nobles in Nineteenth-Century France," by Higgs, 1066  
 "No Boundaries Upstairs," by Jockel, 1427  
 Noe, Eralda, "Storiografia imperiale pretacitiana: Linee di svolgimento," 675  
 Noer, Thomas J. (R), 475  
 Noether, Emiliana P. (R), 669  
 Nofi, Albert A., and Béla K. Kiraly, editors, "East Central European War Leaders: Civilian and Military" (E), 1435  
 "No Ivory Tower," by Schrecker, 1139  
 Noll, Mark A. (R), 771  
 Nolte, Sharon H. (R), 481  
 Nolte, Sharon H., "Liberalism in Modern Japan: Ishibashi Tanzan and His Teachers, 1905–1960," 1383  
 "Nomads and Settlers in Syria and Jordan, 1800–1980," by Lewis, 1371  
 "Nomen Patriae," by Schneidmüller, 1309  
 "Non bruciare i ponti con Roma," by Cecchi, 1044  
 Nörr, Dieter, "Causa mortis: Auf den Spuren einer Redewendung," 1303  
 Norrell, Robert J. (R), 1418  
 "Norwegian Missions in African History," edited by Simensen (E), 1437  
 "The Novels and Journals of Fanny Burney," by Devlin, 1329  
 "Nuclear Crisis Management," by Lebow, 672  
 Numbers, Ronald L., and Darrel W. Amundsen, editors, "Caring and Curing: Health Medicine in the Western Religious Traditions" (E), 266  
 Numbers, Ronald L., editor, "Medicine in the New World: New Spain, New France, and New England," 665  
 Nyiszli, Miklos, "Auschwitz: An Eyewitness Account of Mengele's Infamous Death Camp," 182  
  
 Oakes, James (R), 1114  
 Oberman, Heiko A. (R), 408  
 "Obóz Narodowo Radykalny," by Rudnicki, 459  
 O'Brien, Gail W. (R), 790  
 O'Brien, Michael (R), 776  
 Ocko, Jonathan K. (R), 752  
 O'Connor, John E., *History in Images/Images in History: Reflections on the Importance of Film and Television Study for an Understanding of the Past, 1200–09*  
 "Octubre 1934," by Jackson *et al.*, 436  
 "Odessa," by Herlihy, 1087  
 O'Donnell, James H. III (R), 765  
 Oestreicher, Richard (R), 1412  
 "De officialiteit van Doornik," by Vleschouwers-van Melkebeek, 1306  
 Offord, Derek, "The Russian Revolutionary Movement in the 1880s," 465  
 Ogden, Annegret S., "The Great American Housewife: From Helpmate to Wage Earner, 1776–1986," 222  
 O'Halloran, Clare, "Partition and the Limits of Irish Nationalism: An Ideology under Stress," 712  
 "Oil Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century," by Venn, 121  
  
 Oka, Yoshitake, "Five Political Leaders of Modern Japan: Itō Hirobumi, Ōkuma Shigenobu, Hara Takashi, Inukai Tsuyoshi, and Saionji Kimmochi," 481  
 Okin, Louis A. (R), 396  
 Okun', S. B., "Dekabrist M. S. Lunin," 196  
 Olson, Frederick I. (R), 245  
 Olson, James S., "Catholic Immigrants in America," 487  
 Olson, Robert, editor, "Islamic and Middle Eastern Societies: A Festschrift in Honor of Professor Wadie Jwaideh" (E), 818  
 O'Malley, Ilene V., "The Myth of Revolution: Hero Cults and the Institutionalization of the Mexican State, 1920–1940," 532  
 "Oman," by Allen, 748  
 "Once a Cigar Maker," by Cooper, 1412  
 O'Neill, William L., "American High: The Years of Confidence, 1945–1960," 525  
 "On the Lame," by Davis, 572–603  
 "On the Threshold of Freedom," by Mohr, 235  
 Onuf, Peter S. (R), 768  
 Onuf, Peter S., "Statehood and Union: A History of the Northwest Ordinance," 1396  
 "An Open Elite?" by Stone and Stone, 138  
 "Opposition in Western Europe," edited by Kolinsky (E), 540  
 "Orde Wingate and the Historians," by Mead, 1056  
 "An Ordinary Relationship," by Crane and Breslin, 786  
 "The Origin and Development of Historical Periodicals," by Stieg, 1024  
 "Les origines de Rome," by Poucet, 127  
 "The Origins of England, 410–600," by Whittock, 676  
 "Origins of Legislative Sovereignty and the Legislative State," by Fell, 1039  
 "The Origins of Public High Schools," by Vinovskis, 503  
 "The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852–1856," by Gienapp, 1402  
 "The Origins of the Second World War in Europe," by Bell, 411  
 "The Origins of the Vigilant State," by Porter, 1330  
 Orlovsky, Daniel T. (R), 742  
 Orlow, Dietrich (R), 179  
 "L' Orphelinat Jésus-Adolescent de Nazareth en Galilée," by Desramaut, 746  
 Orsi, Robert (R), 487  
 Orth, John V., "The Judicial Power of the United States: The Eleventh Amendment in American History," 760  
 "Der osmanische Statthalter Iskender Pascha (gest. 1571) und seine Stiftungen in Ägypten und am Bosphorus," by Winkelhane and Schwartz, 1094  
 Osterheld, Horst, "Ich gehe nicht leichten Herzens . . . : Adenauers letzte Kanzlerjahre; Ein dokumentarischer Bericht," 450  
 "Der österreichische Beamte," by Schimetschek, 188  
 "Ostjuden in Deutschland 1918–1933," by Maurer, 1072  
 O'Sullivan, John (R), 793  
 "The Other Bolsheviks," by Williams, 1091  
 "The Other Price of Hitler's War," by Sorge, 449  
 "The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy," edited by İslamoğlu-Inan (E), 1436  
 "Our Colonial Heritage," by Lowe, 1395  
 "Our Lady the Common Law," by Cosgrove, 1298  
 Overmyer, Daniel L. (R), 751

- Owram, Doug (R), 1143  
 "Oxford and Empire," by Symonds, 703  
 "Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy," edited by Annas (E), 1156  
 Ozbudun, Ergun, and Myron Weiner, editors, "Competitive Elections in Developing Countries" (E), 538  
 Ozment, Steven (R), 439
- Pace, David (R), 1289  
*"Pachacuti": Miracles, Punishments, and Last Judgment: Visionary Past and Prophetic Future in Early Colonial Peru*, by MacCormack, 960–1006  
 Pack, Edgar, "Städte und Steuern in der Politik Julians: Untersuchungen zu den Quellen eines Kaiserbildes," 1027  
 Padgett, Stephen, and Tony Burkett, "Political Parties and Elections in West Germany: The Search for a New Stability," 730  
 Pagden, Anthony, editor, "The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe" (E), 268  
 Page, Melvin E. (R), 473  
 "The Palace File," by Hung and Schechter, 257  
 Palmer, Alan, "The Banner of Battle: The Story of the Crimean War," 680  
 Palmer, Bryan D. (R), 798  
 Palmer, R. R., editor and translator, "The Two Tocquevilles, Father and Son: Hervé and Alexis de Tocqueville on the Coming of the French Revolution," 717  
 "Pan American Visions," by Gilderhus, 248  
 "Pandemic Influenza, 1700–1900," by Patterson, 666  
 "Pandora's Daughters," by Cantarella, 674  
 Pang, Eul-Soo (R), 1152  
 Papenfuss, Edward C. (R), 766  
 "The Paper," by Kluger, 492  
 "Paper Stones," by Przeworski and Sprague, 682  
 Papke, David Ray, "Framing the Criminal: Crime, Cultural Work, and the Loss of Critical Perspective, 1830–1900," 1116  
 "The Parameters of Urban Fiscal Policy," by McDonald, 510  
 "Paris and Rome," by Gough, 163  
 "Paris au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle," by Babelon, 713  
 "The Parisian Order of Barristers and the French Revolution," by Fitzsimmons, 1064  
 Parker, Geoffrey, editor, "The World: An Illustrated History," 115  
 "Parliamentary Selection," by Kishlansky, 686  
 "The Parliament of England, 1559–1581," by Elton, 686  
 Parrish, Michael E. (R), 514  
 Parry, J. P., "Democracy and Religion: Gladstone and the Liberal Party, 1867–1875," 1052  
 "Das Parteienwesen Österreich-Ungarns," edited by Erdödy (E), 1435  
 "Partition and the Limits of Irish Nationalism," by O'Halloran, 712  
 "Partner and I," by Ware, 1414  
 Pascon, Paul "Capitalism and Agriculture in the Haouz of Marrakesh," 1096  
 Passerini, Luisa, "Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class," 1082  
 "The Passion of Ansel Bourne," by Kenny, 492  
 "Past, Present, and Personal," by Demos, 221  
 "The Past Meets the Present," edited by Stricklin and Sharpless (E), 1155  
 Patai, Raphael (R), 746  
 "Paths into American Culture," by Burnham (E), 1159  
 "Patronage and Society in Nineteenth-Century England," by Bourne, 149  
 Patsouras, Louis, editor, "The Crucible of Socialism" (E), 266  
 Patterson, K. David, "Pandemic Influenza, 1700–1900: A Study in Historical Epidemiology," 666  
 Patterson, Robert B. (R), 134  
 "Patton," by Blumenson, 248  
 Paxton, Robert O. (R), 433  
 Payne, Harry C. (R), 679  
 Payne, Stanley G. (R), 436  
 Peacock, Daniel J., "Lee Boo of Belau: Prince in London," 1297  
 Pearson, M. N., and Ashin Das Gupta, editors, "India and the Indian Ocean, 1500–1800" (E), 1437  
 "Peasant Protest in Japan," by Bix, 480  
 "Peasants against the State," by Bunker, 748  
 Pease, Neal, "Poland, the United States and the Stabilization of Europe, 1919–1933," 735  
 Pederson, William D., and Ann M. McLaurin, editors, "The Rating Game in American Politics: An Interdisciplinary Approach" (E), 544  
 Peeler, David P., "Hope among Us Yet: Social Criticism and Social Solace in Depression America," 1134  
 Pegues, Franklin J. (R), 130  
 Pellicani, Luciano, "Misericordia del marxismo: Da Marx al Gulag," 668  
 Pellow, Deborah, and Naomi Chazan, "Ghana: Coping with Uncertainty," 474  
 Pells, Richard (R), 516  
 Pelz, Stephen (R), 527  
 Pennington, Kenneth (R), 131  
 "Il pensiero politico contemporaneo," edited by Bravo and Ghibaudi (E), 812  
 "Il pensiero politico dell'assolutismo illuminato," by Bazzoli, 1318  
 "The People of Paris," by Roche, 1341  
 "People, Politics, and Community in the Later Middle Ages," edited by Rosenthal and Richmond (E), 1157  
 "The Peopling of British North America," by Bailyn, 225  
 Pérez, Louis A., Jr. (C), 552  
 Pérez, Louis A., Jr., "Cuba under the Platt Amendment, 1902–1934," 803  
 "The Perfect War," by Gibson, 528  
 "Peripheries and Center," by Greene, 496  
 "La permanence du passé," by Busino, 1009  
 Peroff, Nicholas C. (R), 257  
 Perry, Charles R. (R), 417  
 Perry, Duncan M. (R), 1367  
 Perry, Elisabeth Israels (R), 1414  
 Perry, Lewis (R), 1117  
 "Pershing," by Smythe, 248  
 "Persistent Prejudice," edited by Hirsch and Spiro (E), 1431  
 "Perspectives in Churchmanship," edited by Scholer (E), 819  
 "Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture," edited by Wells (E), 813

- Péter, László, and Robert B. Pynsent, editors, "Intellectuals and the Future in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1890–1914" (E), 1435
- Peters, A. R., "Anthony Eden at the Foreign Office, 1931–1938," 707
- Peterson, E. N. (R), 1358
- Peterson, Merrill D., and Robert C. Vaughan, editors, "The Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom: Its Evolution and Consequences in American History" (E), 1438
- "Peter the Great and Marlborough," by Rothstein, 1318
- "Petty Capitalism in Spanish America," by Kinsbruner, 801
- "Pettyfoggers and Vipers of the Commonwealth," by Brooks, 689
- Peukert, Detlev J. K., and Frank Bajohr, "Spuren des Widerstands: Die Bergarbeiterbewegung im Dritten Reich und im Exil; Mit Dokumenten aus dem IISG Amsterdam," 1358
- Peukert, Detlev J. K., "Grenzen der Sozialdisziplinierung: Aufstieg und Krise der deutschen Jugendfürsorge von 1878 bis 1932," 172
- Peukert, Detlev J. K., "Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition, and Racism in Everyday Life," 728
- Philip and Alexander as Kings: Macedonian Monarchy and Merovingian Parallels*, by Samuel, 1270–1285
- Phillips, Carla Rahn, "Six Galleons for the King of Spain: Imperial Defense in the Early Seventeenth Century," 165
- Phillips, Clifton J. (R), 780
- Phillips, C. Robert III (R), 1027
- Phillips, John A. (R), 149
- Phillips, Peggy A., "Modern France: Theories and Realities of Urban Planning," 719
- Phillips, Peggy Anne (C), 1449
- "Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science," by Sorabji, 1018
- "Philosophy, *The Federalist*, and the Constitution," by White, 497
- Philpin, C. H. E., editor, "Nationalism and Popular Protest in Ireland" (E), 816
- "Phoebe Palmer," by Raser, 1400
- Pickering, George W., and Alan B. Anderson, "Confronting the Color Line: The Broken Promise of the Civil Rights Movement in Chicago," 797
- Piehl, Mel (R), 252
- Pike, Fredrick B., "The Politics of the Miraculous in Peru: Haya de la Torre and the Spiritualist Tradition," 1151
- Pilcher, George William (R), 1110
- Pimlott, Ben, "Hugh Dalton," 422
- Pinderhughes, Dianne M., "Race and Ethnicity in Chicago Politics: A Reexamination of Pluralist Theory," 1423
- "The Pink Triangle," by Plant, 729
- Pinkus, Benjamin, and Ingeborg Fleischhauer, "The Soviet Germans: Past and Present," 194
- Pirumova, N. M., "Zemskaia intelligentsiia i ee rol' v obshchestvennoi, bor'be do nachala XX v.," 466
- "Plague and the Poor in Renaissance Florence," by Carmichael, 1078
- Plakans, Andrejs (R), 196
- Plakans, Andrejs, and Charles Wetherell, *The Kinship Domain in an East European Peasant Community: Pinkenhof, 1833–1850*, 359–86
- Plant, Richard, "The Pink Triangle: The Nazi War against Homosexuals," 729
- "Planters and Plain Folk," by Lowe and Campbell, 1115
- Platt, D. C. M., "Britain's Investment Overseas on the Eve of the First World War: The Use and Abuse of Numbers," 419
- Pleck, Elizabeth, "Domestic Tyranny: The Making of Social Policy against Family Violence from Colonial Times to the Present," 1105
- "The *Plessy Case*," by Lofgren, 1408
- Pogue, Forrest C., "George C. Marshall: Statesman," 1135
- Poitrineau, Abel, "Les mythologies révolutionnaires: L'utopie et la mort," 668
- "Poland, 1939–1947," by Coutouvidis and Reynolds, 1084
- "Poland, the United States and the Stabilization of Europe, 1919–1933," by Pease, 735
- "Political Deliverance," by Lyman, 1121
- "A Political History of Scotland, 1832–1924," by Hutchison, 1059
- "Political Parties and Elections in West Germany," by Padgett and Burkett, 730
- "Political Uses of Photography in the Third French Republic, 1871–1914," by English, 718
- "The Politics and Economics of Appeasement," by Schmidt, 1333
- "Politics and Ethnicity on the Rio Yaqui," by McGuire, 808
- "The Politics and Poetics of Transgression," by Stallybrass and White, 1009
- "Politics and Society in Reformation Europe," edited by Kouri and Scott (E), 1157
- "Politics and Society in the South," by Black and Black, 790
- "Politics and the Academy," by Clogg, 420
- "Politics and Vision," by Gillon, 1420
- "Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution," by Hunt, 427
- "Politics in Hard Times," by Gourevitch, 1288
- The Politics of Divorce in France of the Belle Epoque: The Case of Joseph and Henriette Caillaux*, by Berenson, 31–55
- "The Politics of Miseducation," by Spivey, 474
- "Politics of the Archaic Peloponnese," by Adshead, 125
- "The Politics of the Miraculous in Peru," by Pike, 1151
- "The Politics of the West German Trade Unions," by Markovits, 451
- "Die politischen Prozesse in der Tschechoslowakei 1948–1954," by Kaplan, 191
- Pollack, Norman "The Just Polity: Populism, Law, and Human Welfare," 1125
- "Polska myśl zachodnia 1918–1939 (Kształtowanie i upowszechnienie)," by Mroczo, 1084
- Polvinen, Tuomo, "Finland between East and West: Finland in International Politics, 1944–1947," 1350
- "The 'Polytque Church,'" by Kaufman, 413
- Pomeroy, Sarah B. (R), 674
- Pommerin, Reiner, "Der Kaiser und Amerika: Die USA in der Politik der Reichsleitung 1890–1917," 1071
- "The Poor in the Middle Ages," by Mollat, 1029
- "The Poor in Western Europe in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," by Woolf, 1041

- "The Popular Front in Europe," edited by Graham and Preston, 1043
- "Popular Opposition to the 1834 Poor Law," by Knott, 1328
- Porter, Andrew, "Victorian Shipping, Business, and Imperial Policy: Donald Currie, the Castle Line, and Southern Africa," 750
- Porter, Bernard, "The Origins of the Vigilant State: The London Metropolitan Police Special Branch before the First World War," 1330
- Porter, Charlotte M., "The Eagle's Nest: Natural History and American Ideas, 1812–1842," 233
- Porter, Joseph C. (R), 1387
- Porter, Roy, and W. F. Bynum, editors, "William Hunter and the Eighteenth-Century Medical World," 148
- Porter, Theodore M., "The Rise of Statistical Thinking, 1820–1900," 116
- Poster, Mark (R), 1009, 1294
- Pothoff, Heinrich, and Susanne Miller, "A History of German Social Democracy from 1848 to the Present," 723
- Poucet, Jacques, "Les origines de Rome: Tradition et histoire," 127
- "Pour le mérite und Hakenkreuz," by Kube, 180
- Powell, Allan Kent, "The Next Time We Strike: Labor in Utah's Coal Fields, 1900–1933," 242
- Powell, H. Benjamin (R), 788
- Power, Marjory W. (R), 218
- "Power and Principle," by Calhoun, 249
- "Power, Competition, and the State," by Middlemas, 1334
- Powers, David S., "Studies in Qur'an and *Hadith*: The Formation of the Islamic Law of Inheritance," 198
- Powers, Richard Gid, "Secrecy and Power: The Life of J. Edgar Hoover," 514
- Powicke, M. R. (R), 157
- Pozzetta, George E., and Gary R. Mormino, "The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885–1985," 783
- Prados, John, "Presidents' Secret Wars: CIA and Pentagon Covert Operations since World War II," 256
- Prather, H. Leon, Sr. (R), 239
- "Prato," edited by Guarini, 453
- "Prelude to Genocide," by Taylor, 726
- "Pre-Revolutionary Caracas," by McKinley, 262
- "The Presidency of Benjamin Harrison," by Socolofsky and Spetter, 1406
- "The Presidency of James K. Polk," by Bergeron, 1402
- "Presidents' Secret Wars," by Prados, 256
- "Pressepolitik für Deutsche 1945–1949," by Koszyk, 1078
- "Pressing toward the Mark," edited by Dennison and Gamble (E), 819
- Preston, Paul, and Helen Graham, editors, "The Popular Front in Europe," 1043
- Preston, Paul, "The Triumph of Democracy in Spain," 437
- Prestwich, Michael (R), 1312
- Preus, J. Samuel, "Explaining Religion: Criticism and Theory from Bodin to Freud," 1293
- Prevenier, Walter, and Wim Blockmans, "The Burgundian Netherlands," 132
- Price, Jacob M. (R), 1327
- "The Price of War," by Cairncross, 1055
- "Prime Cut," by Skaggs, 217
- "The Princes of Naranja," by Friedrich, 1429
- "Private Interest Government," edited by Streeck and Schmitter (E), 537
- "Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History, 1986," edited by Roosen (E), 540
- Prochaska, Alice (R), 144
- Prochaska, Frank (R), 144
- "Progressivism and the World of Reform," by Coleman, 1410
- "Proprietors, Patronage, and Paper Money," by Purvis, 1112
- "Prostitution and the State in Italy, 1860–1915," by Gibson, 187
- "The Protector de Indios in Colonial New Mexico, 1659–1821," by Cutter, 262
- "Protestantische Kirche und Politik in Bayern," by Magen, 722
- Prouty, Chris, "Empress Taytu and Menilek II: Ethiopia, 1883–1910," 1374
- Provine, William B., "Sewall Wright and Evolutionary Biology," 787
- Prucha, Francis Paul (R), 217
- Przeworski, Adam, and John Sprague, "Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism," 682
- "Psycho-Analysis as History," by Roth, 1292
- "Psychological Testing and American Society, 1890–1930," edited by Sokal, 1127
- "Public Housing, Race, and Renewal," by Bauman, 1130
- "Public Prayer and the Constitution," by Smith, 498
- Puhle, Hans-Jürgen, and Nils Jacobsen, editors, "The Economies of Mexico and Peru during the Late Colonial Period, 1760–1810" (E), 544
- Pullan, Brian (R), 131
- Pulman, Michael B. (R), 1045
- "The Purge," by Lottman, 433
- "Puritan London," by Liu, 1325
- Purvis, Thomas L., "Proprietors, Patronage, and Paper Money: Legislative Politics in New Jersey, 1703–1776," 1112
- "The Putney School," by Lloyd, 1130
- Pynsent, Robert B., and László Péter, editors, "Intellectuals and the Future in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1890–1914" (E), 1435
- "The Qashqa'i of Iran," by Beck, 199
- "Quadrant, Kompass und Chronometer," by Granzow, 1021
- Quaife, G. R., "Godly Zeal and Furious Rage: The Witch in Early Modern Europe," 1316
- "Quakers in Conflict," by Ingle, 234
- Quataert, Donald (R), 1095
- Quataert, Jean H. (R), 168
- Quataert, Jean H., and Marilyn J. Boxer, editors, "Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World, 1500 to the Present," 1314
- Queller, Donald E., "The Venetian Patriciate: Reality versus Myth," 131
- "The Quiet Athenian," by Carter, 125
- Raafflaub, Kurt A. (R), 1301
- "Race and Empire in British Politics," by Rich, 154
- "Race and Ethnicity in Chicago Politics," by Pinderhughes, 1423



- Radano, Ronald M. (R), 526  
 Radding, Charles M. (R), 1012  
 "Radical Aristocrats," by Fuller, 152  
 Raeff, Marc (R), 195, 461, 678  
 "The Railway Journey," by Schivelbusch, 1296  
 "The Railway Station," by Richards and MacKenzie, 122  
 Ramage, James A. (R), 777  
 Ramirez, Bruno (R), 511  
 Ránki, György, editor, "Bartók and Kodály Revisited" (E), 542  
 Rankin, Mary Backus (R), 1100  
 Rankin, Mary Backus, "Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China: Zhejiang Province, 1865–1911," 753  
 Ranum, Orest (R), 425, 1341  
 Raser, Harold B., "Phoebe Palmer: Her Life and Thought," 1400  
 Rathbone, Richard, and David Killingray, editors, "Africa and the Second World War," 473  
 "The Rating Game in American Politics," edited by Pederson and McLaurin (E), 544  
 Raun, Toivo U., "Estonia and the Estonians," 1367  
 Rawson, Elizabeth (R), 128  
 Razi, Zvi (R), 406  
 "Les réactions des pauvres à la pauvreté," edited by Riis (E), 539  
 "Reason's Disciples," by Smith, 143  
 "Reassessing the Henrician Age," by Fox and Guy, 141  
 "Rebecca's Children," by Segal, 129  
 Rebentisch, Dieter, and Karl Teppe, editors, "Verwaltung contra Menschenführung im Staat Hitler: Studien zum politisch-administrativen System," 179  
 "Recherches sur l'art et l'artisanat étrusco-italiques à l'époque hellénistique," by Massa-Pairault, 126  
 "Reconstructing American Education," by Katz, 1389  
 "Reconstructing Individualism," edited by Heller *et al.* (E), 537  
 "Redefining the Past," edited by Gardner, 216  
 Reece, Jack E. (R), 392  
 Reese, William J. (R), 1390  
*A Reevaluation of Royal Justice under Henry I of England*, by Mooers, 340–58  
 Reeves, Thomas C. (R), 1139  
*The Refashioning of Martin Guerre*, by Finlay, 553–71  
 "Reflections on Slovak History," edited by Kirschbaum and Roman (E), 817  
 "Reform and Revival," by Ellis, 423  
 "The Reformation in Historical Thought," by Dickens and Tonkin, 408  
 "Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland", edited by Schilling (E), 1434  
 "Refugees from Nazi Germany in the Netherlands, 1933–1940," by Moore, 438  
 "Regions in Upheaval," edited by Tägil, 392  
 "Regnum, Religio et Ratio," edited by Friedman (E), 1432  
 Reich, Bernard, and David E. Long, editors, "The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa," 393  
 Reid, John Phillip, and William E. Nelson, "The Literature of American Legal History" (E), 544  
 Reid, John Phillip, "Constitutional History of the American Revolution: The Authority of Rights," 767  
 Reiman, Michal, "The Birth of Stalinism: The USSR on the Eve of the 'Second Revolution'," 1092  
 "Religion and Society in the American West," edited by Guarneri and Alvarez (E), 543  
 "Religion and the Republic," by Marty, 757  
 "Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760–1930," edited by Malmgreen, 416  
 Remak, Joachim (R), 1011  
 "The Remaking of Istanbul," by Çelik, 1094  
 "Renaissance Revivals," by Griswold, 1322  
 Renda, Günsel, and C. Max Kortepeter, editors, "The Transformation of Turkish Culture: The Atatürk Legacy" (E), 270  
 "Renegade Tribe," by Trafzer and Scheuerman, 1387  
 Renna, Thomas (R), 1306  
*Reply: "Ever More Solitary,"* by Stern, 886–97  
 "Republican Art and Ideology in Late Nineteenth-Century France," by Levin, 1344  
 "La république nobilaire et le monde," by Tazbir, 1362  
 "Restauration als Transformation," by Speitkamp, 169  
 "Rethinking the Politics of Commercial Society," by Fontana, 697  
 "Revolución y Caciquismo," by Falcón, 808  
 "Revolution and Rebellion," by Clark, 1047  
 "Revolutionary Politics and Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*," by Ashcraft, 145  
 "Revolution from Above," by Rial, 436  
 "A Revolution Gone Backward," by Beatty, 1408  
 "Rewriting the Renaissance," edited by Ferguson *et al.*, 407  
 Reynolds, Jaime, and John Coutouvidis, "Poland, 1939–1947," 1084  
 Reynolds, Sián, editor, "Women, State, and Revolution: Essays on Power and Gender in Europe since 1789," 137  
 Rhodes, P. J. (R), 397  
 "Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age," by Berthold, 1302  
 Rial, James H., "Revolution from Above: The Primo de Rivera Dictatorship in Spain, 1923–1930," 436  
 Rice-Maximin, Edward, "Accommodation and Resistance: The French Left, Indochina, and the Cold War, 1944–1954," 434  
 Rich, Paul B., "Race and Empire in British Politics," 154  
 "Richard Cobden," by Edsall, 699  
 "Richard Cobden," by Hinde, 700  
 Richards, David A. J., "Toleration and the Constitution," 214  
 Richards, Jeffrey, and John M. MacKenzie, "The Railway Station: A Social History," 122  
 Richards, Kent D. (R), 241  
 Richardson, Elmo (R), 1141  
 Richardson, L., Jr. (R), 127  
 Richardson, Ronald Kent, "Moral Imperium: Afro-Caribbeans and the Transformation of British Rule, 1776–1838," 803  
 Richardson, William (R), 739  
 Richardson, William, "*Zolotoe Runo* and Russian Modernism: 1905–1910," 740  
 Riché, Pierre, "Gerbert d'Aurillac, le pape de l'an mil," 1307  
 Richmond, Colin, and Joel Rosenthal, editors, "People, Politics, and Community in the Later Middle Ages" (E), 1157  
 Riddle, John M. (R), 398  
 Rieber, Alfred J. (R), 1087

- Rigsby, Gregory U., "Alexander Crummell: Pioneer in Nineteenth-Century Pan-African Thought," 670
- Riis, Thomas, editor, "Les réactions des pauvres à la pauvreté: Etudes d'histoire sociale et urbaine" (E), 539
- Riley, James C. (R), 1063
- Riley, James C., "The Seven Years War and the Old Regime in France: The Economic and Financial Toll," 1062
- Riley-Smith, Jonathan, "The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading," 133
- "Ringing the Children In," by Sitton and Rowold, 521
- Rippa, S. Alexander (R), 1130
- "The Rise of American Air Power," by Sherry, 523
- "The Rise of English Nationalism," by Newman, 1048
- "The Rise of Statistical Thinking, 1820–1900," by Porter, 116
- "The Rise of the Demidov Family and the Russian Iron Industry in the Eighteenth Century," by Hudson, 738
- Ristaino, Marcia R., "China's Art of Revolution: The Mobilization of Discontent, 1927 and 1928," 1379
- Ritter, Harry, "Dictionary of Concepts in History," 390
- Roach, Thomas, R., and R. Peter Gillis, "Lost Initiatives: Canada's Forest Industries, Forest Policy, and Forest Conservation," 531
- Roark, James L. (R), 774
- Robbins, Richard G., Jr. (R), 465
- Robbins, William G. (R), 246
- Roberts, A. D., editor, "The Cambridge History of Africa." Volume 7, "From 1905 to 1940," 202
- Roberts, David D. (R), 454
- Robertson, James I., Jr. (R), 775
- Robertson, James I., Jr., "General A. P. Hill: The Story of a Confederate Warrior," 1119
- Robinson, Donald L., "'To the Best of My Ability': The Presidency and the Constitution," 1422
- Robinson, Paul (R), 1081
- Robson, Ann, (R), 700
- Roche, Daniel, "The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century," 1341
- Rock, William R. (R), 156
- Roden, Donald (R), 210
- Rodger, N. A. M., "The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy," 695
- Roebuck, Janet (R), 155
- Roebuck, Peter, and Rosalind Mitchinson, editors, "Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland, 1500–1939" (E), 1433
- Rogers, Alan (R), 1049
- Rogers, Nicholas (R), 415
- Rogin, Michael Paul, "*Ronald Reagan*, the Movie, and Other Episodes in Political Demonology," 1392
- Rohr, John Von, "The Covenant of Grace in Puritan Thought," 1325
- Rohrbough, Malcolm J. (R), 501
- Roider, Karl A., Jr. (R), 457, 1363
- Roman, Anne C. R., and Stanislav J. Kirschbaum, editors, "Reflections on Slovak History" (E), 817
- "Roman Economic Policy in the Erythra Thalassa, 30 B.C.–A.D. 217," by Sidebotham, 675
- "Romani e Germani nell'arco alpino (secoli VI–VIII)," edited by Bierbrauer and Mor (E), 814
- "Roman Slave Law," by Watson, 1026
- "The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655–1667," by Krautheimer, 186
- Romero, Patricia W., editor, "Life Histories of African Women" (E), 1158
- Romero, Patricia W., "E. Sylvia Pankhurst: Portrait of a Radical," 1056
- "Römische Heeresgeschichte," by Alföldy (E), 267
- "Die römische Kurie um 1900," by Baumgarten, 1042
- Romney, Paul, "Mr. Attorney: The Attorney General for Ontario in Court, Cabinet, and Legislature, 1791–1899," 259
- "*Ronald Reagan*, the Movie, and Other Episodes in Political Demonology," by Rogin, 1392
- Roosen, William (C), 1171
- Roosen, William, "Daniel Defoe and Diplomacy," 146
- Roosen, William, editor, "Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History, 1986" (E), 540
- Roosevelt, Priscilla Reynolds, "Apostle of Russian Liberalism: Timofei Granovsky," 463
- "Roosevelt Confronts Hitler," by Hearden, 792
- "The Roots of Southern Distinctiveness," by Siegel, 1114
- Ropp, Theodore, "The Development of a Modern Navy: French Naval Policy, 1871–1904," 1345
- Ropponen, Risto, "Italien als Verbündeter: Die Einstellung der politischen und militärischen Führung Deutschlands und Österreich-Ungarns zu Italien von der Niederlage von Adua 1896 bis zum Ausbruch des Weltkrieges 1914," 1320
- Rorlich, Azade-Ayse (R), 468, 1368
- Rose, Norman, "Chaim Weizmann: A Biography," 118
- Roselle, Daniel, editor, "Voices of Social Education, 1937–1987" (E), 1160
- Rosen, Edward, "Three Imperial Mathematicians: Kepler Trapped between Tycho Brahe and Ursus," 406
- Rosenbaum, S. P., "Victorian Bloomsbury: The Early Literary History of the Bloomsbury Group." Volume 1, 1053
- Rosenfeld, Alvin H. (R), 1076
- Rosengarten, Theodore, "Tombee: Portrait of a Cotton Planter; With the Journal of Thomas B. Chaplin (1822–1890)," 773
- Rosenof, Theodore (R), 1414
- Rosenstone, Robert A., *History in Images/History in Words: Reflections on the Possibility of Really Putting History onto Film*, 1173–85
- Rosenthal, Bernice Glatzer (R), 740
- Rosenthal, Bernice Glatzer, editor, "Nietzsche in Russia," 739
- Rosenthal, Joel, and Colin Richmond, editors, "People, Politics, and Community in the Later Middle Ages" (E), 1157
- Rosenzweig, Roy (R), 1398
- Ross, Ellen (R), 1331
- Roth, Guenther (R), 1069
- Roth, Michael S. (R), 671
- Roth, Michael S., "Psycho-Analysis as History: Negation and Freedom in Freud," 1292
- Rothman, Ellen K., "Hands and Hearts: A History of Courtship in America," 1105
- Rothschild, Joseph (R), 1366
- Rothschild, Mary Aickin (R), 1418
- Rothstein, Andrew, "Peter the Great and Marlborough: Politics and Diplomacy in Converging Wars," 1318

- Rotter, Ekkehart, "Abendland und Sarazenen: Das  
okzidentale Araberbild und seine Entstehung im  
Frühmittelalter," 1030
- Rowan, Steven (R), 1039
- Rowe, David L. (R), 1107
- Rowe, John A. (R), 205
- Rowe, William T. (R), 478
- Rowold, Milam C., and Thad Sitton, "Ringing the  
Children In: Texas Country Schools," 521
- Roy, Patricia E. (R), 261
- "Royal Intrigue," by Famiglietti, 1310
- Royce, Anya Peterson (R), 694
- Rubinstein, Hilary L., "Chosen: The Jews in  
Australia," 1385
- Ruck, Michael, "Die freien Gewerkschaften im  
Ruhrkampf 1923," 445
- Ruck, Rob, "Sandlot Seasons: Sport in Black  
Pittsburgh," 520
- Rucquoi, Adeline, editor, "Genèse médiévale de l'état  
moderne: La Castille et la Navarre (1250–1370)"  
(E), 1432
- Ruddy, T. Michael (R), 1299
- Ruddy, T. Michael, "The Cautious Diplomat: Charles  
E. Bohlen and the Soviet Union, 1929–1969," 525
- Rudnicki, Szymon, "Obóz Narodowo Radykalny:  
Geneza i działalność," 459
- Ruiz, Teofilo F. (R), 1035
- Runblom, Harald, and Dag Blanck, editors,  
"Scandinavia Overseas: Patterns of Cultural  
Transformation in North America and Australia"  
(E), 269
- Rupieper, Hermann-Josef (R), 1016
- "Rural Life in England in the First World War," by  
Horn, 155
- "Rural Worlds Lost," by Kirby, 789
- Russell, Malcolm B. (R), 1372
- Russell, Nicholas, "Like Engend'ring Like: Heredity  
and Animal Breeding in Early Modern England,"  
414
- "Russia Gathers Her Jews," by Klier, 195
- "Russian Peasant Schools," by Eklof, 464
- "The Russian Revolution, 1900–1927," by Service,  
1090
- "The Russian Revolution," by Geyer, 1370
- "The Russian Revolutionary Emigres, 1825–1870," by  
Miller, 1087
- "The Russian Revolutionary Movement in the 1880s,"  
by Offord, 465
- "Russkaia tserkov' v politicheskoi bor'be XIV–XV  
vekov," by Borisov, 737
- Rutkoff, Peter M., and William B. Scott, "New  
School: A History of the New School for Social  
Research," 516
- Rutland, Robert A. (R), 231
- Ryan, Henry Butterfield, "The Vision of  
Anglo-America: The U.S.-U.K. Alliance and the  
Emerging Cold War, 1943–1946," 1335
- Ryndziunskii, P. G., "Krest'iane i gorod v  
kapitalisticheskoi Rossii vtoroi poloviny XIX veka:  
Vzaimootnoshenie goroda i derevni v sotsial'no-  
ekonomicheskom stroe Rossii," 1089
- "Rządzący i rządzani," by Mączak, 1038
- Sainsbury, John, "Disaffected Patriots: London  
Supporters of Revolutionary America, 1769–1782,"  
1049
- "St. John de Crèvecoeur," by Allen and Asselineau,  
1395
- Salisbury, Neal (R), 1394
- Salisbury, William T. (R), 437
- Salmon, Marylynn (R), 228
- Salmond, John A., and Bruce Clayton, editors, "The  
South Is Another Land: Essays on the Twentieth-  
Century South," 1411
- "Salmon P. Chase," by Blue, 1404
- Salomon, Frank, "Native Lords of Quito in the Age  
of the Incas: The Political Economy of North  
Andean Chiefdoms," 535
- "Salt of the Desert Sun," by Lovejoy, 204
- "Sambo," by Boskin, 220
- "Sam Hughes," by Haycock, 261
- Samuel, Alan E., *Philip and Alexander as Kings:  
Macedonian Monarchy and Merovingian Parallels*,  
1270–85
- "The Samuel Gompers Papers," edited by Kaufman *et  
al.*, 238
- Sanchez Albornoz, Claudio (E), 815
- Sanderson, Margaret H. B., "Cardinal of Scotland:  
David Beaton, c. 1494–1546," 1339
- "Sandlot Seasons," by Ruck, 520
- Sandos, James A., *Junipero Serra's Canonization and the  
Historical Record*, 1253–69
- Saslow, James M., "Ganymede in the Renaissance:  
Homosexuality in Art and Society," 185
- Sather, Leland (R), 1348
- Saunders, Richard (R), 243
- Scalapino, Robert A., and Han Sung-Joo, editors,  
"United States-Korea Relations" (E), 542
- "Scandinavia Overseas," edited by Runblom and  
Blanck (E), 269
- Schaller, Michael (R), 1137
- Schama, Simon (R), 427
- Schechter, Jerrold L., and Nguyen Tien Hung, "The  
Palace File," 257
- Schelbert, Leo (R), 194, 509
- Scheuerman, Richard D., and Clifford E. Trafzer,  
"Renegade Tribe: The Palouse Indians and the  
Invasion of the Inland Pacific Northwest," 1387
- Schilling, Heinz, and Herman Diederiks, editors,  
"Bürgerliche Eliten in den Niederlanden und in  
Nordwestdeutschland: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte  
des europäischen Bürgertums im Mittelalter und in  
der Neuzeit," 1315
- Schilling, Heinz, editor, "Die reformierte  
Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland—Das Problem  
der 'Zweiten Reformation'" (E), 1434
- Schimetschek, Bruno, "Der österreichische Beamte:  
Geschichte und Tradition," 188
- Schivelbusch, Wolfgang, "The Railway Journey: The  
Industrialization of Time and Space in the  
Nineteenth Century," 1296
- Schlarp, Karl Heinz, "Wirtschaft und Besatzung in  
Serbien 1941–1944: Ein Beitrag zur  
nationalsozialistischen Wirtschaftspolitik in  
Südosteuropa," 1085
- Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr., "The Cycles of American  
History," 213
- Schleunes, Karl A. (R), 184, 448
- Schlossmacher, Norbert, "Düsseldorf im  
Bismarckreich: Politik und Wahlen, Parteien und  
Vereine," 173
- Saab, Ann Pottinger (R), 680
- Sack, James J. (R), 697

- Schmid, Alois, "Max III. Joseph und die europäischen Mächte: Die Aussenpolitik des Kurfürstentums Bayern von 1745–1765," 1351
- Schmidt, Gustav, "The Politics and Economics of Appeasement: British Foreign Policy in the 1930s," 1333
- Schmiechen, James A., *The Victorians, the Historians, and the Idea of Modernism*, 287–316
- Schmitter, Philippe C., and Wolfgang Streeck, editors, "Private Interest Government: Beyond Market and State" (E), 537
- Schneider, Michael, "Demokratie in Gefahr? Der Konflikt um die Notstandsgesetze: Sozialdemokratie, Gewerkschaften und intellektueller Protest (1958–1968)," 452
- Schneidmüller, Bernd, "Nomen Patriae: Die Entstehung Frankreichs in der politisch-geographischen Terminologie (10.–13. Jahrhundert)," 1309
- Scholer, David M., editor, "Perspectives in Churchmanship: Essays in Honor of Robert G. Torbet" (E), 819
- Scholten, Catherine M., "Childbearing in American Society, 1650–1850," 221
- Schoppa, R. Keith (R), 479
- Schrecker, Ellen W. (R), 525
- Schrecker, Ellen W., "No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities," 1139
- Schreiber, Gerhard, "Hitler: Interpretationen 1923–1983; Ergebnisse, Methoden und Probleme der Forschung," 178
- Schroeder, Paul W. (R), 732
- Schulzinger, Robert D. (R), 525
- Schuyler, David, "The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America," 778
- Schwaller, John Frederick (R), 533
- Schwartz, Herman, editor, "The Burger Years: Rights and Wrongs in the Supreme Court, 1969–1986" (E), 271
- Schwartz, Hillel, "Never Satisfied: A Cultural History of Diets, Fantasies, and Fat," 763
- Schwartz, Klaus, and Gerd Winkelhane, "Der osmanische Statthalter Iskender Pascha (gest. 1571) und seine Stiftungen in Ägypten und am Bosphorus," 1094
- Schweninger, Loren (R), 1119
- "Science Encounters the Indian, 1820–1880," by Bieder, 770
- "Science in the Early Roman Empire," edited by French and Greenaway, 398
- "Science Reorganized," by McClellan, 137
- "Scotland and England, 1286–1815," edited by Mason (E), 1433
- Scott, Anne Firor (R), 774
- Scott, Tom, and E. I. Kouri, editors, "Politics and Society in Reformation Europe: Essays for Sir Geoffrey Elton on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday" (E), 1157
- Scott, William B., and Peter M. Rutkoff, "New School: A History of the New School for Social Research," 516
- "Scottish Lifestyle 300 Years Ago," by Kelsall and Kelsall, 709
- Seaver, Paul (R), 1325
- Sebal, Hans (R), 1037
- "Secrecy and Power," by Powers, 514
- "The Secret Museum," by Kendrick, 1023
- "The Secret Plague," by Cassel, 1424
- Seeber, Gustav, editor, "Gestalten der Bismarckzeit." Volume 2, 1069
- Seed, John, and Janet Wolff, editors, "The Culture of Capital: Art, Power, and the Nineteenth-Century Middle Class" (E), 1157
- "Seeds of Change," by Hobhouse, 1022
- "Seeking Many Inventions," by Abbott, 1106
- Segal, Alan F., "Rebecca's Children: Judaism and Christianity in the Roman World," 129
- Segalen, Martine, "Historical Anthropology of the Family," 666
- "Segovia," by Asenjo Gonzalez, 1035
- Seidel, Robert N. (R), 248
- Seiferheld, Alfredo M., "Nazismo y fascismo en el Paraguay," Volume 1, "Visperas de la II Guerra Mundial, 1936–1939"; volume 2, "Los años de la guerra, 1939–1945," 1153
- Selig, Karl-Ludwig, and Robert Somerville, editors, "Florilegium Columbianum: Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller" (E), 538
- Sella, Domenico (R), 453
- Seltzer, Robert (R), 135
- Semmel, Bernard, "John Stuart Mill and the Pursuit of Virtue," 700
- Semmel, Bernard, "Liberalism and Naval Strategy: Ideology, Interest, and Sea Power during the Pax Britannica," 153
- "Senate and General," by Eckstein, 1304
- Senior, Hereward (R), 258
- "Serfdom and Social Control in Russia," by Hoch, 196
- Service, Robert, "The Russian Revolution, 1900–1927," 1090
- "Sesto San Giovanni," by Bell, 454
- "Setting a Course," by Brown, 519
- "Setting the Mould," by Edmonds, 255
- "The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe," edited by Davies and Fouracre, 1029
- "The Seven Years War and the Old Regime in France," by Riley, 1062
- "Sewall Wright and Evolutionary Biology," by Provine, 787
- Sewell, William H., Jr., *Uneven Development, the Autonomy of Politics, and the Dockworkers of Nineteenth-Century Marseille*, 604–37
- "Sex and Power," by Meyer, 1289
- "Sex and Suffrage in Britain, 1860–1914," by Kent, 1051
- "Sex in Middlesex," by Thompson, 229
- Shade, William G. (R), 499
- "Shaohsing," by Cole, 752
- Shapiro, Barbara (R), 1046
- Sharma, Arvind, editor, "Women in World Religions" (E), 1156
- Sharp, Buchanan (R), 413
- Sharpless, Rebecca, and David Stricklin, editors, "The Past Meets the Present: Essays on Oral History" (E), 1155
- Shaw, Barton C. (R), 1120
- Shaw, Malcolm, editor, "The Modern Presidency: From Roosevelt to Reagan" (E), 819
- Sheehan, James J. (R), 1068
- "Sheffield Steel and America," by Tweedale, 1015
- Shelton, Cynthia J., "The Mills of Manayunk: Industrialization and Social Conflict in the Philadelphia Region, 1787–1837," 499

- Shennan, J. H., "Liberty and Order in Early Modern Europe: The Subject and the State, 1650–1800," 678
- Sheridan, James E. (R), 754
- Sheridan, Thomas E., "Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson, 1854–1941," 240
- Sherry, Michael S. (R), 1427
- Sherry, Michael S., "The Rise of American Air Power: The Creation of Armageddon," 523
- Shields, Johanna Nicol (R), 1402
- Shillony, Ben-Ami (R), 210
- Shmuelevitz, Aryeh, "The Jews of the Ottoman Empire in the Late Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries: Administrative, Economic, Legal, and Social Relations as Reflected in the *Responso*," 471
- Shore, Laurence, "Southern Capitalists: The Ideological Leadership of an Elite, 1832–1885," 236
- Short, K. R. M., and Stephan Dolezel, editors, "Hitler's Fall: The Newsreel Witness" (E), 1434
- "A Short History of Modern Bulgaria," by Crampton, 1366
- Sidebotham, Steven E., "Roman Economic Policy in the Erythra Thalassa, 30 B.C.–A.D. 217," 675
- Siegel, Frederick F., "The Roots of Southern Distinctiveness: Tobacco and Society in Danville, Virginia, 1780–1865," 1114
- Silbey, Joel H. (R), 1402
- Silver, Morris, "Economic Structures of the Ancient Near East," 123
- Silver, Timothy H. (R), 1021
- Simensen, Jarle, editor, "Norwegian Missions in African History." Volume I, "South Africa, 1845–1906" (E), 1437
- Simon, Denis Fred, and Joyce K. Kallgren, editors, "Educational Exchanges: Essays on the Sino-American Experience" (E), 818
- Simon, Roger D. (R), 1412
- Sinclair, Karen P. (R), 485
- Singer, Brian C. J., "Society, Theory, and the French Revolution: Studies in the Revolutionary Imaginary," 161
- Singer, Marcus G., editor, "American Philosophy" (E), 271
- Sitton, Thad, and Milam C. Rowold, "Ringling the Children In: Texas Country Schools," 521
- "Six Galleons for the King of Spain," by Phillips, 165
- Skaggs, Jimmy M., "Prime Cut: Livestock Raising and Meatpacking in the United States, 1607–1983," 217
- Skotheim, Robert A. (R), 758
- Skurnowicz, Joan S. (R), 1084
- Slack, Paul (R), 1312
- Slater, Miriam, and Penina Migdal Glazer, "Unequal Colleagues: The Entrance of Women into the Professions, 1890–1940," 518
- Slatta, Richard W., editor, "Bandidos: The Varieties of Latin American Banditry," 1144
- "Slave Culture," by Stuckey, 1397
- Slave Hiring in Texas*, by Campbell, 107–114
- "Slavianofil'stvo," by Tsimbaev, 462
- Slee, Peter R. H., "Learning and a Liberal Education: The Study of Modern History in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Manchester, 1800–1914," 702
- Sloan, Edward W. (R), 1109
- "A Small Sound of the Trumpet," by Labarge, 400
- Smeeton, Donald Dean, "Lollard Themes in the Reformation Theology of William Tyndale," 687
- Smith, Bonnie G. (R), 116
- Smith, Bradley F. (R), 180, 1355
- Smith, David C. (R), 1053
- Smith, David C., "H. G. Wells: Desperately Mortal, A Biography," 706
- Smith, Duane A. (R), 242
- Smith, Hilda L. (R), 407
- Smith, Hilda L., "Reason's Disciples: Seventeenth-Century English Feminists," 143
- Smith, Morton (R), 1305
- Smith, Philippa Mein, "Maternity in Dispute: New Zealand, 1920–1939," 486
- Smith, Phillip Thurmond (R), 1330
- Smith, R. B. (R), 796
- Smith, Richard J., "China's Cultural Heritage: The Ch'ing Dynasty, 1644–1912," 751
- Smith, Rodney K., "Public Prayer and the Constitution: A Case Study in Constitutional Interpretation," 498
- Smith, Tony (R), 434
- Smith, Woodruff D. (R), 1070
- Smout, T. C. (R), 1060
- Smout, T. C., "A Century of the Scottish People, 1830–1950," 709
- "Smugglers and Patriots," by Tyler, 766
- Smuts, R. Malcolm, "Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England," 1323
- Smythe, Donald, "Pershing: General of the Armies," 248
- Snell, James G. (R), 259
- So, Alvin Y., "The South China Silk District: Local Historical Transformation and World-System Theory," 477
- "Social Change and the Labouring Poor," by Lis, 1347
- "The Social Construction of Technological Systems," edited by Bijker *et al.* (E), 1155
- "Social Life, Local Politics, and Nazism," by Koshar, 725
- "The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East," by Gerber, 1095
- "Social Work," by Leighninger, 520
- "Socialism in the Heartland," edited by Critchlow, 245
- "Societies in Upheaval," by Frey and Frey, 678
- "Society, Politics, and Culture," by James, 413
- "Society, Theory, and the French Revolution," by Singer, 161
- Socknat, Thomas P., "Witness against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900–1945," 1143
- Socolofsky, Homer E., and Allan B. Spetter, "The Presidency of Benjamin Harrison," 1406
- Soderlund, Jean R. (R), 234
- Soffer, Reba N. (R), 702
- "Die sogennante Polis," by Gawantka, 396
- Sokal, Michael M., editor, "Psychological Testing and American Society, 1890–1930," 1127
- "Soldiers, Sutlers, and Settlers," by Wooster, 1397
- "Soldiers West," edited by Hutton, 777
- Soldon, Norbert C. (R), 152
- "Le Soleil et le Tartare," by Ballabriga, 124
- Solomon, Barbara Miller (R), 518
- Solomon, Howard M. (R), 185
- Solt, Leo F. (R), 142, 688
- Somerville, Robert, and Karl-Ludwig Selig, editors, "Florilegium Columbianum: Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller" (E), 538
- Sommerville, C. John (R), 709



- "A Son of Thunder," by Mayer, 231  
 Sorabji, Richard, editor, "Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science," 1018  
 Sordi, Marta, "The Christians and the Roman Empire," 130  
 Sorge, Martin K., "The Other Price of Hitler's War: German Military and Civilian Losses Resulting from World War II," 449  
 Soucy, Robert (R), 432  
 "Le soufi et le commissaire," by Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay, 468  
 "The South China Silk District," by So, 477  
 Southern, David W., "Gunnar Myrdal and Black-White Relations: The Use and Abuse of *An American Dilemma*, 1944-1969," 795  
 "Southern Capitalism," by Wood, 512  
 "Southern Capitalists," by Shore, 236  
 "The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia," edited by Donham and James (E), 270  
 "The Southern Pacific, 1901-1985," by Hofsommer, 243  
 "The South Is Another Land," edited by Clayton and Salmond, 1411  
 "Sovereignty and Leadership in Lebanon, 1943-1976," by Gorla, 201  
 "The Soviet Economy," edited by Weichhardt (E), 1436  
 "The Soviet Germans," by Fleischhauer and Pinkus, 194  
 "Soviet-East European Survey, 1986-1987," edited by Mastny (E), 1436  
 "Sozialdemokratie und Rätebewegung in der Provinz," by Müller-Aenis, 444  
 "Sozialistische Kolonialpolitik," by Hyrkkänen, 1070  
 Spagnoli, Paul G. (R), 434  
 Spalding, Phinzy, "The History of the Medical College of Georgia," 1107  
 Spanier, John (R), 794  
 Speitkamp, Winfried, "Restauration als Transformation: Untersuchungen zur kurhessischen Verfassungsgeschichte 1813-1830," 169  
 Spencer, Elaine Glovka (R), 445, 1354  
 Spencer, John (R), 206  
 Spencer, Samuel R., Jr., and J. Garry Clifford, "The First Peacetime Draft," 793  
 Spencer, Warren F. (R), 429  
 Sperber, Jonathan (R), 722, 1042  
 Spetter, Allan B., and Homer E. Socolofsky, "The Presidency of Benjamin Harrison," 1406  
 Spielvogel, Jackson (R), 726  
 Spindler, Frank MacDonald, "Nineteenth-Century Ecuador: A Historical Introduction," 1151  
 Spinner, Thomas J., Jr. (R), 698  
 "Spinners and Weavers of Auffay," by Gullickson, 715  
 "The Spirit and the Flesh," by Williams, 218  
 "Spirit Possession and Popular Religion," by Garrett, 1294  
 Spiro, Jack D., and Herbert Hirsch, editors, "Persistent Prejudice: Perspectives on Anti-Semitism" (E), 1431  
 Spitzer, Alan B., "The French Generation of 1820," 1342  
 Spivey, Donald (R), 1117  
 Spivey, Donald, "The Politics of Miseducation: The Booker Washington Institute of Liberia, 1929-1984," 474  
 Spodek, Howard (R), 1102  
 Spooner, Frank (R), 1062  
 "Sports Spectators," by Guttman, 1024  
 "Spotkania z historią," by Tazbir, 1362  
 Sprague, John, and Adam Przeworski, "Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism," 682  
 Spring, Eileen (R), 693, 1326  
 "Spuren des Widerstands," by Peukert and Bajohr, 1358  
 "Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen 1230-1449," by Neumann, 404  
 "Staat und Krieg," by Krippendorff, 1011  
 Stachura, Peter D., editor, "Unemployment and the Great Depression in Weimar Germany," 177  
 Stackelberg, Roderick (R), 724  
 "Städte und Steuern in der Politik Julians," by Pack, 1027  
 Stahl, Alan M. (R), 1313  
 Stallybrass, Peter, and Allon White, "The Politics and Poetics of Transgression," 1009  
 Stanislawski, Michael (R), 1042  
 Stannard, David E. (R), 226  
 Stansell, Christine, "City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860," 500  
 "A Staple State," by Clark-Jones, 1144  
 "The State and the Non-Public School, 1825-1925," by Jorgenson, 1390  
 "Statehood and Union," by Onuf, 1396  
 "States in History," edited by Hall (E), 1155  
 "Statesmen and Gentlemen," by Hymes, 1376  
 "States of Perfect Freedom," by Abbott, 489  
 "Staying Power," by Fryer, 412  
 Stead, I. M., *et al.*, "Lindow Man: The Body in the Bog" (E), 814  
 Stearns, Peter N. (R), 668  
 Stearns, Peter N., editor, "Expanding the Past: A Reader in Social History; Essays from the Journal of Social History" (E), 1431  
 Steel, Robert W., editor, "British Geography, 1918-1945" (E), 816  
 Steele, Ian K. (R), 496  
 Steele, Ian K., "The English Atlantic, 1675-1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community," 692  
 Steenson, Gary P. (R), 723  
 Stein, George H. (R), 448  
 Stein, Stephen J. (R), 1294  
 Steiner, Zara (R), 1333  
 Steinisch, Irmgard, "Arbeitszeitverkürzung und sozialer Wandel: Der Kampf um die Achtstundenschicht in der deutschen und amerikanischen Eisen- und Stahlindustrie 1880-1929," 1016  
 Stengers, J., and G. Kurgan-Van Hentenryk, "L'innovation technologique: Facteur de changement (XIX<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècles)" (E), 539  
 Stepansky, Paul E., editor, "Freud: Appraisals and Reappraisals" (E), 1156  
 Stephens, Lester D. (R), 390  
 Stephenson, Jill (R), 727  
 Stern, Steve J., *Feudalism, Capitalism, and the World-System in the Perspective of Latin America and the Caribbean*, 829-72  
 Stern, Steve J., *Reply: "Ever More Solitary,"* 886-97  
 Stewart, Gordon T. (R), 1142  
 Stewart, James Brewer, "Wendell Phillips: Liberty's Hero," 504  
 Stewart, Mary Lynn (R), 162

- Stichter, Sharon, "Migrant Laborers," 1096
- Stieg, Margaret F., "The Origin and Development of Historical Periodicals," 1024
- Stigler, Stephen M., "The History of Statistics: The Measurement of Uncertainty before 1900," 1019
- Stiller, Jesse H., "George S. Messersmith: Diplomat of Democracy," 1415
- Stillman, Norman A. (R), 1371
- Stoakes, Geoffrey, "Hitler and the Quest for World Dominion," 1355
- Stock-Morton, Phyllis (R), 143
- Stoianovich, Traian (R), 1361
- Stone, Bailey (R), 1064
- Stone, Bailey, "The French Parlements and the Crisis of the Old Regime," 160
- Stone, Jeanne C. Fawtier, and Lawrence Stone, "An Open Elite? England, 1540–1880," 138
- Stone, Lawrence, and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, "An Open Elite? England, 1540–1880," 138
- "Storia dei servizi segreti in Italia," by De Lutiis, 732
- "Storiografia imperiale pretacitiana," by Noe, 675
- Storry, Richard (E), 1437
- Stourzh, Gerald, and Margarete Grandner, editors, "Historische Wurzeln der Sozialpartnerschaft" (E), 542
- Stout, Harry S., and Nathan O. Hatch, editors, "Jonathan Edwards and the American Experience" (E), 1159
- Stover, John F., "History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad," 1108
- Stowe, Steven M., "Intimacy and Power in the Old South: Ritual in the Lives of the Planters," 774
- Strachan, Hew, "From Waterloo to Balaclava: Tactics, Technology, and the British Army, 1815–1854," 150
- "Strangers from a Secret Land," by Thomas, 530
- Straus, André, and Patrick Fridenson, editors, "Le capitalisme français XIX<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècle: Blocages et dynamismes d'une croissance," 1066
- Strauss, Barry S., "Athens after the Peloponnesian War: Class, Faction, and Policy, 403–386 B.C.," 397
- Strauss, Gerald, "Law, Resistance, and the State: The Opposition to Roman Law in Reformation Germany," 439
- Streeck, Wolfgang, and Philippe C. Schmitter, editors, "Private Interest Government: Beyond Market and State" (E), 537
- Streiter, Karl Heink, "Die nationalen Beziehungen im Grossherzogtum Posen (1815–1848)," 733
- Stricklin, David, and Rebecca Sharpless, editors, "The Past Meets the Present: Essays on Oral History" (E), 1155
- Stross, Randall E., "The Stubborn Earth: American Agriculturalists on Chinese Soil, 1898–1937," 479
- Struve, Lynn (R), 751
- Stuard, Susan Mosher (R), 400
- Stuart, Mary, "Aristocrat-Librarian in Service to the Tsar: Aleksei Nikolaevich Olenin and the Imperial Public Library," 193
- "The Stubborn Earth," by Stross, 479
- Stuckey, Sterling, "Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America," 1397
- "Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History," edited by Evans and Unger (E), 540
- "Studies in Qur'an and *Hadīth*," by Powers, 198
- "Studies of Shang Archaeology," edited by Chang, 207
- Stueck, William W. (R), 526
- Sturdy, D. J., "The D'Aligres de la Rivière: Servants of the Bourbon State in the Seventeenth Century," 425
- "Subsidia Sangallensia I," edited by Borgolte *et al.*, 1036
- Suchlicki, Jaime, and Damian J. Fernandez, editors, "Cuban Foreign Policy: The New Internationalism" (E), 1160
- "Sufficiently Radical," by McShane, 252
- "Suffolk and the Tudors," by MacCulloch, 1323
- "Sugar Creek," by Faragher, 501
- Sultana, Donald, "The Journey of Sir Walter Scott to Malta," 1050
- Summers, David, "The Judgment of Sense: Renaissance Naturalism and the Rise of Aesthetics," 1317
- Sutcliffe, Anthony (R), 719
- Sutton, Peter, and Luise Hercus, editors, "This Is What Happened: Historical Narratives by Aborigines," 484
- Swainson, Donald (R), 1426
- Swann, Paul, "The Hollywood Feature Film in Postwar Britain," 1338
- Swearingen, Will D., "Moroccan Mirages: Agrarian Dreams and Deceptions, 1912–1986," 1373
- "Świat Panów Pasków," by Tazbir, 1362
- Swietochowski, Tadeusz (R), 459
- Sydnor, Charles W., Jr. (R), 183
- Symonds, Richard, "Oxford and Empire: The Last Lost Cause?" 703
- "Syndicalist Legacy," by Amdur, 432
- "Syria and the French Mandate," by Khoury, 1372
- Sysyn, Frank E., and Ivo Banac, editors, "Concepts of Nationhood in Early Modern Eastern Europe" (E), 1158
- Szasz, Ferenc M. (R), 757
- Tägil, Sven, editor, "Regions in Upheaval: Ethnic Conflict and Political Mobilization," 392
- Tao, Jing-shen (R), 1376
- Taplin, Eric, "The Dockers' Union: A Study of the National Union of Dock Labourers, 1889–1922," 705
- Tardanico, Richard, editor, "Crises in the Caribbean Basin" (E), 544
- "The Tatar Yoke," by Halperin, 192
- Taylor, H. M. (E), 267
- Taylor, Sandra C. (R), 257
- Taylor, Simon, "Prelude to Genocide: Nazi Ideology and the Struggle for Power," 726
- Tazbir, Janusz, "La république nobilaire et le monde: Études sur l'histoire de la culture polonaise à l'époque du baroque," 1362; "Spotkania z historią," 1362; "Świat Panów Pasków: Eseje i studia," 1362
- "The Tenant Movement in New York City, 1904–1980," edited by Lawson, 246
- Tenenbaum, Barbara A. (R), 1149
- Tennyson, Brian Douglas, editor, "Canada and the Commonwealth Caribbean" (E), 1438
- Tentler, Leslie (R), 253
- "Teobaldo II de Navarra (1253–1270)," by García Arancon, 1311
- TePaske, John Jay (R), 680
- Teppe, Karl, and Dieter Rebentisch, editors, "Verwaltung contra Menschenführung im Staat Hitlers: Studien zum politisch-administrativen System," 179

- "Termination and Relocation," by Fixico, 257  
 Terry, Janice J. (R), 1097  
 "Texas and the Mexican Revolution," by Coerver and Hall, 243  
 "Textile Manufactures in Early Modern England," by Kerridge, 149  
 Thaden, Edward C. (R), 194  
 "Themes and Theories in Modern Japanese History," edited by Henny and Lehmann (E), 1437  
 "Theories of Human Evolution," by Bowler, 391  
 "Thiers," by Bury and Tombs, 162  
 "The Third Republic Defended," by Elwitt, 431  
 "This Bittersweet Soil," by Chan, 1409  
 "This Is What Happened," edited by Hercus and Sutton, 484  
 "This Unfriendly Soil," by MacKinnon, 258  
 Tholfsen, Trygve R. (R), 705  
 Thomas, C. G. (R), 394  
 Thomas, Donald E., Jr., "Diesel: Technology and Society in Industrial Germany," 1353  
 Thomas, Emory M., "Bold Dragoon: The Life of J. E. B. Stuart," 505  
 Thomas, Peter, "Strangers from a Secret Land: The Voyages of the Brig *Albion* and the Founding of the First Welsh Settlements in Canada," 530  
 Thomas, S. Bernard (R), 1379  
 Thompson, J. A. (R), 138  
 Thompson, Larry V. (R), 729  
 Thompson, Neville, "Wellington after Waterloo," 697  
 Thompson, Roger, "Sex in Middlesex: Popular Mores in a Massachusetts County, 1649–1699," 229  
 Thorp, Rosemary, and Laurence Whitehead, editors, "Latin American Debt and the Adjustment Crisis" (E), 271  
 "Three Imperial Mathematicians," by Rosen, 406  
 Tignor, Robert L. (R), 1373  
 "Till Militärstatens Förhistoria," by Arteus, 720  
 Tilly, Charles (R), 1009, 1288  
 Tilly, Louise (R), 715  
 "Timber and the Forest Service," by Clary, 246  
 Timms, Edward, and Peter Collier, editors, "Visions and Blueprints: Avant-garde Culture and Radical Politics in Early Twentieth-Century Europe" (E), 1158  
 Timms, Edward, "Karl Kraus: Apocalyptic Satirist; Culture and Catastrophe in Habsburg Vienna," 189  
 Tischler, Barbara L. (R), 491, 1114  
 "To Advance Knowledge," by Geiger, 244  
 "Der Tod der k.u.k. Weltordnung in Wien," by Kiss, 734  
 Toews, John E. (R), 1292  
 "Die Toleranzpolitik Kaiser Josephs II," by Karniel, 457  
 "Toleration and the Constitution," by Richards, 214  
 "Tombee," by Rosengarten, 773  
 Tombs, R. P., and J. P. T. Bury, "Thiers, 1797–1877: A Political Life," 162  
 Tomes, Nancy J. (R), 1401  
 Tomlinson, Gary, "Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance," 1080  
 Tonkin, John, and A. G. Dickens, "The Reformation in Historical Thought," 408  
 Toplin, Robert Brent, *The Filmmaker as Historian*, 1210–27  
 Torbet, Robert G. (E), 819  
 "To Redeem the Soul of America," by Fairclough, 1419  
 Torrents, Nissa, and Christopher Abel, editors, "José Martí: Revolutionary Democrat," 1146  
 Tortarolo, Edoardo, "Illuminismo e rivoluzioni: Biografia politica di Filippo Mazzei," 669  
 "To the Best of My Ability," by Robinson, 1422  
 "To Their Own Soil," by Atack and Bateman, 501  
 Toulouse, Teresa (R), 1109  
 Toulouse, Teresa, "The Art of Prophesying: New England Sermons and the Shaping of Belief," 764  
 "Toward Modernity," edited by Katz, 1042  
 "Town and Country under Fascism," by Kelikian, 454  
*Trade between Western Africa and the Atlantic World in the Pre-Colonial Era*, by Eltis and Jennings, 936–59  
 "Trading Companies in Asia, 1600–1830," edited by Van Goor, 755  
 "Traditionelle Jugendkultur und Industrialisierung," by Gestrich, 171  
 Trafzer, Clifford E., and Richard D. Scheuerman, "Renegade Tribe: The Palouse Indians and the Invasion of the Inland Pacific Northwest," 1387  
 Traikov, Veselin, *et al.*, editors, "Iudzhiin Skailür i Bülgarite: Izsledvaniia i dokumenti" (E), 542  
 "The Transformation of Turkish Culture," edited by Renda and Kortepeter (E), 270  
 "Transnational Corporations and the Latin American Automobile Industry," by Jenkins, 802  
 Traugott, Mark, *The Crowd in the French Revolution of February, 1848*, 638–52  
 "Treasure of the Land of Darkness," by Martin, 459  
 "Treaties on Trial," by Cohen *et al.*, 258  
 "Trials of Discipleship," by Allen, 1400  
 Trimpi, Helen P., "Melville's Confidence Men and American Politics in the 1850s," 1403  
 "The Triumph of Democracy in Spain," by Preston, 437  
 Trotman, David Vincent, "Crime in Trinidad: Conflict and Control in a Plantation Society, 1838–1900," 532  
 "Trucking and the Public Interest," by Childs, 247  
 "Truman's Two-China Policy, 1948–1950," by Grasso, 1416  
 Trzebinski, Errol, "The Kenya Pioneers," 476  
 Tsai, Shih-shan Henry, "The Chinese Experience in America," 783  
 "Tsar and Cossack, 1855–1914," by McNeal, 738  
 Tsimbaev, N. I., "Slavianofil'stvo: Iz istorii russkoi obshchestvenno-politicheskoi mysli XIX veka," 462  
 Tsurumi, Shunsuke, "An Intellectual History of Wartime Japan, 1931–1945," 210  
 Tubby, Roseanna, and Samuel J. Wells, editors, "After Removal: The Choctaw in Mississippi," 219  
 "Los Tucsonenses," by Sheridan, 240  
 "The Tudor Court," by Loades, 1045  
 "Tudor Ireland," by Ellis, 157  
 "Turenne," by Berenger, 1061  
 Turk, Richard W., "The Ambiguous Relationship: Theodore Roosevelt and Alfred Thayer Mahan," 1413  
 Turner, G. L'E. (R), 1021  
 Turner, Mary (R), 1049  
 "Turning Swiss," by Brady, 167  
 Turpin, William (R), 1303  
 Turrel, Denise, "Bourg-en-Bresse au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Les hommes et la ville," 713  
 Tushnet, Mark V. (R), 1386  
 Tushnet, Mark V., "The NAACP's Legal Strategy against Segregated Education, 1925–1950," 1417

- Tutino, John, "From Insurrection to Revolution in Mexico: Social Bases of Agrarian Violence, 1750–1940," 805
- Tweeddale, Geoffrey, "Sheffield Steel and America: A Century of Commercial and Technological Interdependence, 1830–1930," 1015
- "Two Colonial Empires," edited by Bayly and Kolff (E), 818
- "The Two Tocquevilles, Father and Son," edited by Palmer, 717
- Tyack, David, *et al.*, "Law and the Shaping of Public Education, 1785–1954," 1104
- Tyler, John W., "Smugglers and Patriots: Boston Merchants and the Advent of the American Revolution," 766
- "Udnævnelsesretten i enevældens magtpolitiske system 1660–1730," by Jensen, 1348
- Underdown, David (R), 1047
- "Under the Cope of Heaven," by Bonomi, 765
- "Unemployment and the Great Depression in Weimar Germany," edited by Stachura, 177
- "Unequal Colleagues," by Glazer and Slater, 518
- "Unequal Laws unto a Savage Race," by Arnold, 494
- Uneven Development, the Autonomy of Politics, and the Dockworkers of Nineteenth-Century Marseille*, by Sewell, 604–37
- "Unfree Labor," by Kolchin, 1287
- Unger, R. W., and J. A. S. Evans, editors, "Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History" (E), 540
- "The Union at Risk," by Ellis, 771
- "The United States' Emergence as a Southeast Asian Power, 1940–1950," by Hess, 1137
- "United States-Korea Relations," edited by Scalapino and Han (E), 542
- "The United States Navy and the Vietnam Conflict," by Marolda and Fitzgerald, 527
- "Unwelcome Strangers," by Wertheimer, 1352
- "Up from the Cradle of Jazz," by Berry *et al.*, 526
- Upton, Dell, "Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia," 494
- Urban, William (R), 404
- "Les usages de l'imprimé (XV<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle)," edited by Chartier, 679
- "The U.S. Government and the Vietnam War," by Gibbons, 796
- "Utopia in Power," by Heller and Nekrich, 742
- "Utopias," edited by Kamenka (E), 1155
- Van Dam, Raymond (R), 1028
- Vanderbilt, Kermit, "American Literature and the Academy: The Roots, Growth, and Maturity of a Profession," 517
- Vandiver, Frank E. (R), 248
- Van Goor, J., editor, "Trading Companies in Asia, 1600–1830," 755
- Van Oss, Adriaan, "Catholic Colonialism: A Parish History of Guatemala, 1524–1821," 533
- Van Tine, Warren, and Melvyn Dubofsky, editors, "Labor Leaders in American History," 784
- Van Young, Eric (R), 1147
- Vardy, Steven Bela, "Baron Joseph Eötvös: A Literary Biography," 734
- "Varieties of Southern Religious Experience," edited by Hill (E), 1438
- Vassiltchikov, Marie, "Berlin Diaries, 1940–1945," 1075
- "The Vatican, Islam, and the Middle East," edited by Ellis (E), 1158
- Vaughan, Robert C., and Merrill D. Peterson, editors, "The Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom: Its Evolution and Consequences in American History" (E), 1438
- "The Venetian Patriarchate," by Queller, 131
- Venn, Fiona, "Oil Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century," 121
- Venturi, Franco (E), 539
- "Verdi," by Budden, 1081
- "Das verlorene Meisterwort," by Biedermann, 1297
- Vermes, Gabor (R), 734
- "Verwaltung contra Menschenführung im Staat Hitlers," edited by Rebentisch and Teppe, 179
- Vestergaard, Elisabeth, editor, "Continuity and Change: Political Institutions and Literary Monuments in the Middle Ages; A Symposium," 1036
- Vicinus, Martha, "Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850–1920," 151
- Vickery, Kenneth P., "Black and White in Southern Zambia: The Tonga Plateau Economy and British Imperialism, 1890–1939," 1099
- "Victorian Bloomsbury," by Rosenbaum, 1053
- "Victorian Shipping, Business, and Imperial Policy," by Porter, 750
- The Victorians, the Historians, and the Idea of Modernism*, by Schmiechen, 287–316
- Villalba i Varneda, Pere, "The Historical Method of Flavius Josephus," 1305
- "La Ville et l'innovation," edited by Lepetit and Hoock (E), 268
- Vincent, Charles (R), 1408
- Vincent, R. J., editor, "Foreign Policy and Human Rights: Issues and Responses" (E), 266
- Vinovskis, Maris A. (R), 1104
- Vinovskis, Maris A., "The Origins of Public High Schools: A Reexamination of the Beverly High School Controversy," 503
- Viola, Herman J. (R), 770
- "The Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom," edited by Peterson and Vaughan (E), 1438
- "The Vision of Anglo-America," by Ryan, 1335
- "Visions and Blueprints," edited by Timms and Collier (E), 1158
- Vittoz, Stanley, "New Deal Labor Policy and the American Industrial Economy," 1414
- "The Vlachs," by Winniffrith, 1361
- "Vladimir the Russian Viking," by Volkoff, 191
- "Vlasov and the Russian Liberation Movement," by Andreyev, 744
- Vlastos, Stephen (R), 480
- Vleeschouwers-van Melkebeek, Monique, "De officialiteit van Doornik: Oorsprong en vroege ontwikkeling (1192–1300)," 1306; "Documenten uit de praktijk van de gedingbeslissende rechtspraak van de officialiteit van Doornik: Oorsprong en vroege ontwikkeling (1192–1300)," 1306
- "The Voice of the SS," by Combs, 448
- "Voices of Combat," by Bowman, 1114
- "Voices of Social Education, 1937–1987," edited by Roselle (E), 1160
- Volkoff, Vladimir, "Vladimir the Russian Viking," 191
- "Vom Dienst am Recht," by König, 1357

- Von Klemperer, Klemens (R), 1083  
 Von Laue, Theodore H. (R), 1090  
 Voss, Stuart F. (R), 808  
 "Voyagers to the West," by Bailyn, 225  
 Vucinich, Alexander (R), 192
- Wade, Louise Carroll, "Chicago's Pride: The Stockyards, Packingtown, and Environs in the Nineteenth Century," 777  
 Wagar, W. Warren (R), 115, 1065  
 Wagner, Anne Middleton, "Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux: Sculptor of the Second Empire," 429  
 Walch, Jean, "Les Maîtres de l'histoire, 1815–1850: Augustin Thierry, Mignet, Guizot, Thiers, Michelet, Edgar Quinet," 429  
 Wald, Alan M., "The New York Intellectuals: The Rise and Decline of the Anti-Stalinist Left from the 1930s to the 1980s," 791  
 Waldron, Kathy (R), 262  
 Walker, David W., "Kinship, Business, and Politics: The Martínez del Río Family in Mexico, 1823–1867," 806  
 Wall, Irwin (R), 1043  
 Wallenstein, Peter, "From Slave South to New South: Public Policy in Nineteenth-Century Georgia," 1120  
 Wallerstein, Immanuel, *Comments on Stern's Critical Tests*, 873–85  
 Walters, Ronald G. (R), 504  
 Waltz, James (R), 1030  
 Walvin, James, "England, Slaves, and Freedom, 1776–1838," 1049  
 Walworth, Arthur, "Wilson and His Peacemakers: American Diplomacy at the Paris Peace Conference, 1919," 249  
 Wandersee, Winifred D. (R), 242, 1132  
 Wang Shuhuai, "Zhongguo xiandaihua te quyu yanjiu: Jiangsu sheng, 1860–1916," 478  
 "War and Peace in the Middle Ages," edited by McGuire (E), 814  
 "War and Refugees," edited by Lawless and Monahan (E), 818  
 "War, Taxation, and Rebellion in Early Tudor England," by Bernard, 141  
 Ward, Stephen R. (R), 1057  
 Ward, William A., "Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects," 123  
 Ware, Susan, "Partner and I: Molly Dewson, Feminism, and New Deal Politics," 1414  
 "Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia," by Forbes, 1377  
 Warmbrunn, Werner (R), 438  
 Warner, John Harley (R), 1017, 1107  
 "War without Mercy," by Dower, 387  
 "Wash and Be Healed," by Cayleff, 1401  
 Watson, Alan, "Roman Slave Law," 1026  
 Watts, Pauline Moffitt (R), 390  
 Watts, Steven (R), 489  
 "A Way of Life and Death," by Willems, 168  
 "Wealth and Taxation in Central Europe," edited by Witt (E), 269  
 Weatherford, Doris, "Foreign and Female: Immigrant Women in America, 1840–1930," 1122  
 Webb, George E. (R), 509  
 Weber, David J. (R), 262  
 Weber, Eugen (R), 122, 718  
 Weber, Eugen, "France: Fin de Siècle," 164  
 Weber, R. G. S., "The German Student Corps in the Third Reich," 448  
 Weber, William (R), 1343  
 Weeks, Charles A., "The Juárez Myth in Mexico," 1149  
 Weichhardt, Reiner, editor, "The Soviet Economy: A New Course?/L'économie soviétique à un tournant?" (E), 1436  
 Weigley, Russell F. (R), 523  
 Weinberg, Gerhard L. (R), 1355  
 Weinberg, Robert (R), 197  
 Weiner, Lynn Y. (R), 779  
 Weiner, Myron, and Ergun Ozbudun, editors, "Competitive Elections in Developing Countries" (E), 538  
 Weinstein, Mark A. (R), 1050  
 Weinstein, Stanley, "Buddhism under the T'ang," 751  
 Weiss, Ellen, "City in the Woods: The Life and Design of an American Camp Meeting on Martha's Vineyard," 1121  
 "Wellington after Waterloo," by Thompson, 697  
 Wells, Allen, "Yucatán's Gilded Age: Haciendas, Henequen, and International Harvester, 1860–1915," 264  
 Wells, Camille, editor, "Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture." Volume 1 (E), 813  
 Wells, Samuel J., and Roseanna Tubby, editors, "After Removal: The Choctaw in Mississippi," 219  
 Welsh, Alexander (R), 701  
 Welter, Barbara (R), 780  
 Wemple, Suzanne Fonay (R), 677, 1308  
 "Wendell Phillips," by Stewart, 504  
 Wertheimer, Jack, editor, "The American Synagogue: A Sanctuary Transformed" (E), 1438  
 Wertheimer, Jack, "Unwelcome Strangers: East European Jews in Imperial Germany," 1352  
 Wesser, Robert F. (R), 1410  
 West, Trevor, "Horace Plunkett: Co-operation and Politics, an Irish Biography," 711  
 West, William C. (R), 396  
 "The West of the Imagination," by Goetzmann and Goetzmann, 215  
 "Westward from Virginia," by Briceland, 765  
 Wetherell, Charles, and Andrejs Plakans, *The Kinship Domain in an East European Peasant Community: Pinkenhof, 1833–1850*, 359–86  
 Whalen, Robert W. (R), 175  
*What Women Have Wrought*, by Murphy, 653–63  
 Whisnant, David E. (R), 1388  
 White, Allon, and Peter Stallybrass, "The Politics and Poetics of Transgression," 1009  
 White, Dan S. (R), 1351  
 White, Hayden, "The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation," 1007  
 White, Hayden, *Historiography and Historiophoty*, 1193–99  
 White, John Franklin, editor, "Art in Action: American Art Centers and the New Deal" (E), 1160  
 White, Joseph (R), 418  
 White, Morton, "Philosophy. *The Federalist*, and the Constitution," 497  
 Whitehead, Laurence, and Rosemary Thorp, editors, "Latin American Debt and the Adjustment Crisis" (E), 271  
 Whitfield, Stephen J. (R), 1140  
 Whittaker, Cynthia H. (R), 463  
 Whittingham, Ken, and Ahmad Anani, "The Early History of the Gulf Arabs," 1093  
 Whittock, Martyn J. (R), 399



- Whitlock, Martyn J., "The Origins of England, 410–600," 676
- Whyte, Ian (R), 1058
- "Widerstand 1939–1945," by Mammach, 1075
- Wiesner, Merry E., "Working Women in Renaissance Germany," 168
- Wiley, Norbert, editor, "The Marx-Weber Debate" (E), 538
- "Wilhelm Marr," by Zimmerman, 442
- Wilkinson, Charles F., "American Indians, Time, and the Law: Native Societies in a Modern Constitutional Democracy," 529
- Willems, Emilio, "A Way of Life and Death: Three Centuries of Prussian-German Militarism; An Anthropological Approach," 168
- "William Alexander, Lord Stirling," by Nelson, 495
- "William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland," by Macfarlane, 134
- "William Hunter and the Eighteenth-Century Medical World," edited by Bynum and Porter, 148
- "William Wallace," by Fisher, 1312
- Williams, John Hoyt (R), 1151
- Williams, Robert C., "Fordson, Farmall, and Poppin' Johnny: A History of the Farm Tractor and Its Impact on America," 1130
- Williams, Robert C., "The Other Bolsheviks: Lenin and His Critics, 1904–1914," 1091
- Williams, Walter L., "The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture," 218
- Williams, William Appleman, 216
- Wills, John E., Jr. (R), 755
- "Will to Power," by Mulhall, 530
- Wilson, George M. (R), 211
- Wilson, Major L. (R), 1115
- Wilson, Mary C. (R), 1371
- "Wilson and His Peacemakers," by Walworth, 249
- Wilz, John Edward (R), 489
- Wines, Roger (R), 721
- Winkelhane, Gerd, and Klaus Schwartz, "Der osmanische Statthalter Iskender Pascha (gest. 1571) und seine Stiftungen in Ägypten und am Bosphorus," 1094
- Winkler, Henry R. (R), 1055
- Winn, Peter (R), 799
- Winnifrith, T. J., "The Vlachs: The History of a Balkan People," 1361
- "Winning the Second Battle," by Morton and Wright, 1426
- Winterling, Aloys, "Der Hof der Kurfürsten von Köln 1688–1794: Eine Fallstudie zur Bedeutung 'absolutischer' Hofhaltung," 721
- "Wirtschaft und Besatzung in Serbien 1941–1944," by Schlarp, 1085
- "The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe," by Levack, 1037
- "Withdrawal from Empire," by Jackson, 1335
- "With Eyes toward Zion," edited by Davis, 119
- "With Our Hands," by Erlich, 762
- "Witness against War," by Socknat, 1143
- Witt, Peter-Christian, editor, "Wealth and Taxation in Central Europe: The History and Sociology of Public Finance" (E), 269
- "Wives and Property," by Holcombe, 1051
- Wolfe, Christopher (R), 760
- Wolfe, James H. (R), 730
- Wolff, Cynthia Griffin, "Emily Dickinson," 780
- Wolff, Janet, and John Seed, editors, "The Culture of Capital: Art, Power, and the Nineteenth-Century Middle Class" (E), 1157
- Wolff, Richard J., and Jörg K. Hoensch, editors, "Catholics, the State, and the European Radical Right, 1919–1945" (E), 268
- Wolfram, Sybil, "In-Laws and Outlaws: Kinship and Marriage in England," 693
- Woller, Hans, "Gesellschaft und Politik in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone: Die Region Ansbach und Fürth," 1358
- Wolters, Raymond (R), 1417
- "Women and American Foreign Policy," edited by Crapol (E), 271
- "Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe," edited by Hanawalt, 406
- "Women Doctors in Gilded Age Washington," by Moldow, 1123
- "Women in Greek Myth," by Lefkowitz, 394
- "Women in the Medieval English Countryside," by Bennett, 1033
- "Women in World Religions," edited by Sharma (E), 1156
- "Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities," by Howell, 677
- "Women, State, and Revolution," edited by Reynolds, 137
- "Women's Struggle for Higher Education in Russia, 1855–1900," by Johanson, 1088
- Wood, James B. (R), 159
- Wood, Phillip J., "Southern Capitalism: The Political Economy of North Carolina, 1880–1980," 512
- "The Wooden World," by Rodger, 695
- Woodruff, Nan Elizabeth (R), 789
- Woodward, Ralph Lee, Jr. (R), 263
- Woolf, Stuart, "The Poor in Western Europe in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," 1041
- Wooster, Robert, "Soldiers, Sutlers, and Settlers: Garrison Life on the Texas Frontier," 1397
- "Work and Community in the Jungle," by Barrett, 1412
- "Work in France," edited by Kaplan and Koeppe, 162
- "Working Women in Renaissance Germany," by Wiesner, 168
- "The World," edited by Parker, 115
- "The World of Hope," by Danbom, 510
- Wright, Esmond, "Franklin of Philadelphia," 495
- Wright, Glenn, and Desmond Morton, "Winning the Second Battle: Canadian Veterans and the Return to Civilian Life, 1915–1930," 1426
- Wright, Gordon (R), 164
- Wright, Helen, "James Lick's Monument: The Saga of Captain Richard Floyd and the Building of the Lick Observatory," 509
- Wright, Marcia (R), 1099
- "Writings on American History, 1962–1973," compiled by Masterson, 758
- Wyatt-Brown, Bertram, *The Mask of Obedience: Male Slave Psychology in the Old South*, 1228–52
- Wynn, Neil A., "From Progressivism to Prosperity: World War I and American Society," 518
- Wynne, Lewis Nicholas, "The Continuity of Cotton: Planter Politics in Georgia, 1865–1892," 1405
- Yack, Bernard, "The Longing for Total Revolution: Philosophic Sources of Social Discontent from Rousseau to Marx and Nietzsche," 1010

- "The Year of the Three Kaisers," by Nichols, 1353  
 "Yellow Fever in the North," by Coleman, 1017  
 Yellowitz, Irwin (R), 762  
 Yoffee, Norman, and George L. Cowgill, editors,  
 "The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations"  
 (E), 1432  
 Young, Brian, "In Its Corporate Capacity: The  
 Seminary of Montreal as a Business Institution,  
 1816–1876," 259  
 Young, Charles R. (R), 402  
 Young, James D. (R), 1059  
 Young, James Harvey (R), 1128  
 Young, Robert M., "Darwin's Metaphor: Nature's  
 Place in Victorian Culture," 1329  
 "Yucatán's Gilded Age," by Wells, 264  
 Zacour, Norman P., and Harry W. Hazard, editors,  
 "A History of the Crusades." Volume 5, "The  
 Impact of the Crusades on the Near East," 134  
 Zaret, David (R), 1325  
 "Zemskaja intelligentsiia i ee rol' v obshchestvennoi  
 bor'be do nachala XX v.," by Pirumova, 466  
 "Zhongguo xiandaihua te quyu yanjiu," by Wang, 478  
 Ziegler, Paul R., and Ronald K. Huch, "Joseph  
 Hume: The People's M.P.," 698  
 Ziemke, Earl F. (R), 796  
 Ziff, Larzer (R), 517  
 Zimmerman, James A. (R), 1407  
 Zimmermann, Moshe, "Wilhelm Marr: The Patriarch  
 of Anti-Semitism," 442  
 Zitelmann, Rainer, "Hitler: Selbstverständnis eines  
 Revolutionärs," 1355  
 "Zolotoe Runo and Russian Modernism," by  
 Richardson, 740  
 "Zwischen Kleinbürgertum und Proletariat," by  
 Lenger, 1068

U.S. Postal Service <b>STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION</b> <small>Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685</small>		
<b>1A. TITLE OF PUBLICATION</b>  AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW	<b>1B. PUBLICATION NO.</b> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; font-family: monospace;"> <span>0</span><span>0</span><span>0</span><span>2</span><span>8</span><span>7</span><span>6</span><span>2</span> </div>	<b>2. DATE OF FILING</b> September 26, 1988
<b>3. FREQUENCY OF ISSUE</b>  Five times per year Feb. Apr. Jun. Oct & Dec	<b>3A. NO. OF ISSUES PUBLISHED ANNUALLY</b>  Five	<b>3B. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION PRICE</b>  Class I \$43.00
<b>4. COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS OF KNOWN OFFICE OF PUBLICATION</b> <i>(Street, City, County, State and ZIP+4 Code) (Not printers)</i>  400 A Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003		
<b>5. COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS OF THE HEADQUARTERS OF GENERAL BUSINESS OFFICES OF THE PUBLISHER</b> <i>(Not printer)</i>  400 A Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003		
<b>6. FULL NAMES AND COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS OF PUBLISHER, EDITOR, AND MANAGING EDITOR</b> <i>(This item MUST NOT be blank)</i>		
<b>PUBLISHER</b> <i>(Name and Complete Mailing Address)</i>  American Historical Association, 400 A Street, SE, Washington, D.C., 20003		
<b>EDITOR</b> <i>(Name and Complete Mailing Address)</i> David L. Ransel, American Historical Review, Indiana University 914 Atwater, Bloomington, Indiana 47405		
<b>MANAGING EDITOR</b> <i>(Name and Complete Mailing Address)</i>  N/A		
<b>7. OWNER</b> <i>(If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be stated.) (Item must be completed.)</i>		
<b>FULL NAME</b>	<b>COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS</b>	
The American Historical Association, 400 A Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003		
The American Historical Association has no ownership. It is a nonprofit membership corporation created by an Act of Congress on January 4, 1889 for the promotion of historical studies, etc.		
<b>8. KNOWN BONDHOLDERS, MORTGAGEES, AND OTHER SECURITY HOLDERS OWNING OR HOLDING 1 PERCENT OR MORE OF TOTAL AMOUNT OF BONDS, MORTGAGES OR OTHER SECURITIES</b> <i>(If there are none, so state)</i>		
<b>FULL NAME</b>	<b>COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS</b>	
None		
<b>9. FOR COMPLETION BY NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS AUTHORIZED TO MAIL AT SPECIAL RATES</b> <i>(Section 423.12 DMM only)</i> The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes <i>(Check one)</i>		
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (1) HAS NOT CHANGED DURING PRECEDING 12 MONTHS             </div> <div> <input type="checkbox"/> (2) HAS CHANGED DURING PRECEDING 12 MONTHS             </div> <div> <i>(If changed, publisher must submit explanation of change with this statement.)</i> </div> </div>		
<b>10. EXTENT AND NATURE OF CIRCULATION</b> <i>(See instructions on reverse side)</i>	<b>AVERAGE NO. COPIES EACH ISSUE DURING PRECEDING 12 MONTHS</b>	<b>ACTUAL NO. COPIES OF SINGLE ISSUE PUBLISHED NEAREST TO FILING DATE</b>
<b>A. TOTAL NO. COPIES</b> <i>(Net Press Run)</i>	16,360	16,524
<b>B. PAID AND/OR REQUESTED CIRCULATION</b>	-0-	-0-
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales		
2. Mail Subscription <i>(Paid and/or requested)</i>	15,455	15,720
<b>C. TOTAL PAID AND/OR REQUESTED CIRCULATION</b> <i>(Sum of 10B1 and 10B2)</i>	15,455	15,720
<b>D. FREE DISTRIBUTION BY MAIL, CARRIER OR OTHER MEANS</b> SAMPLES, COMPLIMENTARY, AND OTHER FREE COPIES	140	180
<b>E. TOTAL DISTRIBUTION</b> <i>(Sum of C and D)</i>	15,595	15,900
<b>F. COPIES NOT DISTRIBUTED</b>		
1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	765	624
2. Return from News Agents	-0-	-0-
<b>G. TOTAL</b> <i>(Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A)</i>	16,360	16,524
<b>11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete</b>		
 Samuel R. Gammon, Executive Director		<b>SIGNATURE AND TITLE OF EDITOR, PUBLISHER, BUSINESS MANAGER, OR OWNER</b>

---

# American Historical Association

---

Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889.  
Office: 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003

President: Akira Iriye, *University of Chicago*  
President-elect: Louis R. Harlan, *University of Maryland*  
Executive Director: Samuel R. Gammon  
Controller: Randy Norell

**MEMBERSHIP:** Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. The present membership and subscription total is approximately 17,000. Members elect the officers by ballot.

**MEETINGS:** The Association's annual meeting takes place December 27–30. The meeting in 1988 will be held in Cincinnati. Many professional historical groups meet within or jointly with the Association at this time. The Pacific Coast Branch holds separate meetings on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

**PUBLICATIONS AND SERVICES:** The *American Historical Review* is published five times a year and sent to all members. It is available by subscription to institutions. The Association also publishes its *Annual Report, Perspectives* (newsletter with classified listings), a variety of pamphlets on historical subjects, the bibliographic series *Writings on American History*, and *Recently Published Articles*. To promote history and assist historians, the Association offers other services, including an Institutional Services Program. It also maintains close relations with international, specialized, state, and local historical societies through conferences and correspondence.

**PRIZES:** The *Herbert B. Adams Prize* of \$1,000 awarded annually for a first book in the field of European history. The *George Louis Beer Prize* of \$1,000 awarded annually for a book on any phase of European international history since 1895. The *Albert J. Beveridge Award* of \$1,000 given annually for the best book on the history of the United States, Canada, or Latin America. The *Albert B. Corey Prize*, sponsored jointly by the AHA and the Canadian Historical Association, of \$2,000 awarded biennially for the best book on the history of Canadian-American relations or the history of both countries (next award, 1988). The *Paul Birdsall Prize* of \$1,000 for a major work by a U.S. or Canadian historian in European military and strategic history offered biennially commencing in 1986. The *James H. Breasted Prize* of \$1,000 offered annually commencing in 1985 for the best book in English in any field of history prior to 1000 A.D. The *John H. Dunning Prize* of \$1,000 awarded annually for a book on any

subject relating to American history. The *John K. Fairbank Prize in East Asian History since 1800* of \$1,000 awarded annually. The *Herbert Feis Award for Nonacademically-affiliated Historians* of \$1,000 awarded annually to recognize the recent work of independent scholars. The *Leo Gershoy Award* of \$1,000 awarded annually for outstanding work in seventeenth or eighteenth-century Western European history. The *Clarence H. Haring Prize* of \$500 awarded every five years to a Latin American for an outstanding book in Latin American history (next award, 1990). The *Joan Kelly Memorial Prize* of \$1,000 awarded annually for the best book in women's history and/or feminist theory. The *Littleton-Griswold Prize* of \$1,000 awarded annually for the best work on history of American law and society. The *Howard R. Marraro Prize* in Italian history awarded annually and carrying a cash award of \$500. The *James Harvey Robinson Prize* for the teaching aid that has made the most outstanding contribution to the teaching of history (next triennial award, 1990). The *Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize* of \$500 awarded every five years for the best work in modern British and Commonwealth history (next award, 1990). The *J. Franklin Jameson Prize* awarded every five years for outstanding editorial achievement (next award, 1990). The *Waldo G. Leland Prize* awarded every five years for the most outstanding reference tool (next award, 1991). The *Alexis de Tocqueville Prize* offered every five years for the best work in U.S. history published outside the U.S. by a foreign scholar (next award, 1989).

**DUES:** For incomes of \$40,000 and above, \$60.00 annually; \$30,000–\$39,999, \$55.00; \$20,000–\$29,999, \$47.00; \$15,000–\$19,999, \$40.00; \$10,000–\$14,999, \$30.00; below \$10,000, students, and joint memberships, \$20.00; associate (nonhistorian) \$30.00; life \$1,000. Overseas members add \$5.00 for postage. Members receive the *American Historical Review*, *Perspectives*, the program of the annual meeting, and the *Annual Report* on request and may subscribe to the *RPA* for \$20.00 (plus \$2.00 postage for overseas members).

**CORRESPONDENCE:** Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Director at 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

---

# American Historical Review

---

Founded in 1895

The *AHR* is sent to all members of the American Historical Association; information concerning membership will be found on the preceding page. The *AHR* is also available to institutions by subscription. There are five categories of subscription:

CLASS I: *American Historical Review* only, United States \$43.00, foreign \$47.00.

CLASS II: *American Historical Review*, *Perspectives*, the program of the annual meeting of the Association, and the *Annual Report*, United States \$54.00, foreign \$60.00.

CLASS III: Subscription to *Recently Published Articles* only, \$28.00, foreign \$30.00.

CLASS IV: *American Historical Review* with *Recently Published Articles*, United States \$67.00, foreign \$72.00.

CLASS V: *American Historical Review*, *Perspectives*, the program of the annual meeting of the Association, and the *Annual Report*, with *Recently Published Articles*, United States \$78.00, foreign \$85.00.

Single copies of the current issue and back issues in and subsequent to volume 84 (1979) can be ordered from the Membership Secretary of the Association at \$10.00 per copy. Issues prior to volume 85 should be ordered from Kraus Reprint Company, Route 100, Millwood, N.Y., 10546.

Notice of nonreceipt of an issue must be sent to the Membership Secretary of the Association within three months of the date of publication of the issue. Changes of address should be sent to the Membership Secretary by the first of the month preceding the month of publication. The Association is not responsible for mailing. The Association cannot accommodate changes of address that are effective only for the summer months.

Correspondence regarding contributions and books for review should be sent to the Editor, *American Historical Review*, 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405. For further information on the submission of manuscripts, see page ii at the front of this issue.



# American History from Yale

## Indian Survival on the California Frontier

Albert L. Hurtado

During the middle decades of the nineteenth century, when vast numbers of whites poured into California, the native Indian population was decimated through disease, starvation, homicide, and a declining birth rate. In this book Albert L. Hurtado focuses on the Indians who survived this harrowing time.

"[A] fresh factual history of Indian persistence in California. . . . A major reinterpretation of the nature of the Indian-white frontier in gold-rush California." —Howard Lamar 22 illus. \$25.00

## Gerald L. K. Smith, Minister of Hate

Glen Jeansonne

The first full-length biography of Gerald L. K. Smith—one of the twentieth century's most powerful evangelical preachers, a confederate of Huey Long and Father Coughlin, and the founder of the rabidly anti-Semitic Christian Nationalist Crusade.

"A riveting portrayal, presented with both scholarly objectivity and deep concern, of the rise and successes of an American bigot. A study of major importance." —James MacGregor Burns 10 illus. \$25.00

## The Papers of Benjamin Franklin

Volume 27: July 1 through October 31, 1778

Claude A. Lopez, editor; Douglas M. Arnold, Dorothy W. Bridgwater, Ellen R. Cohn, Jonathan R. Dull, and Catherine M. Prelinger, associate editors \$60.00

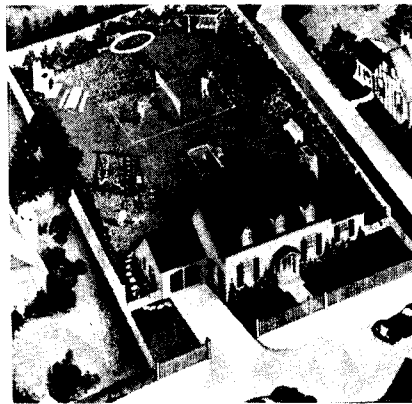


Yale University Press  
Dept. 845  
92A Yale Station  
New Haven, CT 06520

## Borderland

*Origins of the American Suburb, 1820–1939*  
John R. Stilgoe

A fascinating prehistory of the American suburb. Using a rich array of contemporary written and pictorial sources, prize-winning historian John Stilgoe guides us through the early suburbs of Manhattan, Boston, Chicago, and other cities, showing us not only what they looked like but what life was like for the men and women who lived there.



"Original, provocative, important."  
—John Mack Faragher 198 illus. \$35.00

## The Founding of Yale

*The Legend of the Forty Folios*  
George Wilson Pierson

Was Yale College founded as a public institution or as a private, self-governing college? In this book, the distinguished Historian of Yale University takes a fresh look at the documentary evidence and offers a new version of the story of Yale's founding.

"Professor Pierson traces Yale's roots deeper than the traditional account, and his conclusions are bound to have a large impact on Yale's sense of its history and on the history of higher education in Colonial America. . . . Fascinating reading."  
—Benno C. Schmidt, Jr. 30 illus. \$27.50

# CALIFORNIA BOOKS IN HISTORY

## A Mediterranean Society

The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza  
VOLUME V: THE INDIVIDUAL  
Portrait of a Mediterranean Personality of the High Middle Ages as Reflected in the Cairo Geniza  
**S. D. GOTTEN**

"One of the best comprehensive histories of a culture in this century." —Amos Funkenstein, Stanford University  
"Lights up the economic, social, and religious life of the Jews in the Islamic World . . . also illuminates the Christian and Islamic communities." —The Haskins Medal Committee \$55.00

## Indian Tales of the Raj

**ZAREER MASANI**

Masani addresses the question: What did the Indians themselves think of the British? Here are the unique first-hand personal experiences and memories of over fifty Indian men and women who worked under the British, made friends with them, and then fought to throw them out. \$16.95

## Daggers of Faith

Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response  
**ROBERT CHAZAN**

Arguing that until the 13th-century Western Christendom showed little serious commitment to converting the Jews, Robert Chazan proceeds to detail the special circumstances of that critical century in European history. \$32.50

## Theory and Practice in Renaissance Textual Criticism

Beatus Rhenanus Between Conjecture and History  
**JOHN F. D'AMICO**

"A very important book and well handled, it will be one that lasts. . . . Beatus Rhenanus has not gotten his due as a major Northern Humanist."

—Lewis W. Spitz, Stanford University \$38.00

## Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840-1066

**ELEANOR SEARLE**

"This is a brilliant work of 'possible history' (to use Eleanor Searle's own apt term). . . . The literary style ranges from lucid to dazzling."

—C. Warren Hollister, University of California, Santa Barbara \$38.00

## Spain's Empire in the New World

The Role of Ideas in Institutional and Social Change  
**COLIN M. MacLACHLAN**



"A new and convincing interpretation which provides the intellectual framework for the recent economic and social research on colonial Spanish America. . . . This study is a model of its kind."

—William F. Sater, California State University, Long Beach \$35.00

## The Age of Lamarck

**PIETRO CORSI**  
Translated by Jonathan Mandelbaum

Corsi debunks the prevailing myth that Lamarck was an isolated genius, precursor of modern evolutionary theories or not. He places Lamarck's career and doctrines within their proper historical context. \$42.00

# CALIFORNIA BOOKS IN HISTORY

## America Becomes Urban

The Development of U.S. Cities and Towns, 1780-1980

**ERIC H. MONKKONEN**

"The best reinterpretation of American urban history that I have seen in the last twenty five years. . . . It provides a new synthesis of urban America from its beginnings to the present."

—Roger W. Lotchin, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill \$25.00

## History of the Goths

**HERWIG WOLFRAM**

Translated by Thomas J. Dunlap

Rejecting the nationalistic view of the Goths as a "German people," Wolfram demonstrates that the barbarian world of "the Goths" was both a creation of and an essential element of the late Roman Empire. This new English translation incorporates exciting new material that has come to light since its last German edition in 1980. \$39.95

## American Pediatrics

The Social Dynamics of Professionalism, 1880-1980

**SYDNEY A. HALPERN**

"A first rate book. . . . It is such a pleasure to read an historical work by a sociologist who goes to the primary sources."

—Gert H. Brieger, M.D.,  
The Johns Hopkins University  
School of Medicine \$27.50



## State and Intellectual in Imperial Japan

The Public Man in Crisis

**ANDREW E. BARSHAY**

"Very well written, informative and informed and tells us a good deal about the limits of the dominant discourse on politics and culture in the immediate pre-war years."

—Harry Harootunian, University of Chicago

"Sets a high standard of excellence in the field of modern Japanese intellectual history."

—Peter Duus, Stanford University \$38.00

At bookstores or call toll-free 800-822-6657. Visa and MasterCard only.

**University of California Press**  
Berkeley 94720

# CALIFORNIA HISTORY

## BOOKS IN

### Documenting America, 1935-1943

**CARL FLEISCHHAUER and BEVERLY W. BRANNAN, Editors**  
With essays by Lawrence W. Levine and Alan Trachtenberg

*Documenting America* takes a fresh look at the remarkable photographs taken between 1935 and 1943 for the United States' Farm Security Administration and the Office of War Information. The nearly 300 images included vividly portray America in the last bitter years of the Great Depression and the first years of the Second World War. \$60.00 cloth, \$24.95 paper



Published in association with the Library of Congress

### Rights in Moral Lives

A Historical-Philosophical Essay

**A. I. MELDEN**

"An exceptionally important book." —Allen E. Buchanan, University of Arizona

Melden examines important changes that have occurred in our thinking about rights since first mention of them was made in early modern times. \$25.00

### Community in America

The Challenge of HABITS OF THE HEART

Edited and Introduced by **CHARLES H. REYNOLDS and RALPH V. NORMAN**

This companion volume for *Habits of the Heart* continues the discussions called for in *Habits* by bringing together scholars of American society to explore the prospects for a new American ecology.

\$12.95 paper, \$45.00 cloth

### The Medieval English Universities

Oxford and Cambridge to c. 1500

**ALAN B. COBBAN**

"Informative and detailed, yet full of precise and exceedingly helpful generalizations, Cobban has tackled the big themes." —Sheldon Rothblatt, University of California, Berkeley \$55.00

## NEW PAPERBACKS



### Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu, 1600-1843

**CONRAD TOTMAN**

With a New Preface by the Author

"A major contribution to the field of Tokugawa history." —*Journal of Asian Studies*

\$12.95 paper

### The World of the Citizen in Republican Rome

**CLAUDE NICOLET**

"It is far and away the best examination of the fabric and social and political life in the Roman Republic."

—Erich Gruen, author of *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* \$12.95 paper

### The Origins of the Boxer Uprising

**JOSEPH W. ESHERICK**

"Esherick has repaired one of the most glaring omissions in the scholarly canon."

—*Journal of Asian History*  
\$14.95 paper

### Prosperity and Upheaval

The World Economy 1945-1980

**HERMAN VAN der WEE**

"Monumental . . . the author surveys masterfully, yet with a light touch, the whole of the world's economic development from the end of the war to c. 1980."

—*Economic History Review*  
\$14.95 paper

# CALIFORNIA PAPERBACKS IN HISTORY

## The Embarrassment of Riches

An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age

**SIMON SCHAMA**

"This is history on the grand scale, and like all generously conceived historical works, it leaves us reflecting about the present as well as the past."—*The New York Times*

"Few living historians are such a delight to read."—*London Review of Books* \$15.95 paper



## Marcus Garvey

Life and Lessons

**ROBERT A. HILL, Editor**

**BARBARA BAIK, Associate Editor**

"The Garvey Papers will reshape our understanding of the history of black nationalism and perhaps increase our understanding of contemporary black politics."

—*The Nation* \$11.95 paper



## Parades and Power

Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia

**SUSAN G. DAVIS**

"Highly recommended for students of popular culture in the early republic and for scholars interested in the cross-fertilization of English and American working-class historiography."

—*Journal of the Early Republic*  
\$10.95 paper

## Ronald Reagan The Movie

And Other Episodes in Political Demonology

**MICHAEL P. ROGIN**

"Rogin provides examples sufficient to convince the reader that policies engineered to control subversion have been of major importance and have been a constant feature of American politics. . . . [An] important book."

—*The Christian Science Monitor*  
\$10.95 paper

## Lewis Henry Morgan and the Invention of Kinship

**THOMAS R. TRAUTMANN**

Trautmann offers a new interpretation of the genesis of "kinship," and of the role it played in late nineteenth-century intellectual history.

"A fascinating insight into one of the founding texts of modern anthropology."

—*Times Literary Supplement*  
\$11.95 paper

## Historical Culture

On the Recoding of an Academic Discipline

**SANDE COHEN**

"Forces one . . . to seek a better formulation of the nature and value of historical inquiry."

—*American Historical Review*

"No historian who reads and comprehends this book will write in the same way again."

—Mark Poster, University of California, Irvine  
\$12.95 paper

At bookstores or call toll-free 800-822-6657. Visa and MasterCard only.

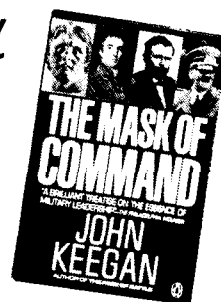
**University of California Press**  
Berkeley 94720



## Military history from the master

### THE MASK OF COMMAND

**John Keegan.** The author of the highly acclaimed *The Face of Battle* examines the general as hero in this perfect complement to his earlier masterpiece. At once synchronic and diachronic, Keegan's extraordinary study offers "a fascinating and intensely human picture of war as a cultural activity"—Geoffrey Feld, State University of New York, Purchase. Illustrated.



0-14-011406-8  
384 pp. \$7.95



0-14-022723-7  
512 pp. \$7.95

## From the A-bomb to Zimbabwe— the textbook on postwar history

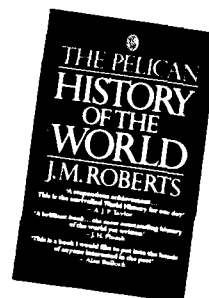
### THE WORLD SINCE 1945

**T. E. Vadney.** Covering the complete history of global change from the end of WWII to 1986, this ambitious scholarly survey unravels the complex ligature of international relations and focuses on the development of the Third World and its influence on the superpowers.

**"Stupendous...the unrivalled World  
History of our day"—A. J. P. Taylor**

### THE PELICAN HISTORY OF THE WORLD Revised Edition

**J. M. Roberts.** The most up-to-date, single-volume source-book of its kind, this comprehensive and highly informative study analyzes the major historical processes and examines them within the framework of world history. Eight chronological units can be read separately for specific focus or together to provide a general overview of world history. Illustrated.



0-14-022785-7  
1056 pp. \$11.95



0-14-010098-9  
672 pp. \$7.95

## The definitive history of the new France

### FRANCE TODAY Revised Edition

**John Ardagh.** This fully revised edition of *France in the 1980s* focuses on social, cultural, and economic events and trends in modern France. "The most complete and penetrating analysis of its kind"—William Wraga, Ohio University.



**Penguin Books**

**Academic Marketing Department**  
40 West 23rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10010

## Impressionism

*Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society*  
Robert L. Herbert

This beautifully illustrated book shows for the first time how completely Impressionism was integrated into the social and cultural life of its times.



**"Remarkable. . . . A major contribution to the art history, and the cultural history, of the nineteenth century."** —Linda Nochlin 70 b/w + 240 color illus. \$50.00; \$60.00 after 1/1/89

## The "Golden" Twenties

*Art and Literature in the Weimar Republic*  
Bärbel Schrader and Jürgen Schebera  
translated by Katherine Vanovitch

This handsome and provocative book explores the vivid contrasts of the art and literature of the Weimar Republic. Dealing with all forms of art—from architecture and opera to pop music and best-selling fiction—its authors demonstrate that Weimar cultural life was just as polarized and troubled as was its politics. 191 b/w + 31 color illus. \$35.00

## Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia

Ruth Mazo Karras

Drawing on a wide variety of sources—law codes, wills, charters, sagas, chronicles, and archeological data—Ruth Mazo Karras provides here the first book in English to examine the institution of slavery in Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Iceland from the Viking Age to its end in the fourteenth century.

**"Essential reading for medieval historians."** —Edward Peters \$32.50

## Félix Fénéon

*Aesthete and Anarchist in Fin-de-Siècle Paris*  
Joan Ungersma Halperin

The first major biography in any language of Félix Fénéon: the preeminent art critic of turn-of-the-century France; an editor and publisher of the new symbolist writing; and a secret anarchist propagandist for workers' rights.

**"An indispensable and brilliant study recreating an entire historic epoch."**  
—Patricia Mainardi 140 b/w + 20 color illus. \$35.00

*Now available in paperback*

## Pleasures of the Belle Epoque

*Entertainment and Festivity in Turn-of-the-Century France*  
Charles Rearick

This engaging and beautiful social history of the France of Toulouse-Lautrec and Jules Chéret focuses especially on its "places of pleasure"—the Folies-Bergère, Bastille Day celebrations, cabarets, early cinema, and world fairs.

**"An entertaining and important book."**  
—Richard Holt, *History* 70 b/w + 8 color illus. \$17.95

## The City as a Work of Art

*London, Paris, Vienna*  
Donald J. Olsen

**"A marvelous book, which brilliantly relates the form and functions of these three great cities to the political cultures and social values which moulded and created them. Written with wit, warmth and wisdom, it is not only a stylish celebration of city life, but also a superb piece of urban history by one of its foremost practitioners at the very top of his form."**  
—David Cannadine 142 b/w + 8 color illus. \$19.95



**Yale University Press**  
Dept. 847  
92A Yale Station  
New Haven, CT 06520

# MAKING HISTORY

## AMERICA 1941

### *A Nation at the Crossroads*

Ross Gregory

Vividly portrays the social, political, economic and cultural events of this pivotal year, in a book filled with the excitement and uncertainty of a nation poised on the eve of World War II.

“Absorbing, well-organized, well-researched, well written...make[s] one realize how vast have been the changes the country has undergone, while the sense of impending tragedy, subtly conveyed, gives poignancy to the most commonplace of everyday affairs. We know the end of the story, though never quite believing it until it comes.”

—August Heckscher, author of *When LaGuardia Was Mayor*

1988 384 Pages 0-02-912801-3 \$22.95

## TECHNOLOGY AND WAR

### *From 2000 B.C. to the Present*

Martin van Creveld

Destined to become the standard work, this volume—based on a five-year research project originally commissioned by the Pentagon—reveals the historical changes technology has—and has not wrought in the waging and winning of war

“An excellent work...Essential reading for everyone interested in the history of warfare.”

—Allan R. Millett, co-author, *For the Common Defense*

A History Book Club Selection

1988 304 Pages 0-02-933151-X \$22.95

## A DEATH IN THE DELTA

### *The Story of Emmett Till*

Stephen J. Whitfield

In a probing inquiry into the 1955 lynching of Emmett Till, a 14-year-old black Chicago youth, Whitfield examines the potent ideological roots of this tragedy in rural Mississippi—and explores the critical role played by the case in galvanizing Americans to combat racism's dreadful legacy.

“A powerful recreation of a terrifying episode in American race relations...illuminates both change and continuity in the modern South. This book will appeal to anyone interested in understanding the roots of our continuing racial dilemma.” —Dan T. Carter, author of *Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South*

1988 208 Pages 0-02-935121-9 \$19.95

## THE COURAGE OF THEIR CONVICTIONS

### *Sixteen Americans Who Fought Their Way to the Supreme Court*

Peter Irons

Irons introduces us to human beings hidden behind the “mask of the law” in civil liberties cases spanning five decades and four major issues—religion, race, protest, and privacy. Here are the personal stories behind the cases, why each was begun, the public and personal reaction, and what happened after the justices ruled.

“Like Anthony Lewis's *Gideon's Trumpet*, this book presents constitutional law with a human face. It will be a classic.”

—Norman Dorsen, President, American Civil Liberties Union

A History Book Club Alternate Selection

1988 350 Pages 0-02-915670-X \$22.95

## SWORDS AROUND

### A THRONE

#### *Napoleon's Grande Armée*

John R. Elting

“A masterpiece...the best [book] I have ever read on this challenging subject.”

—David Chandler, author of *The Campaigns of Napoleon* and *Napoleon's Marshals*

A History Book Club Alternate Selection

A Book-of-the-Month Club Dividend Selection

1988 816 Pages 0-02-909501-8 \$35.00

Now available in paperback—

## THE CAUSES OF WAR

### Third Edition

Geoffrey Blainey

“I know of no better book on war than Blainey's *Causes*, which has already become a classic in the field of international relations.

This Third Edition will demonstrate once again the power of his exciting, provocative ideas and penetrating understanding.”

—Amos Perlmutter, *The Journal of Strategic Studies*

1988 325 Pages 0-02-903591-0 \$12.95

For VISA, MasterCard or  
American Express orders,  
call toll-free 1-800-323-7445  
between 9am–5:30pm Eastern Time.



# THE FREE PRESS

A Division of Macmillan, Inc.  
866 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10022

# New From Princeton University Press

## **The Weary Titan**

Britain and the Experience of Relative Decline, 1895–1905

*Aaron L. Friedberg*

How do statesmen become aware of unfavorable shifts in relative power and how do they seek to respond to them? As national decline becomes an increasingly prominent theme in American political debate, these questions have taken on an immediate, pressing significance.

*The Weary Titan* is a penetrating study of a similar controversy in Britain at the turn of the twentieth century. Drawing on a wide variety of sources, Aaron Friedberg explains how England's rulers understood and responded to the initial evidence of erosion in their country's industrial, financial, naval, and military power.

Cloth: \$29.95 ISBN 0-691-05532-7

## **The Horsemen of Athens**

*Glenn Richard Bugh*

Glenn Bugh provides a comprehensive discussion of a subject that has not been treated in full since the last century: the history of the Athenian cavalry. Integrated into a narrative history of the cavalry from the Archaic period through the Hellenistic age is a detailed analysis of a military and social organization, the members of which came predominantly from the upper classes of Athens. Bugh demonstrates that this organization was not merely a military institution but an aristocratic social class with political expectations and fluctuating loyalties to the Athenian democracy.

*Published for the Center for Hellenic Studies*

Cloth: \$32.50 ISBN 0-691-05530-0

## **Classical Probability in the Enlightenment**

*Lorraine Daston*

What did it mean to be reasonable in the Age of Reason? Classical probabilists from Jakob Bernoulli through Pierre Simon Laplace intended their theory as an answer to this question—as “nothing more at bottom than good sense reduced to a calculus,” in Laplace's words. In terms that can be easily grasped by non-mathematicians, Lorraine Daston demonstrates how this view profoundly shaped the internal development of probability theory and defined its applications, including gambling, scientific induction, and evaluation of testimony. Daston contrasts probability theory to the practice of risk in this period, drawing on archival sources concerning insurance and lotteries to reconstruct an alternative rationality of sound judgement under uncertainty.

Cloth: \$49.50 ISBN 0-691-08497-1



AT YOUR BOOKSTORE OR

**Princeton University Press**

41 WILLIAM ST. • PRINCETON, NJ 08540 • (609) 452-4900  
ORDERS 800-PRS-ISBN (777-4726)

## **The Origins of the Platonic Academy of Florence**

*Arthur M. Field*

Founded by Cosimo de' Medici in the early 1460s, the Platonic Academy shaped the literary and artistic culture of Florence in the later Renaissance and influenced science, religion, art, and literature throughout Europe in the early modern period. This major study of the Academy's beginnings presents a fresh view of the intellectual and cultural life of Florence from the Peace of Lodi of 1454 to the death of Cosimo a decade later.

Cloth: \$47.50 ISBN 0-691-05533-5

## **Reforging the Iron Cross**

**The Search for Tradition in the West German Armed Forces**

*Donald Abenheim*

*With a Foreword by Gordon A. Craig*

This is the first comprehensive narrative and analysis of the efforts of German military professionals to discover for their cold war army an acceptable body of tradition. Donald Abenheim shows that the founders of the Bundeswehr generally succeeded in persuading the international community and Germany itself that the army of the 1950s and 1960s would not revive the militarism of the past. However, the debate on tradition building became a major political issue in the Federal Republic and in NATO.

Cloth: \$29.95 ISBN 0-691-05534-3

## **The Politics of the Prussian Nobility**

**The Development of a Conservative Ideology, 1770-1848**

*Robert M. Berdahl*

Measured by its capacity to endure, the Prussian nobility was the most successful in the modern history of continental Europe. Throughout the long vicissitudes of its history, this class—the Junkers—displayed a remarkable ability to adapt to new circumstances and maintain its own political power. Robert Berdahl presents a comprehensive interpretation of the tenacity of the Prussian nobles from the late eighteenth century until the revolution of 1848.

At one level, he provides a richly detailed economic, social, and political history. At another level, he shows how the Junkers developed an ideology of conservatism that justified their control of a society that was becoming increasingly bourgeois.

Cloth: \$45.00 ISBN 0-691-05536-X



# New From Princeton University Press

## **The Army of the French Revolution** From Citizen-Soldiers to Instrument of Power

*Jean-Paul Bertaud*

*Translated by R. R. Palmer*

Jean-Paul Bertaud is the leading French authority on the army of the French Revolution, and *La Révolution armée* is the authoritative treatment of the first great national, patriotic, revolutionary, and mass army, engaged in what has been called the first total war: that between revolutionary France and the other European powers. The book is a successful attempt to integrate military history with social and political history and thereby to depict the army as a "school for the republic" that by subtle changes after 1795 made way for the Napoleonic regime. The distinguished historian R. R. Palmer presents the first translation of this work into English.

Cloth: \$45.00 ISBN 0-691-05537-8

## **The Twilight of French Eastern Alliances, 1926-1936**

French-Czechoslovak-Polish Relations from  
Locarno to the Remilitarization of the Rhineland  
*Piotr S. Wandycz*

Although France, Poland, and Czechoslovakia were in jeopardy from a recovery of German power after World War I and from a potential German hegemony in Europe, France failed in her efforts to maintain a system of alliances with her two imperiled neighbors. Focusing on the period from 1926 to 1936, Piotr Wandycz seeks to explain how and why these three nations, with so much at risk, neglected to act in concert. He shows how the divergent aims of Czechoslovakia and Poland combined with a decline of French will power to prevent a real cohesion among the partners.

Cloth: \$55.00 ISBN 0-691-05528-9



AT YOUR BOOKSTORE OR

**Princeton University Press**

41 WILLIAM ST. • PRINCETON, NJ 08540 • (609) 452-4900  
ORDERS 800-PRS-ISBN (777-4726)

## **New From** **Princeton University Press**

### **The Autobiography of a Seventeenth-Century Venetian Rabbi**

*Leon Modena's Life of Judah*

*Translated and edited by Mark R. Cohen*

*With introductory essays by Mark R. Cohen and Theodore K. Rabb,  
Howard E. Adelman, and Natalie Z. Davis, and historical notes by  
Howard E. Adelman and Benjamin C. I. Ravid*

Leon (Judah Aryeh) Modena was a major intellectual figure of the early modern Italian Jewish community—a complex and intriguing personality who was famous among contemporary European Christians as well as Jews. Modena (1571–1648) produced an autobiography that documents in poignant detail the turbulent life of his family in the Jewish ghetto of Venice. The text of this work is well known to Jewish scholars but has never before been translated from the original Hebrew, except in brief excerpts.

This complete translation, based on Modena's autograph manuscript, makes available in English a wealth of historical material about Jewish family life of the period, religion in daily life, the plague of 1630–1631, crime and punishment, the influence of kabbalistic mysticism, and a host of other subjects.

Paper: \$14.95 ISBN 0-691-00824-8 Cloth: \$39.95 ISBN 0-691-05529-7

### **The Punjab under Imperialism, 1885–1940** *Imran Ali*

This comprehensive survey of British rule in the Punjab demonstrates that colonial policy making led to many of the socio-economic and political problems currently plaguing Pakistan and Indian Punjab. The Punjab—an area now divided between Pakistan and India—experienced significant economic growth under British rule from the second half of the nineteenth century. This expansion transformed the previously barren area into one of the most important regions of commercial agriculture in South Asia. Nevertheless, Imran Ali argues that colonial strategy distorted the development of what came to be called the “bread basket” of the Indian subcontinent.

Cloth: \$49.50 ISBN 0-691-05527-0



AT YOUR BOOKSTORE OR

**Princeton University Press**

41 WILLIAM ST. • PRINCETON, NJ 08540 • (609) 452-4900  
ORDERS 800-PRS-ISBN (777-4726)

## **The Reformation of Cathedrals**

### **Cathedrals in English Society, 1485–1603**

*Stanford E. Lehmberg*

Stanford Lehmberg, a noted authority on the Tudor period, examines the impact of the Reformation on the cathedrals of England and Wales. Based largely on manuscript materials from the cathedral archives themselves, this book is the first attempt to draw together information for all twenty-nine of the cathedrals that existed in the Tudor period. The author scrutinizes the major changes that took place during this era in the institutional structure, personnel, endowments, liturgy, and music of the cathedral and shows how the cathedrals, unlike the monasteries that were dissolved by Henry VIII, succeeded in adapting successfully to the Reformation.

42 illustrations Cloth: \$49.95 ISBN 0-691-05539-4

## **The Papers of Woodrow Wilson**

### **Volume 59: May 10–May 31, 1919**

*Arthur S. Link, Editor*

*David W. Hirst, Senior Associate Editor*

*John E. Little, Fredrick Aandahl, and Manfred F. Boemeke, Associate Editors*

This volume begins coverage of that period of the Paris Peace Conference usually neglected by historians of the subject. It sees the lively interchange between the German government and the Council of Four over all aspects of the preliminary treaty of peace, but particularly over the Saar Basin, responsibility for the war, the fate of former German territory awarded to Poland, German membership in the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization, and reparations.

Cloth: \$52.50 ISBN 0-691-04754-5

## **Archives and Manuscript Repositories in the USSR**

**Ukraine and Moldavia**

**Book 1: General Bibliography and Institutional Directory**

*Patricia Kennedy Grimsted*

Patricia Grimsted's internationally acclaimed reference series provides the only comprehensive information available in any language about the development, holdings, and published reference aids for the rich archives and manuscript collections of the Soviet Union. In this, the first of a two-part third volume of the work, Grimsted focuses on Soviet Ukraine and Moldavia.

*Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies • Canadian Library of Ukrainian Studies*

Cloth: \$125.00 ISBN 0-691-05391-X

# New Paperbacks

## From Princeton

### **The Winning Weapon**

The Atomic Bomb in the Cold War, 1945–1950

*Gregg Herken*

This book makes clear how, and why, after World War II American diplomats tried to make the atom bomb a "winning weapon," an absolute advantage in negotiations with the Soviet Union. In 1949, Moscow announced its first atomic explosion, and the failure of America's "winning weapon" led to the search for another, the hydrogen bomb.

"Illuminates some of the most basic dilemmas and challenges that the United States faces today." —*Washington Post Book World*

Paper: \$12.50 ISBN 0-691-02286-0

### **Condemned to Repetition**

The United States and Nicaragua

*Robert A. Pastor*

Here is an insider's account of U.S. policy making toward Nicaragua, written by a major participant. Robert Pastor was Director of Latin American Affairs on the National Security Council from 1977 to 1981, a crucial period in U.S.-Nicaragua relations. He presents a wealth of original material from his own experience, classified government documents, and interviews with nearly 100 leaders from the United States, Nicaragua, and throughout Latin America. What emerges is a picture of the United States and an entire region haunted by the spectre of Cuba and yet "condemned to repetition."

"... rich in detail, contains much new information and vividly conveys the uncertainties and complexities of the issues that confronted President Carter."

—*The New York Times Book Review*

Paper: \$12.95 ISBN 0-691-02291-7

### **Fire in America**

A Cultural History of Wildland and Rural Fire

*Stephen J. Pyne*

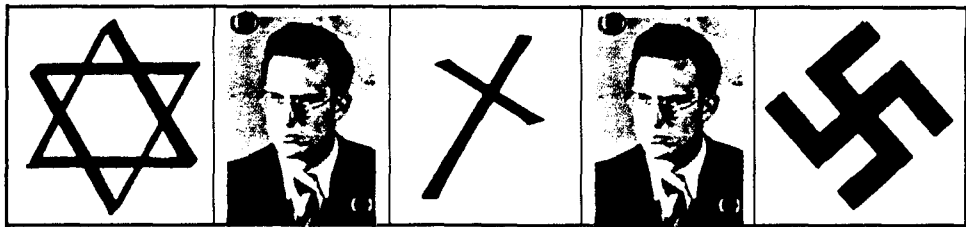
Stephen J. Pyne's narrative explores the efforts of successive American cultures to master a large forest fire and to use it to shape the landscape. He draws not only on academic experience, but on fifteen summers as a forest-fire fighter, twelve as crew foreman, on the North Rim of the Grand Canyon. Pyne analyzes a vast amount of previously unexploited information on the history of fire and relates it to current fire control policy.

"Broad in scope, unprecedented in subject matter, diligently researched and engagingly written..." —*American Historical Review*

Paper: \$14.95 ISBN 0-691-02419-7







### **Mixed Blessings**

#### **An Almost Ordinary Life in Hitler's Germany**

*Heinz R. Kuehn*

Born into Hitler's Germany to a Jewish mother and a Catholic father, Heinz Kuehn's life was defined and ultimately saved through his official designation as a Mixed Breed of the First Degree.

"This book is of genuine historical value. . . It gives a superb picture of what it was like to live in Berlin under seige"—Louis L. Snyder, City University of New York.

\$17.95 *Illustrated*

### **The Subordinated Sex**

#### **A History of Attitudes Toward Women**

*Revised Edition*

*Vern L. Bullough, Brenda Shelton, and Sarah Slavin*

An updated and revised edition of what has become a standard in historical literature on women, *The Subordinated Sex* traces the enduring legacy of male attitudes toward women across all the world's cultures and from prehistoric times to the present.

\$40.00 cloth; \$17.95 paper

### **The *Planctus Mariae* in the Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages**

*Sandro Sticca*

*Translated by Joseph R. Berrigan*

Reconstructing the framework of the medieval world, Sandra Sticca reveals in the motif of the Virgin's laments—or *Planctus Mariae*—a complement to the spirituality of the suffering Christ. Medieval dramatists' expression of the Virgin's sorrow, Sticca shows, contributed to the creation of a literature of the vernacular. \$35.00

### **Death in the Community**

#### **Memorialization and Confraternities in an Italian Commune in the Late Middle Ages**

*James R. Banker*

Focusing on the Italian town of San Sepolcro, James Banker draws on previously unpublished necrologies, testaments, statues, and financial records to demonstrate that, from 1250 to the 1440s, lay religious orders, rather than clerics, organized the greater part of religious activities in the town. \$40.00

**The University of Georgia Press • Athens, Georgia 30602**

*From Ohio University Press*

## **The Process of Change in Early Modern Europe**

**Essays in Honor of Miriam Usher Chrisman**

EDITED BY PHILLIP N. BEBB  
AND SHERRIN MARSHALL

This collection of eleven essays examines urban society, intellectual development, and family life in Reformation Germany and other European countries. These perspectives, often interdisciplinary in their nature, serve to illuminate the ways in which changes in mentality developed and created a lasting impact.

Contributors include: Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Jean Rott, Susan C. Karant-Nunn, Hans R. Guggisberg, Jerome Friedman, R. Po-Chia Hsia, Mark U. Edwards, Jr., Ellis L. Knox, Merry E. Wiesner, Lorna Janet Abray, and the editors.

250 pp. ISBN 0-8214-0900-X cloth \$32.95

## **The Liberation of Sovereign Peoples**

**The French Foreign Policy of 1848**

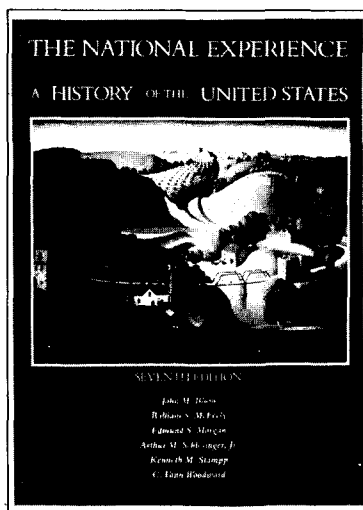
JAMES G. CHASTAIN

In this examination of French diplomacy at a critical historical period, Chastain distinguishes and traces several often contradictory courses of French foreign policy as the French government attempted to address the longstanding problem of Hapsburg hegemony while satisfying the demands of French Republicans and placating foreign concerns about French radicalism.

325 pp. ISBN 0-8214-0888-7 cloth \$34.95

*Ohio University Press/AHR*  
SCOTT QUADRANGLE • ATHENS, OH 45701

# EXCEPTIONAL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS



## **THE NATIONAL EXPERIENCE A History of the United States**

*Seventh Edition*

JOHN M. BLUM, EDMUND S. MORGAN,  
WILLIAM S. McFEELY, ARTHUR M.  
SCHLESINGER, JR., KENNETH M. STAMPP,  
and C. VANN WOODWARD

Hardcover, 900 pages, and two-volume  
paperbound: **To 1877**, 450 pages, and  
**Since 1865**, 560 pages  
ALL JUST PUBLISHED!

## **A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE**

Volumes I and II

*Second Edition*

STEPHAN THERNSTROM

Both volumes paperbound, 400 pages  
JUST PUBLISHED!



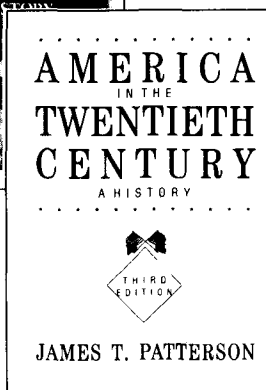
## **AMERICA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

**A History**

*Third Edition*

JAMES T. PATTERSON

Paperbound, 550 pages  
JUST PUBLISHED!



## **TECHNOLOGY IN AMERICA**

**A Brief History**

ALAN I. MARCUS

HOWARD P. SEGAL

Hardcover, 288 pages  
JUST PUBLISHED!

# NEW FOR 1989 FROM HBJ

## THE MAINSTREAM OF CIVILIZATION

*Fifth Edition*

STANLEY CHODOROW, MacGREGOR KNOX,  
CONRAD SCHIROKAUER, HANS W. GATZKE,  
and JOSEPH R. STRAYER

Hardcover, 854 pages, and four paperbound  
editions:

To 1715, 544 pages;

Since 1660, 450 pages;

To 1500, 348 pages; and

Since 1500, 580 pages

(page counts tent.)

ALL AVAILABLE MARCH 1989

## A BRIEF HISTORY OF CHINESE AND JAPANESE CIVILIZATIONS

*Second Edition*

CONRAD SCHIROKAUER

Paperbound, 660 pgs.

JUST PUBLISHED!

## A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE Source Readings from World Civilizations

Volumes I and II

LYNN H. NELSON

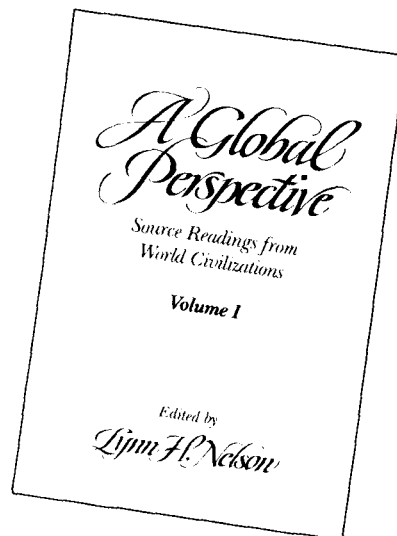
Both volumes paperbound, 448 pgs.

Volume I: 3000 B.C. to 1600 A.D.

JUST PUBLISHED!

Volume II: Since 1600

AVAILABLE JANUARY 1989.



**HBJ**

HARCOURT BRACE JOVANOVIICH, Inc.  
College Sales Office  
7555 Caldwell Avenue, Chicago, IL 60648  
(312) 647-8822

**P. B. YOUNG,  
NEWSPAPERMAN: RACE,  
POLITICS, AND JOURNALISM  
IN THE NEW SOUTH, 1910-62**

*Henry Lewis Suggs*

"The story of the southern black urban middle classes of the New South era remains largely untold, but Dr. Suggs's pioneering study of their editorial spokesman in Virginia will inspire much interest in the topic. . . . This perceptive appreciation of how a major leader of the southern black respectability and journalistic innovator thought and worked goes far in filling a historical void."—Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Milbauer Professor of History, University of Florida  
November 1988, 230 pages, 18 b&w illus., \$24.95

**THE UNITED STATES IN 1800:  
HENRY ADAMS REVISITED**  
*Noble E. Cunningham, Jr.*

While agreeing that Adams's *History of the United States of America during the Administrations of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison* deserves high recognition as a pioneering effort in social and intellectual history, Cunningham argues that it is badly in need of revision. Examining the society, economy, and political culture of the United States in 1800, he reveals an America neither so backward nor so static as Adams depicted it. (*Douglas Southall Freeman Lectures, University of Richmond*)  
October 1988, 96 pages, \$14.95

**NEUTRAL EUROPE BETWEEN  
WAR AND REVOLUTION,  
1917-23**

*Edited by Hans A. Schmitt*

What effect did World War I have on the neutral countries of Spain, Switzerland, the Low Countries, and Scandinavia? Did their neutrality preserve them from the political tensions that gripped belligerent societies? Eight scholars specializing in the history of these countries here examine these questions.

July 1988, 257 pages, 2 maps, 21 tables, \$29.95

**NEW IN PAPER**

**THE LYRICAL LEFT:  
RANDOLPH BOURNE,  
ALFRED STIEGLITZ, AND  
THE ORIGINS OF CULTURAL  
RADICALISM IN AMERICA**  
*Edward Abrahams*

"A tour de force."—*Kirkus Reviews* •  
"A lively and refreshing tone characterizes this analysis of two distinctive individuals who deeply influenced the Bohemian movement at the turn of the century."—J. Boskin, *Choice* • "Only occasionally does one encounter so good a book on any subject."—Raymond Nelson, author of *Van Wyck Brooks: A Writer's Life*  
263 pp., illus., paper, 1988, \$8.95; cloth, 1986, \$27.00

**University Press of Virginia**

Box 3608 University Station • Charlottesville, VA 22903  
(804) 924-3468



announcing the new

# **RUTGERS CENTER FOR Historical Analysis**

which invites applications for senior and post-doctoral fellowships from individuals engaged in research on topics related to

## **the Historical Construction OF Identities**

During the academic years 1989-90 and 1990-91, the work of the Center will focus on the multiple ways that western and non-western societies have constructed personal and collective identities. A series of seminars and conferences will explore the meaning of identity in a variety of times and places for the purpose of enhancing understanding of the concept and refining its historical uses. While the Center is concerned with change over time, a multidisciplinary approach will be encouraged and applications from members of all historically oriented disciplines are welcome. Applicants need not be United States citizens. AA/EOE.

*For further information and fellowship applications, write to*

Professor Richard L. McCormick, Director  
Professor John R. Gillis, Project Leader  
Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis  
Department of History CN 5059  
Rutgers University  
New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903

Phone: 201-932-8493

Closing date for 1989-90 fellowship applications is February 1, 1989. Those wishing to give a paper in either 1989-90 or 1990-91 should write to Professor John R. Gillis as soon as possible.

THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW JERSEY

# **RUTGERS**

---

**Oxford**


---

**Revolutionary Dreams**
**Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution**

 RICHARD STITES, *Georgetown University*

"A major contribution to the social and cultural history of the USSR."—Ronald G. Suny, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*. "One of the most original and exciting books in the field of Russian History I have read in well over a decade...It is nothing less than a tour de force."—Reginald Zelnik, *University of California, Berkeley*.  
 January 1989 352 pp.; illus. \$35.00

**The Generation of Power**
**The History of Dneprostroi**

 ANNE D. RASSWEILER, *Temple University*

This study of the Dneprostroi dam and power plant reveals new aspects of the struggle between Trotsky and Stalin, the use of foreign advisers, and the devastating effects of collectivization on the industrial projects of the Bolsheviks' First Five-Year Plan. It also provides insight into the entry of women into the work force, the interaction between party leaders, party membership, and enterprise officials as they worked to realize one of the most ambitious projects in Soviet History.  
 1988 262 pp.; illus. \$32.50

**Renewing Italian Socialism**
**Nenni to Craxi**

 SPENCER M. DI SCALA, *University of Massachusetts, Boston*

The first comprehensive history of Italian Socialism in English, this book ranges from the defeat of Socialism by Mussolini in 1926 to its resurgence as a powerful force in Italian politics today, and sheds new light on such figures as Morandi, Nenni and Italy's first socialist prime minister, Bettino Craxi.  
 1988 360 pp. \$35.00

**The University and the City**
**From Medieval Origins to the Present**

 Edited by THOMAS BENDER, *New York University*

Exploring the interplay of university learning and civic culture over the centuries, this book provides a novel perspective on the history of both universities and cities. An innovative series of studies by several distinguished scholars examines the complex relations of major cities associated with key moments in the history of higher learning in the West.  
 1988 320 pp. \$39.95

**Tudor England**

 JOHN GUY, *University of Bristol*

John Guy here provides the most compelling narrative history of Tudor England in more than 30 years. A compelling account of political and religious developments from the advent of the Tudors in the 1460s to the death of Elizabeth in 1603, his authoritative study discusses the far-reaching changes in government and the Reformation of the Church under Henry VII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth through illuminating character studies of the monarchs and politicians of the era.  
 1988 600 pp.; illus. \$35.00

To order, send check or money order to:  
 Humanities and Social Sciences Marketing Department  
 or call (212) 889-0206 to order by credit card

## **Origins of Southern Radicalism**

**The South Carolina Upcountry, 1800-1860**

LACY K. FORD, JR., *University of South Carolina*

In the sixty years before the American Civil War, the South Carolina Upcountry evolved from an isolated subsistence region that served as a stronghold of Jeffersonian Republicanism into a mature cotton-producing region with a burgeoning commercial sector that served as a hotbed of Southern radicalism. This groundbreaking study examines this startling evolution, analyzing why the white majority of the Old South ultimately supported the secession movement that led to bloody civil war.

1988 432 pp. \$39.95

*Winner of the Allan Nevins Prize*

## **The Shadow of a Dream**

**Economic Life and Death in the South Carolina Low Country, 1670-1920**

PETER COCLANIS, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

Coclanis here charts the economic and social rise and fall of Charleston and the surrounding South Carolina low country. Spanning 250 years, his study analyzes the interaction of both external and internal forces on the city and countryside, examining the effect of various factors on the region's economy from its colonial beginnings to its collapse in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

1988 448 pp. \$39.95

## **The Politics of Individualism**

**Parties and the American Character in the Jacksonian Era**

LAWRENCE FREDERICK KOHL, *University of Alabama*

Kohl here looks at the political manifestations of the staggering social changes that transformed America in the fifty years following the Revolution. Drawing on the political rhetoric found in speeches, newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets he places the Democrats and the Whigs in a solid social and psychological context, and brings us new insight into the politics and people of Jacksonian America.

1988 304 pp. \$27.95

## **The Boulanger Affair Reconsidered**

**Royalism, Boulangism, and the Origins of the Radical Right in France**

WILLIAM D. IRVINE, *York University, Ontario*

In this groundbreaking study, based on archival materials only recently made available to scholars, Irvine challenges recent scholarship on the subject, arguing that royalist and conservative supporters provided the crucial financial and electoral backing to the Boulanger movement.

January 1989 256 pp. \$34.95

## **The Medieval Expansion of Europe**

J.R.S. PHILLIPS, *University College Dublin*

The exploits of Marco Polo and Eric the Red are well-known today, but less-known are the many other explorers of the time and the extent of medieval European contact with other continents. This detailed introductory survey draws on a large and controversial body of evidence to chart the medieval European tradition of expansion, exploring its roots in Classical ideas of the world and tracing its influence on the famous voyages of the Renaissance.

1988 320 pp. cloth \$55.00 paper \$13.95

**Oxford University Press**

200 Madison Avenue • N.Y., N.Y. 10016

**THE LIMITS OF JUDICIAL POWER****The Supreme Court in American Politics****by William Lasser**

William Lasser challenges the conventional wisdom that the Supreme Court endangers its own political effectiveness when it engages in judicial activism. approx. 360 pp., \$32.95 cloth, \$9.95 paper

**THE CHANGING LIVES OF AMERICAN WOMEN**

**by Steven D. McLaughlin, Barbara D. Melber, John O. G. Billy, Denise M. Zimmerle, Linda D. Wings, and Terry R. Johnson**

**Foreword by Glen H. Elder, Jr. Prefatory Note by D. Claes Bahrenburg**

"A first-rate analysis of the way that technological and demographic changes have transformed the behaviors that affect the most intimate arenas of daily life."—Joan Huber  
269 pp., \$24.95 cloth, \$12.95 paper

**NATION INTO STATE****The Shifting Symbolic Foundations of****American Nationalism****by Wilbur Zelinsky**

"A fresh and worthy addition to a large but very uneven literature on an intrinsically important but intractable topic."—Donald Meinig  
approx. 320 pp., \$29.95

**WITHIN THE PLANTATION HOUSEHOLD****Black and White Women of the Old South****by Elizabeth Fox-Genovese**

"An ambitious book. . . . Elizabeth Fox-Genovese elevates American women's history to a new level of sophistication."—Nell Irvin Painter  
approx. 500 pp., \$34.95 cloth, \$12.95 paper  
Gender and American Culture

**COLONIAL CHESAPEAKE SOCIETY**

**Edited by Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo**

This collection is the first to integrate the immigrant experience of the seventeenth century with the native-born society that characterized the Chesapeake by the eighteenth century.  
approx. 500 pp., \$29.50  
Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia

**BETWEEN CHURCHILL AND STALIN****The Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the Origins of the Grand Alliance****by Steven Merritt Miner**

Examines shifting Anglo-Soviet relations from 1939 to 1942 and the broad and long-lasting consequences of this unsteady alliance.  
approx. 350 pp., \$36

**RELUCTANT CONFEDERATES****Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis****by Daniel W. Crofts**

Daniel Crofts shows why the outbreak of war enabled the Confederacy to gain the allegiance of Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, and thereby claim essential new territory, manpower, and material. "A first-class performance."—Michael F. Holt  
approx. 540 pp., \$45  
Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies

**WORK AND LABOR IN EARLY AMERICA****Edited by Stephen Innes**

"These eight superbly crafted essays demonstrate the power of the new social history as they engage us in vivid accounts of the patterns of work and processes of change in early America."—Joyce Appleby  
approx. 300 pp., \$29.95 cloth, \$9.95 paper  
Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia

**THE FRENCH PARLEMENTS AND THE CRISIS OF THE OLD REGIME****by Bailey S. Stone**

"An important book for an understanding of the French Revolution of 1789."—R. R. Palmer  
336 pp., \$35

available at bookstores or from

**THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS**

Post Office Box 2288

Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27515-2288





## RUSSIAN STUDIES FROM INDIANA

### Red Bread

#### *Collectivization in a Russian Village*

By Maurice Hindus

Foreword by Ronald Grigor Suny

"Hindus takes the reader into the turmoil of the 1930s . . . one feels the texture of Soviet life, the . . . social upheaval of that time." —Ronald Grigor Suny

First published in 1931, this revealing account of the human impact of collectivization was written by a Russian-born American journalist who returned to his native village in the late 1920s.

cloth \$29.95 paper \$12.50

### Mother Russia

#### *The Feminine Myth in Russian Culture*

By Joanna Hubbs

" . . . should be read by all [those] interested in the Russians and in understanding the Soviet mind." —Richard Pope

A ground-breaking interpretive study of Russian culture which explores the sources of the national obsession and seeks out the origins and cultural influence of the myth of the feminine divinity behind "Mother" Russia.

\$29.95



### The Second World

Teodor Shanin, University of Manchester, series editor

### The Economic Challenge of Perestroika

By Abel Aganbegyan

" . . . Mr. Aganbegyan captures the spirit of the need for broad, fundamental change and details the movement to accomplish it.

. . . He is able to convey to the reader a feeling of being inside the current debates in the Soviet Union. . . . The new candor that has marked the Gorbachev era is evident throughout the book. . . .

Abel Aganbegyan is an important figure in the exciting events that are taking place in the Soviet Union now and his book is an important one. . . .

—New York Times  
Book Review

\$18.95

### The Peoples of the Soviet Union

By Viktor Kozlov

An authoritative survey of the ethnic groups of the USSR, analyzing patterns of inter-ethnic relations by one of the leading ethnographers of the Soviet Union. \$37.50

### Rural Russia under the New Regime

By Viktor Danilov

A social and economic analysis of the Soviet peasantry before collectivization by one of the leading figures in the current rethinking of Soviet history under *glasnost*. \$45.00

### Five Days Which Transformed Russia

By Sergei Mstislavskii

A dramatic firsthand account of five critical events of the 1917 revolution, this remarkable narrative sounds the authentic tone of the Russian populist tradition.

cloth \$27.50 paper \$9.95

**INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS**  
TENTH AND MORTON STREETS, BLOOMINGTON, IN 47404 • 812-335-6804



# HISTORY FROM CHICAGO

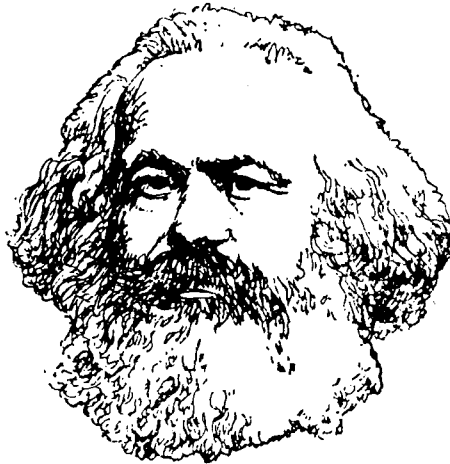
## THE MEDIEVAL IMAGINATION

JACQUES LE GOFF

*Translated by Arthur Goldhammer*

Renowned *Annales* historian Jacques Le Goff here brilliantly elaborates a new kind of history, the history of the imagination. Studying what he calls the "long Middle Ages," Le Goff recreates the mental structures of the men and women of the past by analyzing the outwardly visible signs of the medieval mind.

*Cloth \$27.50 304 pages*



## MARX AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

FRANCOIS FURET

*Translated by Deborah Kan Furet*

*With Selections from Karl Marx*

*Edited and Introduced by Lucien Calvie*

"Marx thought of writing a history of the French Revolution, but never actually did so. The idea of bringing together his fragmentary writings on the topic and subjecting them to a systematic analysis in an excellent one, and Furet carries it off brilliantly."—Keith Baker, University of Chicago

*Cloth \$34.95 256 pages*



## ENGLAND AND THE CRUSADES, 1095–1588

CHRISTOPHER TYERMAN

In the first book-length study of the role of England in the Crusades, Tyerman focuses on the courtroom and council chamber rather than the battlefield, demonstrating the impact of the Crusades on the political and economic functions of English society.

*Cloth \$39.95 504 pages 1 halftone, 5 maps*

## THE PETRINE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIAN ARCHITECTURE

JAMES CRACRAFT

"A highly original and provocative (in the good sense of the term) approach to the great 'cultural revolution' wrought by Peter the Great. Cracraft has also new things to say about . . . the relationship between architecture, city planning and imperial power."—Marc Racff, Columbia University

*Cloth \$45.00 408 pages 241 halftones*

---

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS 5801 South Ellis Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637

## FIRSTBORN OF VENICE

*Vicenza in the  
Early Renaissance State*

James S. Grubb

James Grubb tests commonplace attributes of the Renaissance state through a rich case study of society and politics in fifteenth-century Vicenza.



"*Firstborn of Venice* is unique among recent studies in its focus on political-legal problems rather than social-economic analysis. It stands as an important and original contribution." — Richard Goldthwaite, The Johns Hopkins University

\$29.50 hardcover

## DEATH AND PROPERTY IN SIENA, 1205-1800

*Strategies for the Afterlife*

Samuel K. Cohn, Jr.

Samuel K. Cohn, Jr. employs the methods of *annalisme* — statistical analysis of serial data over the long period — to assail one of its pivotal propositions. Based on a systematic study of the last wills and testaments of local notables, merchants, shopkeepers, artisans, and peasants, *Death and Property in Siena, 1205-1800* shows that habits and customs in place for generations can change rapidly.

\$39.50 hardcover

Now in paperback —

## SAINT JEROME IN THE RENAISSANCE

Eugene F. Rice, Jr.

"An important and beautiful book." — Charles Trinkaus, University of Michigan

Eugene Rice's award-winning book traces the changing images and fortunes of St. Jerome from 1300 to 1600 and charts how culture — popular and elite, secular and sacred, pietistic and scholarly — celebrated those aspects of Jerome's life that best suited its own purposes.

Winner of the Philip Schaff Prize of the American Society of Church History and the John Gilmary Shea Prize of the American Catholic Historical Association.

\$12.95 paperback \$32.50 hardcover



THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY PRESS

701 West 40th Street, Suite 275, Baltimore, Maryland 21211

# Houghton Mifflin

# 1988

---

## New for 1989

---

### **Western Civilization: Ideas, Politics, and Society Third Edition**

**Marvin Perry**, Baruch College,  
City University of New York  
**Myrna Chase**, Baruch College,  
City University of New York  
**James R. Jacob**

John Jay College of Criminal Justice,  
City University of New York  
**Margaret C. Jacob**, Lang College,  
New School for Social Research  
**Theodore H. Von Laue**  
Clark University

### **Complete Paperback Edition**

About 960 pages

### **Two-Volume Paperback Edition**

About 512/640 pages

### **From the 1400s Paperback Edition**

About 704 pages

Study Guide in Two Volumes  
MicroStudy Plus: Computerized  
Study Guide • Instructor's Manual  
Test Bank • MicroTest: Computerized  
Test Bank • Call-in Test Service  
GPA: Grade Performance Analyzer  
Map Transparencies • Just published  
Lauded for an outstanding presentation of the history of ideas, *Western Civilization*—now in a Third Edition—features revised coverage of post-1945 years, including the growth of global economic interdependence. The authors have also expanded coverage of Islam and of the role and contributions of women throughout Western civilization.

A separate new volume on modern Europe, an enhanced ancillary package, and an expanded art program further distinguish the Third Edition.

### **Discovering the Western Past: A Look at the Evidence**

**Merry E. Wiesner**

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

**Julius R. Ruff**, Marquette University

**William Bruce Wheeler**

University of Tennessee

### **Two-Volume Paperback Edition**

About 300/320 pages

Instructor's Manual • Just published

With *Discovering the Western Past* students become active participants in the learning process, doing what historians do as they analyze primary evidence from European civilization. A time-proven, five-part method of analysis guides students through the evaluation of pictorial, documentary, or statistical evidence illustrating central topics.

### **East Asia:**

### **Tradition and Transformation Revised Edition**

**John K. Fairbank**

**Edwin O. Reischauer**

**Albert M. Craig**

All of Harvard University

### **Complete Hardcover Edition**

About 1,040 pages

### **China/Japan Paperback Editions**

About 560/360 pages

Just published

A classic text, *East Asia* has been updated to cover China's economic liberalization, Japan's industrial success, and the challenge to Japanese exports from Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore. Authoritative scholarship, comprehensiveness, and a graceful narrative style are the reasons the Fairbank/Reischauer/Craig text remains the finest introduction to East Asian history.

---

**Also Available**


---

**A People and a Nation:  
A History of the United States  
Brief Edition**
**Second Edition**
**Mary Beth Norton**, Cornell University

**David M. Katzman**

University of Kansas

**Paul D. Escott**

University of North Carolina, Charlotte

**Howard P. Chudacoff**

Brown University

**Thomas G. Paterson**

University of Connecticut

**William M. Tuttle, Jr.**

University of Kansas

 and **William J. Brophy**

Stephen F. Austin State University

**Complete Paperback Edition**

611 pages

**Two-Volume Paperback Edition**

280/346 pages

 Complete ancillary package available  
1988

Also by Norton et al.

**A People and a Nation:  
A History of the United States  
Second Edition**
**Complete Hardcover Edition**

1,019 pages

**Two-Volume Paperback Edition**

448/601 pages

 Complete ancillary package available  
1986

**Becoming Visible:**
**Women in European History**
**Second Edition**

 Edited by **Renate Bridenthall**

Brooklyn College

City University of New York

**Claudia Koonz**

College of the Holy Cross

**Susan Stuard**, Haverford College

579 pages • paperback • 1987

**A History of World Societies  
Second Edition**
**John P. McKay**
**Bennett D. Hill**
**John Buckler**

 All of University of Illinois,  
Urbana-Champaign

**Complete Hardcover Edition**

1,280 pages

**Two-Volume Paperback Edition**

640/734 pages

**Three-Volume Paperback Edition**

488/374/510 pages

 Complete ancillary package available  
1988

Also by McKay, Hill, and Buckler

**A History of Western Society  
Third Edition**
**Complete Hardcover Edition**

1,088 pages

**Two-Volume Paperback Edition**

595/560 pages

**Three-Volume Paperback Edition**

444/358/395 pages

 Complete ancillary package available  
1987

**Sources of the Western Tradition**
**Marvin Perry** and **Joseph R. Peden**

Both of Baruch College,

City University of New York

**Theodore H. Von Laue**

Clark University

**Two-Volume Paperback Edition**

442/398 pages

Instructor's Manual • 1987

For adoption consideration, request examination packages from your regional Houghton Mifflin office.


**Houghton Mifflin**

13400 Midway Rd., Dallas, TX 75244-5165

1900 S. Batavia Ave., Geneva, IL 60134

925 E. Meadow Dr., Palo Alto, CA 94303

101 Campus Dr., Princeton, NJ 08540

**Cambridge University Press**  
*presents a study of the historical profession...*

## **That Noble Dream**

*The "Objectivity Question" and  
the American Historical Profession*

**Peter Novick**

*"A brilliant and fascinating book." – Laurence Veysey*

*"A judicious appraisal of men and circumstances, erudite and wide-ranging. Irreverent but not nastily irreverent, with an admirable delicacy of touch." – William H. McNeill*

*"An astute and provocative account of how the historical profession in America has dealt with its founding myth and central norm – the ideal of objectivity." – Dorothy Ross*

To relate the past "as it really happened" has been the central goal of American professional historians since the late nineteenth century. In this remarkable history of the profession, Peter Novick shows how the idea and ideal of objectivity was elaborated, challenged, modified, and defended over the past century. Drawing on the unpublished correspondence as well as the published writings of hundreds of American historians, this book is a richly textured account of what American historians thought they were doing, or ought to be doing when they wrote history.

*Hardcover \$49.50*

*Paperback \$15.95*

*A volume in the Ideas in Context series*

Published with the support of the Exxon Education Foundation

At bookstores or order from

**Cambridge University Press**

32 East 57th Street, NY, NY 10022.

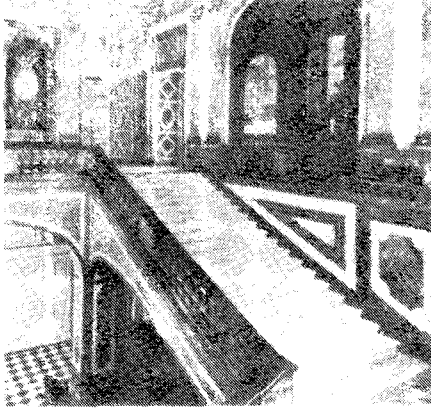
Cambridge toll-free numbers for orders only:

800-872-7423, outside NY State, 800-227-0247, NY State only.

MasterCard and Visa accepted.



# The art of history from Chicago



THE QUEEN'S STAIRWAY, VERSAILLES  
PHOTO: REUNION DES MUSÉES NATIONAUX

## VERSAILLES

*The View from Sweden*

ELAINE EVANS DEE and GUY WALTON

Reproduced here in all their beauty are the architectural and decorative drawings of the palace at Versailles commissioned during its creation by the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin. Two essays provide a historical and interpretive framework within which to view these unique images.

*Paper \$17.95 112 pages*

*10 color plates, 105 halftones*

*Distributed for the Cooper-Hewitt Museum*

## TEXT-FICHE FROM THE CHICAGO VISUAL LIBRARY

### FRENCH POPULAR LITHOGRAPHIC IMAGERY, 1815–1870

*Volume 7: Love and Courtship*

*Volume 8: Contemporary Events and Caricature*

BEATRICE FARWELL

These are the newest additions to the twelve volume set that will reproduce 5,000 nineteenth-century lithographs from the collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

"The project is eminently worthwhile."

—*Choice*

*Volume 7: \$75.00 Text: 88 pages*

*Fiche: 387 b&w illus. on 5 fiches*

*Volume 8: \$75.00 Text: 112 pages*

*Fiche: 471 b&w illus. on 6 fiches*

## SWEDEN

*A Royal Treasury*

Edited by MICHAEL CONFORTI and  
GUY WALTON

Handsomely illustrated, this exhibition catalog features pictures of the glittery treasures Sweden's rulers acquired in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Three essays situate these objects in their artistic and historic context.

*Cloth \$49.95 Paper \$24.95 265 pages*

*100 color plates, 35 halftones*

*Distributed for the National Gallery of Art*



COURTESY OF BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE

### FRENCH CARICATURE AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1789–1799

Edited by JAMES CUNO

This book reproduces 190 striking French caricatures from 1789–1799 and presents interpretive essays by noted social and art historians. The contributors—James Cuno, Michel Melot, Lynn Hunt, Claude Langlois, Ronald Paulson, and Albert Boime—provide an important historical and artistic context for understanding the prints.

*Cloth \$60.00 Paper \$29.95 376 pages (est.)*

*16 color plates, 220 halftones*

*Distributed for the  
Grunwald Center for the Graphic Art*

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS 5801 South Ellis Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637

NEW FROM THE

## Pittsburgh Series in Social and Labor History

MAURINE WEINER GREENWALD Editor

### And the Wolf Finally Came The Decline of the American Steel Industry

JOHN P. HOERR

"Hoerr has the eye and ear of a field anthropologist, and this is a deeply moving account of the human consequences of the most spectacular industrial collapse of modern times. But it also is a closely detailed, coolly perceptive analysis—the most complete and convincing so far—of the reasons for that collapse."—Donald L. Miller, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*

\$39.95 cloth; \$12.95 paper

### Don't Call Me Boss

David L. Lawrence,  
Pittsburgh's Renaissance Mayor  
MICHAEL P. WEBER

The first biography of "Davy" Lawrence, the best of the big city bosses. "An excellent, detailed account . . . a convincing portrait. . . . It is impossible to read this biography without reflecting on the conflict between politics and society, and its implications for the future of American society."—Roy Lubove, *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*

\$32.95 cloth; \$16.95 paper

### The Speeches and Writings of Mother Jones

EDWARD M. STEEL, Editor

The fiery speeches of the labor leader in their definitive texts, including material that has never appeared in print before.

\$32.95

### What's a Coal Miner to Do?

The Mechanization  
of Coal Mining

KEITH DIX

The impact of technology on coal miners, mining operations, and unionization in the 1920s and 1930s.

\$26.95

### The Steel Workers

JOHN A. FITCH

Introduction by Roy Lubove

One of the six volumes of the famous Pittsburgh Survey (1909–1914), this is a classic account of the worker in the steel industry during the early twentieth century.

\$42.95 cloth; \$14.95 paper

(tentative prices)

Also in American History:

### The American Steel Industry, 1850–1970 A Geographical Interpretation

KENNETH WARREN

A major work of scholarship, interpreting steel from the viewpoints of historical and economic geography. Warren richly portrays the industry from its beginnings until its long period of international leadership was challenged. (First published in 1973 by Oxford University Press.)

\$39.95

### University of Pittsburgh Press

c/o CUP Services

P.O. Box 6525

Ithaca, NY 14851

800-666-2211

# THE FDR YEARS

## THE LIFE AND TIMES OF A NATION

The first three volumes of Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s classic study, ***The Age of Roosevelt***, will provide your students with a powerful interpretation of the political, economic, social, and intellectual history of the FDR years in terms of the controversial figure who became the period's spokesperson and its symbol.

### ***Volume I: The Crisis of the Old Order, 1919–1933***

Professor Schlesinger presents a general picture of the years preceding Roosevelt's presidency. The author weaves together two separate histories which were destined to meet in the Democratic convention of 1932: America's years of New Nationalism, Return to Normalcy, and the Great Depression, along with a young man's days of personal development and growing aspiration to become the leader of his country. \$11.95 Paper

### ***Volume II: The Coming of the New Deal***

This history of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's first two years as President depicts turbulent times as the American government fought to bring the nation forth from the Great Depression. It follows the reform and recovery efforts of the New Deal and describes the nation's reaction to FDR's programs—from the resurgence of conservatism to the vindication of New Deal policies provided by the 1934 congressional elections. Mr. Schlesinger concludes this volume with an insightful description of the evolution of a President, showing Roosevelt in his relations with the Cabinet, the Congress, and the press and in his capacity as an executive, a leader, and a politician. \$11.95 Paper

### ***Volume III: The Politics of Upheaval***

Concentrating on the period of 1935–1936, Mr. Schlesinger vividly details the characters of the era such as Huey Long and Father Coughlin; the President's dealings with the Supreme Court; and the 1936 election in which Roosevelt defeated Alfred M. Landon. Like the first two volumes, students will find *The Politics of Upheaval* lively, readable, and thoughtful, as "Schlesinger's panoramic style captures much of the sweep and excitement of an era more historically dramatic than most." (*Time*) \$11.95 Paper

For more information or to order, contact your local Houghton Mifflin sales representative or write:



Houghton Mifflin Paperbacks  
Two Park Street  
Boston, MA 02108

*Publishers of the American Heritage Dictionary*

## SYRACUSE

*Announcing a new series . . .*

**Modern Arab Studies** Tareq Y. Ismael, Editor

### **Arab Women in the Field**

*Studying Your Own Society*

Edited by SORAYA ALTORKI  
and CAMILLIA FAWZI EL-SOLH

200 pages, index

Cloth \$27.95 Paper \$14.95

### **The Egyptian Bureaucracy**

MONTE PALMER, ALI LEILA, and EL SAYED YASSIN

200 pages, index

Cloth \$22.95

**Contemporary Issues in the Middle East series . . .**

### **The Rise of Egyptian Communism, 1939–1970**

SELMA BOTMAN

216 pages, index

Cloth \$22.95

**Iroquois Studies . . .**

### **A Journey Into Mohawk and Oneida Country, 1634–1635**

*The Journal of Harmen Meynderstz van den Bogaert*

Translated and edited by CHARLES T. GEHRING  
and WILLIAM A. STARNA

The most important primary source known on Iroquois culture at  
the time when Mohawk and Oneida were just beginning to feel the  
direct impact of European contact.

120 pages, 8 illustrations

Cloth \$17.50

### **The Oneida Indian Experience**

*Two Perspectives*

Edited by JACK CAMPISI and LAURENCE M. HAUPTMAN

288 pages, index

Cloth \$29.95 Paper \$14.95

*Now in paper!*

### **Myths and Symbols in Pagan Europe**

*Early Scandinavian  
and Celtic Religions*

H. R. ELLIS DAVIDSON

270 pages, illustrations, index  
Paper \$15.00 Cloth \$28.00

### **Prince Marko**

*The Hero of the South Slavic Epics*

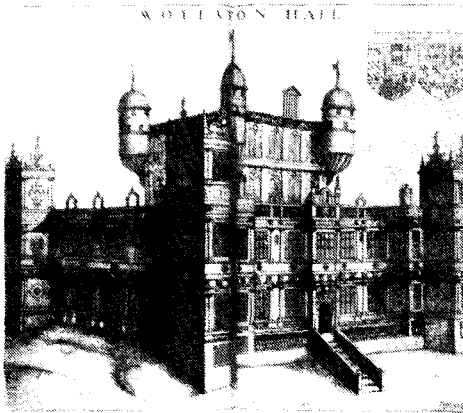
TATYANA POPOVIC

280 pages, illustrations, index  
Cloth \$32.00

**Syracuse University Press**

1600 Jamesville Avenue  
Syracuse, New York 13244-5160

# GENDER & HISTORY FROM CHICAGO



## HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD IN ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND

*Wollaton Hall and the Willoughby Family*

**ALICE T. FRIEDMAN**

Friedman's innovative social history of the estate at Wollaton provides a rare portrait of an Elizabethan country house and its inhabitants. She examines the planning and construction of the house while discussing the experience of its occupants in relation to shifting class relations, attitudes toward women, changing household structure, and architectural styles.

*Cloth \$27.50 (est.) 208 pages (est.)  
8 color plates, 106 halftones,  
13 line drawings, 1 map*

## THE SPECTACLE OF WOMEN

*Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign 1907-14*

**LISA TICKNER**

Tickner discusses and illustrates the British suffragist use of spectacle—the design of banners, posters and postcards, the orchestration of mass demonstrations—in a challenging work about the role of representations and images in social and political change.

“No attentive reader will henceforth wish to rebuild the barrier between the history of art and the history of politics that Tickner has so carefully and comprehensively torn down.”—Brian Harrison, *Times Literary Supplement*

*Cloth \$37.50 352 pages  
30 color plates, 120 halftones*

## THE CONSTRUCTION OF HOMOSEXUALITY

**DAVID F. GREENBERG**

In a work of unprecedented scope, Greenberg provides a cross-cultural and transhistorical account of the social organization of homosexuality, the ways it is perceived by society and responded to. His comparative approach seeks to confirm that homosexuality is not a uniform phenomenon across time and that social beliefs about homosexuality stem from identifiable features in the societies in which they are found.

*Cloth \$29.95 648 pages*



## UNEVEN DEVELOPMENTS

*The Ideological Work of  
Gender in Mid-Victorian England*

**MARY POOVEY**

*With a Foreword by Catharine R. Stimpson*

“*Uneven Developments* makes a unique contribution to Victorian Studies; it shows with great skill and clarity the complex ‘reciprocal construction’ of ideologies of class, gender, race, and nationality that defined ‘Englishness’ in the nineteenth century.”—Catharine Gallagher, University of California, Berkeley

*Paper \$14.95 296 pages  
Library cloth edition \$39.95  
Women in Culture and Society series*

**THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS** 5801 South Ellis Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637



**NEW**



## Victorian Britain

An Encyclopedia

Edited by  
Sally Mitchell

1,034 pages

41 illustrations

7 x 10

0-1513-4

\$125

■ Serving as both a ready-reference source and an overview of the complex interdisciplinary field of Victorian studies, this new encyclopedia features more than 900 signed articles, ranging from 250 to 1,500 words, written by some 335 respected scholars. They cover all the major events, establishments, and accomplishments in Great Britain during the 64 years of Queen Victoria's reign.

## Mass Media and the Constitution

An Encyclopedia of  
Supreme Court Cases

Richard F. Hixson

c. 600 pages

7947-7 c.\$85

February 1989

■ For the historian seeking information on the impact of the Constitution on American history, this new book covers issues from free speech, libel, and censorship to news-gathering and broadcasting, summarizing and explaining key Supreme Court decisions.

## The Encyclopedia of Police Science

Edited by  
William G. Bailey

c. 700 pages

illustrated

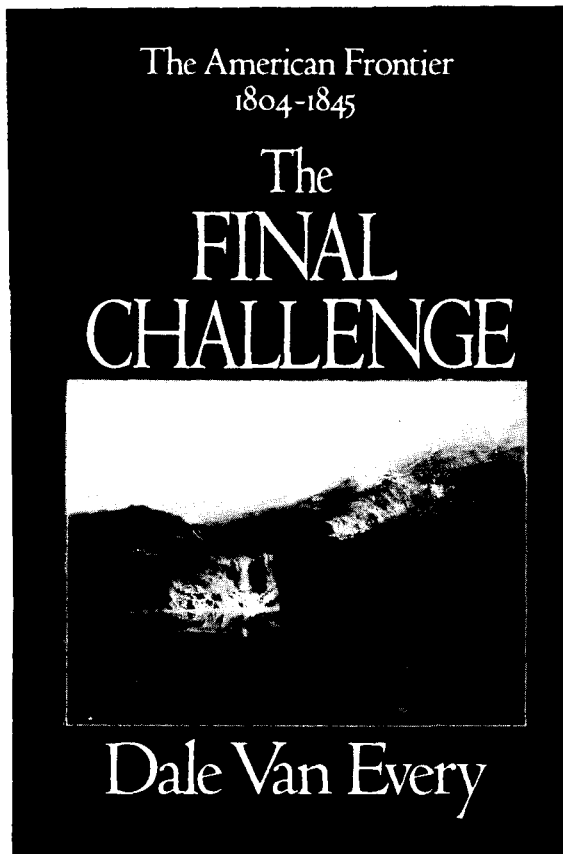
6627-8

\$77

■ Presenting a survey of police history and practice from Colonial America through today's FBI, this new encyclopedia features biographies of key individuals, histories of police departments in major cities, and explanations of procedures, technology, and future trends in police science.

**Garland Publishing**

■ 136 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10016 Toll-Free for Orders 1-800-627-6273 ■



"ONE OF  
THE MOST  
NOTEWORTHY  
CONTRIBUTIONS  
TO AMERICAN  
HISTORICAL  
WRITING."

—Allan Nevins

In **THE FINAL CHALLENGE**, the concluding volume in this monumental series, noted historian Dale Van Every vividly captures the

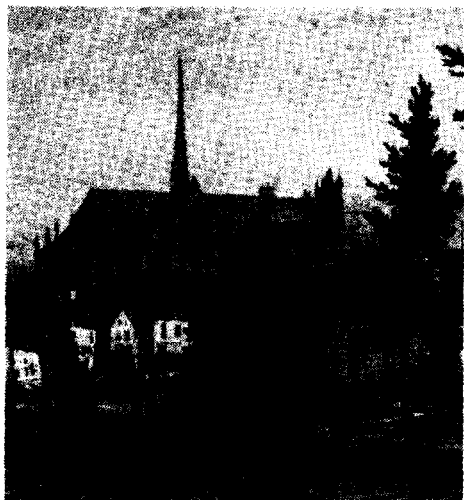
frontiersmen's final push westward to the Pacific. Brought to life are the figures of Lewis and Clark and the Astorians. Van Every colorfully illuminates the empire-building rivalry between American and British trappers, America's first thrusts into Texas, California, and Oregon, and the culminating migration of the covered-wagon pioneers to the shores of the Pacific.

**THE FINAL CHALLENGE** and the first three volumes of the series are available at your local bookstore.

Paperback/\$9.95

*Quill/William Morrow*

## New in the Environmental History Series



### The Age of Water THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT IN THE NORTH OF FRANCE, A.D. 300-1800

André E. Guillerme

André E. Guillerme's structuralist history details sixteen centuries of hydrographic technological change and urban development in eighteen cities of northern France. He explains the uses made of waterways and shows how the water systems in turn shaped the growth of the cities. Guillerme's focus on the uses of water clearly shows the interaction of military, economic, technical, political, intellectual, and symbolic factors in urbanization. Using data from urban demography and drawing on scholarly resources in a wide range of fields, he reveals a complexity of demographic and socioeconomic evolution that environmental and urban historians will find challenging. 312 pp. 5 b&w photos. 47 line drawings. \$29.50

NOW IN PAPERBACK

### Marshes of the Ocean Shore

DEVELOPMENT OF AN  
ECOLOGICAL ETHIC

Joseph V. Siry

Joseph V. Siry carefully traces the interplay of scientific knowledge, popular values, legal frameworks, and public policy in the development of a wetlands ecological ethic. He also describes the nationwide estuarine sanctuary system that exists today as the result of a new ecological awareness. 228 pp. Illus. Maps. \$22.50 cloth; \$12.95 paper

### Environmental Politics and the Coal Coalition

Richard H. K. Vietor

"There are excellent brief summaries of the energy crisis since 1973 and of the general debate over environmental protection. Vietor's lengthy analysis of the acrimonious debate over 'no significant deterioration' of air quality is definitive, masterly, and worth the price of the book."—*Journal of American History*. 304 pp. \$23.50 cloth; \$10.00 paper



Texas A&M  
University Press

Drawer C  
College Station, Texas 77843

UNIVERSITY PRESS OF  
New England



For Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Historians

**J. W. De Forest  
and the Rise of  
American Gentility**  
**JAMES A. HIJIYA**



The most complete biography of an American novelist whose life and works reflected the turbulent social and cultural changes of the 19th century, and in particular the development in the latter half of the century of an intellectual rebellion against democracy. \$20.00

**Burke and the Fall  
of Language**  
**STEVEN  
BLAKEMORE**



*The French Revolution as Linguistic Event.* A highly original portrayal of the battles over meaning and language between Burke and late 18th-century revolutionaries, arguing that Burke saw the conflict as an astonishing linguistic event. \$15.00

**The Papers of  
Daniel Webster**  
**CHARLES E. WILTSE,**  
*editor-in-chief*



*Recently published . . .*

- **Legal Papers, Volume 3: The Federal Practice.**  
Andrew J. King, *editor*. Two volumes, \$110.00
- **Speeches and Formal Writings, Volume 2: 1834-1852.**  
Alan R. Berolzheimer, *assistant editor*. \$75.00

**The Ladies'  
Work Table**  
**MARGARET  
VINCENT**



*Domestic Needlework in Nineteenth-Century America.* An illustrated presentation of 100 examples of domestic handiwork reflecting changing social and artistic tastes, historic events, and the impact of the industrial revolution. *An Allentown Art Museum book.* \$19.95 paper

**The Catskills**  
**KENNETH MYERS**  
With Margaret Favretti  
and Jules D. Prown



*Painters, Writers, and Tourists in the Mountains, 1820-1895.* An illustrated portrait of the early years of a wilderness aesthetic traced in the art, literature, and tourist industry of the Catskill Mountains. *A Hudson River Museum of Westchester book.* \$19.95 paper

UNIVERSITY PRESS OF NEW ENGLAND, 17½ Lebanon St., Hanover, NH 03755



## NEW FROM OKLAHOMA

*A Book of the Month Club and History Book Club selection*

### CAVALIER IN BUCKSKIN

**George Armstrong Custer and the Western Military Frontier**

**By Robert M. Utley**

*Volume 1 in The Oklahoma Western Biographies*

"Robert M. Utley, the award-winning author of a number of historical works . . . doesn't hesitate to demythologize a man who for many years was an American legend."—*New York City Tribune*. "This is

heady material for western and military buffs."—*Publishers Weekly*. 45 illustrations, 8 maps. **\$19.95**

### ROUTE 66

***The Highway and Its People***

**Photographic Essay by Quinta Scott**

**Text by Susan Croce Kelly**

"'Get Your Kicks on Route 66,' goes the famous song . . . Readers will have to get their kicks from this rewarding blend of photos and text documenting the birth, high life, and death of America's most famous road . . . A worthy shrine to a lost bit of America."—*Kirkus Reviews*. 93 striking duotone photographs **\$24.95**

### GENERAL GEORGE WRIGHT

***Guardian of the Pacific Coast***

**By Carl P. Schlicke**

Wright's most important contribution was his service during the Civil War, as commander of the vast Department of the Pacific. By placing Wright's life and service to his country in perspective, the author gives due credit to a man who played an important role in the development of the West. 20 illustrations, 5 maps. **\$29.95**

### HOOVER DAM

***An American Adventure***

**By Joseph E. Stevens**

"Stevens has written a riveting history that reads like a novel; he captures our attention at the beginning and holds it throughout . . . Superb Americana."—*Publishers Weekly*. "Excellent . . . This book captures the barbarity of the work and the pride of a younger nation."—*Los Angeles Times Book Review*. 71 illustrations, map. **\$24.95**

### THE DIARIO OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS'S FIRST VOYAGE TO AMERICA 1492-1493

**Abstracted by Fray Bartolomé de las Casas**

**Edited, Transcribed, and Translated, with Introduction, Notes, and Concordance, by Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelley, Jr.**

*Volume 70 in The American Exploration and Travel Series*

"There is simply nothing like this in existence. It is the single most important piece of Columbus scholarship to appear in a long, long time. With the quincentennial of the discovery approaching, the timing could not have been better."—*Robert Fuson*, Professor of Emeritus of Geography, University of South Florida. **\$49.95 until 12-31-88; \$57.50 thereafter.**

### NEW DIRECTIONS IN AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORY

**Edited by Colin G. Calloway**

*Volume 1 in The D'Arcy McNickle Center Bibliographies in American Indian History*

This collection of essays, by leading scholars from a variety of disciplinary and regional backgrounds, examines recent and emerging trends in American Indian history, and explores new fields of inquiry. **\$29.50**

Write for FREE catalog. From your bookseller, or order direct (\$1.50 post/hand).

# University of Oklahoma Press

Dept. MA40 - 1005 Asp Ave - Norman, OK 73019





# Cambridge University Press

## Modern England, 1901-1984

*Second Edition*

**Alfred F. Havighurst**

Updates the most comprehensive bibliography of printed books, articles, and standard texts on England in the twentieth century. Contains chapters on existing bibliographies, catalogues, guides, handbooks, and general surveys as well as an index of authors, editors, and translators.

**Conference on British Studies Bibliographic Handbooks**

\$39.50

## Government and Expertise

*Specialists, Administrators and Professionals, 1860-1914*

**Roy MacLeod, Editor**

Offers selected perspectives on an important facet of new research into the administrative revolution: the idea of "expertise", and the role of "experts", administrators, and professionals in creating the technique of Victorian government.

\$59.50

## Radical Underworld

*Prophets, Revolutionaries and Pornographers in London 1795-1840*

**Ilain McCalman**

A study of English popular radicalism during the period between the anti-Jacobin government of the 1790s and the beginnings of Chartism, tracing for the first time the history of the underground revolutionary-republican grouping in London.

\$49.50

## Continuity, Chance and Change

*The Character of the Industrial Revolution in England*

**E.A. Wrigley**

Challenges the conventional view that the Industrial Revolution was a consciously progressive phenomenon by discussing the economic activity of the time in the context of English economic growth between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.

\$29.95

## Law and Government in Tudor England

*Essays Presented to Sir Geoffrey Elton on his Retirement*

**Editors: Claire Cross, David Loades, and J.J. Scarisbrick**

A collection of specially commissioned research essays reflecting the special interests of the internationally celebrated historian Sir Geoffrey Elton within the broader theme of "Law and Government."

\$39.50

## The Memoirs and Speeches of James, 2nd Earl Waldegrave 1742-1763

**J.C.D. Clark, Editor**

First published in 1821, Waldegrave's *Memoirs* is a classic of eighteenth-century political literature. This edition sets the text against a much fuller account of the politics of the 1740s and 50s, and reconstructs the biography of a politician previously obscured by lack of evidence.

\$49.50

## **Cambridge University Press**

### **The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris**

**Bronislaw Geremek**

**Jean Birrell, Translator**

**with an introduction by Jean-Claude Schmitt**

Examines the marginal world of Paris—beggars, prostitutes, petty criminals, the unemployed—their way of life and their relation to “normal” society.

**Past and Present Publications**

**\$44.50**

### **Professional and Popular Medicine in France, 1770-1830**

**The Social World of Medical Practice**

**Matthew Ramsey**

A study of the professionalization of French medicine in the crucial years of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when a unified medical profession emerged.

**Cambridge History of Medicine**

**\$49.50**

### **Childhood in Nineteenth-Century France**

**Work, Health and Education among the Classes Populaires**

**Colin Heywood**

“... well researched, cautious, judicious, eschewing partisan or emotional sweeping statements... elegantly written and constructed... a good read...” — *Owen Hufton, Harvard University*

**Harvard University**

**\$44.50**

### **Concepts of Cleanliness**

**Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages**

**Georges Vigarello**

**Jean Birrell, Translator**

Examines the way in which attitudes toward the perceptions of human cleanliness, health, and hygiene have changed, as have the moral properties attributed to the human body.

**Past and Present Publications**

**\$39.50**

### **The Frozen Revolution**

**An Essay on Jacobinism**

**Ferenc Feber**

Argues that the celebrated world-historical pronouncements to which Jacobinism gave rise derived from immediate economic circumstances, and that much of its subsequent impact has stemmed from its critique of contemporary British industrial capitalism.

**Studies in Modern Capitalism**

**\$37.50**

### **The Popular Front in France**

**Defending Democracy, 1934-1938**

**Julian Jackson**

Argues that the Popular Front movement must be seen as a political, social, and cultural explosion that attempted to break down barriers in the highly compartmentalized society of France.

**\$54.50**

# Cambridge University Press

## Power and Penury

*Government, Technology and Science in Philip II's Spain*

**David Goodman**

Refutes the belief that Spain contributed little to scientific development through a reconsideration of Philip II's relationship with the sciences and a discussion of the crown's considerable involvement in technological affairs.

\$44.50

## The Changing Face of Empire

*Charles V, Philip II, and Habsburg Authority, 1551-1559*

**Maria Rodriguez-Salgado**

The first comprehensive analysis of the division and near collapse of Habsburg authority during the 1550s, illuminating the breakdown in relations with the Netherlands that was to culminate in the Dutch Revolt.

**Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History**

\$49.50

## The Princes of Orange

*The Stadholders in the Dutch Republic*

**Herbert H. Rowen**

An account of the Princes of Orange in the Dutch Republic from William I, "the Silent", to William V that interweaves their personal lives with the development of the unique institution of the stadholderate and the early political history of the republic.

**Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History**

\$39.50

## Louis XIV and the Origins of the Dutch War

**Paul Sonnino**

An account of the origins of the Franco-Dutch War of 1672 chronicles the bitter French division and the contrasting personalities of the French court.

**Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History**

\$39.50

---

## Award Winning Books from Cambridge University Press

*Winner of the Welsh Medal of the American Association for the History of Medicine...*

## Hospital Life in Enlightenment Scotland

**Guenter B. Risse**

\$54.50

*Winner of the American Sociological Association's Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Award...*

## The Sources of Social Power

*Volume 1: A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760*

**Michael Mann**

\$62.50 Hardcover    \$19.95 Paper

At bookstores or order from

## Cambridge University Press

32 East 57th Street, New York, NY 10022. Cambridge toll-free numbers for orders only:  
800-872-7423, outside NY State. 800-227-0247, NY State only. MasterCard and Visa accepted.



### **John C. Calhoun and the Price of Union**

A Biography

*John Niven*

"What a marvelous and unexpected publishing event! . . . *John C. Calhoun and the Price of Union* is a splendid accomplishment, a wonderfully rich, compelling, critical but sympathetic narrative of one of the South's most difficult and important figures during the nineteenth century. Niven is especially fine in providing a clear and detailed analysis of Calhoun's ideas of government. The biography is highly readable and should garner many prizes for its historical and literary excellence."—Robert V. Remini

A Selection of the History Book Club

*Illustrated* \$24.95

### **Telling Memories Among Southern Women**

Domestic Workers and Their Employers in the Segregated South

*Susan Tucker*

Few studies of race relations have dealt in any detail with the complex, sometimes enigmatic bond between black female domestic workers and their white employers. *Telling Memories Among Southern Women* is a sensitive, pathbreaking account of the many-sided relationship between two groups of women who lived within the male-dominated world of the American South.

*Illustrated* \$24.95

### **Twice Condemned**

Slaves and the Criminal Laws of Virginia, 1705–1865

*Philip J. Schwarz*

*Twice Condemned: Slaves and the Criminal Laws of Virginia* examines the history of the relationship between slaves and the criminal courts of the Old Dominion from 1705 to 1865. This book provides a detailed picture of many largely unexamined aspects of slave culture, and of the slaveowners' attitudes toward the alien presence in their midst.

*Illustrated* \$37.50

### **The New Deal in the Urban South**

*Douglas L. Smith*

Douglas L. Smith analyzes the impact of the depression and the New Deal on the course of southern urban growth and on the development of the southern urban consciousness. *The New Deal in the Urban South* will prove valuable to all those interested in the history of the depression, the modern South, and southern urban development.

\$29.95

### **The Confederate Carpetbaggers**

*Daniel E. Sutherland*

"Sutherland expands the traditional use of the term 'carpetbagger' to include those Southerners whose Civil War experience convinced them that changing location would bring a better life. Though they retained their Southern loyalties, these 'confederate carpetbaggers' might not have achieved so much in the arts, politics, and business, nor encouraged the postwar healing process, had they remained at home. An important and well-crafted work, based on primary sources."—*Library Journal*

A Selection of the History Book Club

*Illustrated* \$40.00 cloth, \$16.95 paper

**Louisiana State University Press**

Baton Rouge 70893

**AHA Exhibit Booth #78-79****THE RISE OF RESPECTABLE SOCIETY**

A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900

F.M.L. THOMPSON

"A stunning example of the art of integrative and synthetic scholarship... Thompson is always crystal clear. This is an overview by a very sophisticated and mature historian, and a humane and modest one too." — Anthony S. Wohl, Vassar College  
\$30.00 cloth

**THE RISE OF POLITICAL ANTI-SEMITISM IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA**

Revised Edition

PETER PULZER

"Should become the standard account of anti-Semitism as a political movement in Central Europe... The value of this book lies both in its completeness and in the clarity of its analyses... It is all there, the whole lamentable story, and written with singular grace." — George L. Mosse, *American Historical Review*  
\$14.50 paper

**AMERICAN LAW AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER**

Historical Perspectives

EDITED BY LAWRENCE M.

FRIEDMAN AND HARRY N.

SCHEIBER

Enlarged edition, with a new preface by the editors

"The best of its kind available... This collection is highly recommended." — Jonathan Lurie, *American Journal of Legal History*  
\$39.50 cloth/\$18.95 paper

**SISTER REPUBLICS**

The Origins of French and American Republicanism

PATRICE HIGONNET

"A thoughtful, provocative and elegant essay on the genesis of 'republicanism' in America and France — a virtuoso and impassioned commentary on issues that were salient in the old regimes and revolutions and are still of urgent concern today." — Steven Kaplan, Cornell University  
\$27.50 cloth

**THE UNMASTERABLE PAST**

History, Holocaust, and German National Identity

CHARLES S. MAIER

"A major piece of intellectual history... It is the most compelling examination of the writing about the Holocaust that I have encountered, and it should become a part not only of the German debate but also of any effort to come to terms with the horrors of National Socialism." — Thomas Childers, University of Pennsylvania  
\$22.50 cloth

**MRS. THATCHER'S REVOLUTION**

The Ending of the Socialist Era

PETER JENKINS

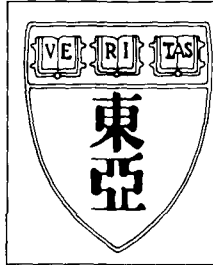
"[Jenkins] has given us the best analysis to date of Thatcherism in power and the Opposition in disarray. His narrative is gripping, his character sketches are superb, his judgements are thoughtful." — Robert Skidelsky, *London Sunday Telegraph*  
\$25.00 cloth

**Harvard  
University  
Press**

79 Garden Street  
Cambridge, MA 02138







# HARVARD'S COUNCIL ON EAST ASIAN STUDIES

NEW CLOTH TITLES

## THE EMPEROR'S FOUR TREASURES

Scholars and the State in the Late  
Ch'ien-lung Era

*R. Kent Guy*

The 22-year-long compilation of the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries, initiated by imperial command in 1772, is here treated in detail. Guy describes the process and the results: an annotated catalog of some 10,000 titles and 7 new manuscript libraries of nearly 3,600 titles, plus the darker side of the project—a campaign of censorship and proscription.

*Harvard East Asian Monographs*, 129

\$23.00

## NATIONAL POLITY AND LOCAL POWER

The Transformation of Late Imperial  
China

Min Tu-Ki

*Edited by Philip A. Kuhn and Timothy  
Brook*

This study by Korea's leading Sinologist shows how China's own internal agenda, rather than simply a "response to the West," has conditioned Chinese political life during its transition to modernity. Min's internalist approach provides both a creative new vision of the encounter between two civilizations and a distinguished introduction to Korean Sinology.

*Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series*, 27

\$26.00

## SHOGUNAL POLITICS

Arai Hakuseki and the Premises of  
Tokugawa Rule

*Kate Wildman Nakai*

Arai Hakuseki, advisor to the sixth and seventh Tokugawa shogun, played an important political role between 1709 and 1716, during an era of large changes in the bakufu. Nakai examines his successes and failures in policy decisions on currency, foreign trade, and local administration, and his efforts to enhance the shogun's authority both within the bakufu and as a national ruler.

*Harvard East Asian Monographs*, 134

\$23.00

## CHINA TURNING INWARD

Intellectual-Political Changes in the  
Early Twelfth Century

*James T.C. Liu*

James Liu's study of the traumatic opening decades of the Southern Sung explores how Emperor Kao-tsung's unspoken determination to win imperial safety at any cost shaped not only court policy but Confucian intellectual developments. Ups and downs in the political fortunes of moralistic conservatives are specially examined for their effects on the nature of the Neo-Confucianism that eventually became state orthodoxy.

*Harvard East Asian Monographs*, 132

\$23.00

## THE COUNTRY OF STREAMS AND GROTTOS

Expansion, Settlement, and the Civilizing  
of the Sichuan Frontier in Song Times

*Richard von Glahn*

Chinese settlers exploited salt wells and brought agriculture to a mountainous region previously inhabited only by forest dwellers. Von Glahn's study of the impact of evolving Song military, administrative, and economic policy on the area around Luzhou illuminates events in a particular region and challenges recent theories about inter-regional economic circulation and demographic expansion.

*Harvard East Asian Monographs*, 123

\$24.00

## EXHAUSTING THE EARTH

State and Peasant in Hunan,  
1500–1850

*Peter C. Perdue*

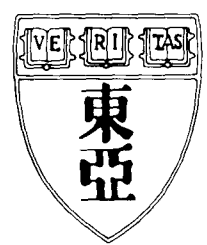
This study of Hunan in a period of large population growth, extension of the market, and increases in agricultural productivity describes the relationship between agricultural production and state policies toward taxation, land clearance, dike-building, and property rights. The early-nineteenth-century signs of overpopulation, social conflict, and ecological exhaustion that Perdue describes set the scene for the disintegration and rebellion to follow.

*Harvard East Asian Monographs*, 130

\$25.00

# HARVARD'S COUNCIL ON EAST ASIAN STUDIES

NEW PAPER EDITIONS



## HARVARD EAST ASIAN MONOGRAPHS

**84. EMPIRE AND AFTERMATH**  
Yoshida Shigeru and the Japanese  
Experience 1878-1954  
*J. W. Dower*

**94. THE SHANGHAI CAPITALISTS  
AND THE NATIONALIST  
GOVERNMENT, 1927-1937**  
*Parks M. Coble*

**117. THE EVOLUTION OF LABOR  
RELATIONS IN JAPAN**  
Heavy Industry, 1853-1955  
*Andrew Gordon*

**133. BETWEEN TRADITION  
AND MODERNITY**  
Wang Tao and Reform in Late  
Ch'ing China  
*Paul A. Cohen*

**140. VIETNAM AND THE  
CHINESE MODEL**  
A Comparative Study of Vietnamese  
and Chinese Government in the First  
Half of the Nineteenth Century  
*Alexander Barton Woodside*

**141. DEUS DESTROYED**  
The Image of Christianity in Early  
Modern Japan  
*George Ellison*

**143. LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN  
CHINA UNDER THE CH'ING**  
*T'ung-tsu Ch'ü*

## HARVARD CONTEMPORARY CHINA SERIES

**1. AFTER MAO**  
Chinese Literature and Society,  
1978-1981  
*Edited and with an Introduction  
by Jeffrey C. Kinkley*

**2. THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF  
REFORM IN POST-MAO CHINA**  
*Edited and with an Introduction by  
Elizabeth J. Perry and Christine Wong*

**3. CHINA'S INTELLECTUALS  
AND THE STATE**  
In Search of a New Relationship  
*Edited by Merle Goldman, with  
Timothy Cheek and Carol Lee Hamrin*

**4. AI SSU-CHI'S CONTRIBUTION  
TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
CHINESE MARXISM**  
*Joshua A. Fogel*

**5. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY  
IN POST-MAO CHINA**  
*Edited and with an Introduction by  
Denis Fred Simon and Merle Goldman*

All titles \$14.00

Distributed by

**Harvard  
University  
Press**

79 Garden Street  
Cambridge, MA 02138

# UNCOVER HISTORY

New Titles from Columbia

## **Collusion Across the Jordan**

King Abdullah, the Zionist Movement,  
and the Partition of Palestine

**Avi Shlaim**

"Mr. Shlaim is backed by a vast accumulation of facts for his contention that Abdullah's goal was not to destroy Israel but to gain control of the Arab sections of newly partitioned Palestine."

—*The New York Times*

"A fascinating and sophisticated exercise in diplomatic reconstruction..."—*TLS*

686 pp., \$40.00

## **Socialism's Dilemmas**

State and Society in the Soviet Bloc

**Walter D. Connor**

"Connor's essays show very vividly the background to the present crisis and dilemmas of Communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe."

—Adam Ulam

"Invaluable to Western readers, these essays should also be on the bedside tables of the Soviet reformers themselves."

—S. Frederick Starr

320 pp., \$32.00

## **Gender and the Politics of History**

**Joan Wallach Scott**

"Joan Scott opens up important new perspectives on social history and even the history of the discipline itself. Our reading of Marx and understanding of class differentiation will never again be the same."

—Lynn Hunt

*Gender and Culture*

Carolyn G. Heilbrun and Nancy K. Miller,

General Editors

256 pp., \$29.00

## **Palestinians in the Arab World**

Institution Building and the Search for State

**Laurie A. Brand**

"The only work available which details on a comparative basis how the Palestinians related to the Arab societies in which they came to be located after 1948, and to their governments."

—Rashid Khalidi

320 pp., \$35.00

## **Prelude to Solidarity**

Poland and the Politics of the Gierek Regime

**Keith J. Lepak**

The first comprehensive political history of Poland in the 1970s. Keith Lepak explores the continuing crisis in Polish communism by analyzing the political and economic changes that occurred during that decade.

271 pp., \$35.00

## **Brotherly Tomorrows**

Movements for a Cooperative Society  
in America, 1820–1920

**Edward K. Spann**

Traces the development of organized efforts by American social radicals to replace competitive individualism with a democratic cooperative order.

326 pp., photos, \$37.50

## **The Documentary History of the Supreme Court of the United States, 1789–1800**

Volume Two: The Justices on the

Circuit, 1790–1794

**Maeva Marcus, Editor**

550 pp., \$60.00

## NOW IN PAPERBACK

### **American Money and the Weimar Republic**

Economics and Politics on the Eve  
of the Great Depression

**William C. McNeil**

*The Political Economy of International Change*

John Gerard Ruggie, General Editor

328 pp., \$15.00 pa

### **Sports Spectators**

**Allen Guttmann**

236 pp., \$12.50 pa

### **Gender and History**

The Limits of Social Theory in the

Age of the Family

**Linda J. Nicholson**

256 pp., \$13.50 pa

To order, send a check or money order to the address below,  
including \$3.00 for postage and handling:



**COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS**

Dept. JN, 136 South Broadway, Irvington, NY 10533

*The American Historical Association...*

# THE PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ALL HISTORIANS

Only the AHA brings together historians from all geographical, chronological, and topical specializations and all work contexts, reflecting the breadth and variety of activity in the profession today. Recognizing the special responsibilities that ensue from that unique position, the AHA has taken on an equally broad and diverse agenda, including—

- Establishing standards for professional conduct
- Maintaining the most complete clearinghouse for employment information
- Providing timely and systematic coverage of research opportunities and developments
- Addressing the common concerns of teachers, whatever their specialization or institution
- Representing the profession in Washington and in international activity

In other words, the AHA is much more than just an annual meeting and a journal. As a historian, you can't afford not to be a part of *the* American Historical Association.

***Join today!***

---

## Membership Application

Last Name	First Name	Middle Initial
Address		
City	State	Zip
Telephone Number and Area Code _____		

Circle Dues Category:

\$60.00—Over \$40,000	\$20.00—Joint (with spouse)
\$55.00—\$30,000—\$39,999	\$1,000.00—Life Membership
\$47.00—\$20,000—\$29,999	\$30.00—Associate Membership*
\$40.00—\$15,000—\$19,999	\$20.00— <i>Recently Published Articles</i> †
\$30.00—\$10,000—\$14,999	\$5.00—Overseas Members Add Postage
\$20.00—Below \$10,000	

\*Associate Membership is for those persons whose primary professional identification is in a field other than history.

†Overseas members please add \$2.00 postage for RPA.

All dues are payable in advance, in U.S. funds only.

---

Please return this coupon with your check made payable to: American Historical Association, 400 A St., S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003.

# Resource Directories for Historians

## ***Guide to Departments of History***

Over 630 departments of history in colleges, universities, and research institutions in the U.S. and Canada are listed in the *Guide*.

In addition, an index of over 11,000 historians and their affiliations lets you keep in touch with colleagues and keep abreast of new programs in the field.

Members of the American Historical Association can order a *Guide* for only \$22. Non-members can order for \$27. Please add \$1 handling charge to your order.

## **To Order:**

**Write:** Publication Sales Office,  
AHA, 400 A Street, S.E.,  
Washington, D.C. 20003

**Call:** 202/544-2424.  
All orders must be prepaid.

To order other publications please contact the Association at the address below.

## ***Directory of Women Historians***

This directory lists over 1300 women historians with addresses, specializations, titles, and more!

The *Directory* can be ordered by AHA members for \$6 and non-members for \$8. Please add \$1 for a handling charge.

## ***Grants, Fellowships, and Prizes of Interest to Historians***

The latest news on fellowships, prizes, and grants are contained in this annual directory. Start your research project by ordering yours now. Members can order for \$5 and non-members for \$6. Please add \$1 for handling.



# Speaking of History...

*The American Historical Association's **SPEAKERS BUREAU** makes available for guest lectures some of the most eminent historians in non-U.S. fields. Speakers may be engaged for a nominal fee of \$750 plus expenses and engaging an AHA Speaker goes to help the Association as well. All fees will be used to support the Association in future activities and publications. To engage a speaker, call James Gardner, AHA Deputy Executive Director, or write AHA SPEAKERS BUREAU, 400 A St., SE, Washington, DC 20003.*

**Elizabeth A.R. Brown**, Brooklyn College, City University of New York, MEDIEVAL EUROPE

**Robert F. Byrnes**, Indiana University, MODERN RUSSIA (specific topics: The Ferment about Stalin in the Soviet Union; Gorbachev's Domestic and Foreign Policies; Kiliuchevskii as a Maker of the Modern Russian State)

**Gordon A. Craig**, Stanford University, MODERN EUROPE, GERMANY

**Philip D. Curtin**, The Johns Hopkins University, AFRICA, WORLD HISTORY (specific topics: Migration and World History; Disease and Imperialism; Mythology and the Slave Trade)

**Charles F. Delzell**, Vanderbilt University, MODERN EUROPE, ITALY (specific topics: Mussolini's Italy in Retrospect; Renzo De Felice's Interpretations of Fascism: The Historiographical Controversy; The Italian Armed Resistance, 1943-1945; Allied Policies toward Liberated Italy, 1943-1944: Repetition of Darlanism or Renewal of Democracy?)

**Katherine Fischer Drew**, Rice University, MEDIEVAL EUROPE (specific topic: Law and Society in the Early Germanic Kingdoms)

**Robert Forster**, The Johns Hopkins University, MODERN EUROPE, FRANCE (specific topics: From Toulouse to Port-au-Prince: A Plantation on Saint-Dominique [Haiti] in the 18th Century; A Dialogue with Napoleon Bonaparte; The Roots of Revolution on Saint-Dominique [Haiti])

**C. Warren Hollister**, University of California, Santa Barbara, MEDIEVAL EUROPE (specific topics: King John and the Magna Carta; The Normans: Normandy, Italy, Sicily, and the First Crusade; William the Bastard and the Norman Conquest of England; Henry I of England: Renaissance Prince and Feudal Monarch)

**Barbara Jelavich**, Indiana University, EASTERN EUROPE, BALKANS

**Friedrich Katz**, University of Chicago, LATIN AMERICA, MEXICO

**Franklin W. Knight**, The Johns Hopkins University, LATIN AMERICA

**Barbara Miller Lane**, Bryn Mawr College, MODERN EUROPE, URBAN

**Stanford E. Lehmberg**, University of Minnesota, GREAT BRITAIN (specific topics: The English Reformation Reconsidered; The History of Parliament in Tudor-Stuart England: A New Model for Reassessment; The Role of Cathedrals in English Society, 1485-1603)

**Bernard Lewis**, Princeton University, NEAR EAST (specific topic: Europe and Islam)

**William H. McNeill**, University of Chicago, WORLD HISTORY, EUROPE (specific topics: Disease in History; Teaching World History; The Christopher Columbus Quincentenary)

**Emiliana P. Noether**, University of Connecticut, Storrs, MODERN EUROPE, ITALY (specific topics: Italy and the United States: Cultural Affinities during the 19th Century; Mazzini, Marx, and Bakounin: A Study in Conflict; The Two Souls of Italian Intellectuals: The Apollonian Croce and the Dionysian d'Annunzio)

**David H. Pinkney**, University of Washington, MODERN EUROPE, FRANCE (specific topics: The Pursuit of Liberty and Order: Two Centuries of Constitutional Experiment in France, 1787-1987; The Fifth Republic and the Second Rebuilding of Paris, 1958-1985; The 1840s—France's Decisive Years?)

**Sarah B. Pomeroy**, Hunter College and the Graduate School, City University of New York, ANCIENT (specific topics: Women, Humanism, and the *Oeconomicus* of Xenophon; The Greek Domestic Economy; Growing Up Female in Classical Athens)

**David L. Ransel**, Indiana University, IMPERIAL RUSSIA (specific topics: Child Abandonment in Russian History; Infant Mortality in the Russian Empire; Catherine the Great; War and the Shaping of the Russian View of the World)

**Eugene F. Rice**, Columbia University, RENAISSANCE, REFORMATION

**David F. Rock**, University of California, Santa Barbara, LATIN AMERICA, ARGENTINA (specific topics: The Crisis of Modern Latin America from a Historical Perspective; The Origins of Military Dictatorship and the Ultra-Right in Latin America)

**Nancy L. Roelker**, University of Chicago, MODERN EUROPE, FRANCE

**Robert I. Rotberg**, Tufts University, AFRICA, SOUTH AFRICA, COLONIAL AND MODERN AFRICA

**Stuart B. Schwartz**, University of Minnesota, LATIN AMERICA, BRAZIL

**James J. Sheehan**, Stanford University, GERMANY (specific topics: Knowledge and Power: Some Reflections on John Dewey and Max Weber; Biedermeier Culture and 19th-Century Society; Foreign and Domestic Policy in German History: Some Reflections on the German Question; Bourgeois Culture and Liberal Policies in 19th-Century Germany)

**Lacey Baldwin Smith**, Northwestern University, GREAT BRITAIN

**Louise A. Tilly**, New School for Social Research, MODERN EUROPE, ITALY, 19TH-CENTURY WOMEN (specific topics: Sex and Occupation in Comparative Perspective; Women Workers and the State in Turn-of-the-Century France; Italian Women Workers at the Turn of the Century: Subjects, Objects, and Actors of Social Movements)

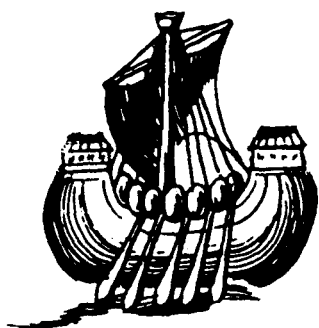
**Donald W. Treadgold**, University of Washington, MODERN RUSSIAN (specific topic: Gorbachev: The First Three Years)

**Judith Walkowitz**, Rutgers University, GREAT BRITAIN, WOMEN (specific topics: Sexual Danger and the Victorians; Contested Terrain: Urban Exploration and Class and Gender Identity in Late-Victorian London)

**Gerhard L. Weinberg**, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, MODERN EUROPE, GERMANY

**John Wirth**, Stanford University, LATIN AMERICA, BRAZIL

# Changing Your Address?



If you are planning to move, please let us know at least six weeks in advance before changing your address. Either attach your label from a recent *AHR* or *Perspectives*, or clearly print your old address in the bottom portion of this page. Tear off the page on the broken line and mail to: Membership Secretary, American Historical Association, 400 A St., SE, Washington, DC 20003.

---

Either attach *AHR* or *Perspectives* label or clearly print your **old** address in this space.

Print **new** address in this space.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

New Address \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

# *American Historical Association Publications*

## **THE INTRODUCTORY HISTORY COURSE: SIX MODELS**

**Edited by Kevin Reilly**

Alteration of history course requirements at colleges and universities in the 1970s has posed many questions to curriculum planners that have yet to be resolved. In this edited publication of proceedings of the AHA's Conference on The Introductory History Course, twenty-five teachers and scholars discuss six different institutions: Stanford, the University of Wisconsin Center, Carnegie-Mellon, Amherst, Somerset County College, and SUNY at Stony Brook. \$4.50 members, \$6.00 nonmembers.

## **STUDYING HISTORY: AN INTRODUCTION TO METHODS AND STRUCTURE**

**By Paul L. Ward**

Third edition, revised and expanded. Includes a set of guidelines for historical thinking developed at the Carnegie Institute of Technology and a new examination of the structure of historical knowledge inherent in these guidelines in light of recent scholarship on the nature of history. \$3.50.

## **TEACHING AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY**

**By Robert L. Harris, Jr.**

Key issues of the Afro-American historical experience are presented by Robert L. Harris, Jr. of Cornell University for a general audience. The pamphlet is organized thematically and chronologically, reviewing the major elements of the Afro-American experience—enslavement, emancipation, urbanization, and enfranchisement. It will acquaint teachers and students with the implications of scholarship over the past twenty years for a better understanding of the Afro-American adventure. \$4.00 members, \$5 nonmembers.

## **PREPARATION OF SECONDARY-SCHOOL HISTORY TEACHERS**

**By Donald B. Cole and Thomas Pressly**

Third edition, revised. Conditions and considerations, programs for preparing secondary-school teachers, supplementing programs and cooperation and coordination of efforts between secondary-school and university faculty. 31 pp. \$2.00 members, \$3.00 nonmembers.

## **THE PEOPLING OF AMERICA: PERSPECTIVES ON IMMIGRATION**

**By Franklin D. Scott**

Traces immigration from the 1500s to the present, including early colonization, slave importation, the "Big Surge" of the 1700s–1800s, later immigration from eastern and southern Europe. Revisions include the most recent trends in Asian and Hispanic population. Updated bibliography. 86 pp. \$3.50.

Payment must accompany all orders. Add \$1.00 handling cost per order. Send order to: Publications Sales Department, American Historical Association, 400 "A" St., SE, Washington, DC 20003.



**Announcing a comprehensive bibliography  
covering all periods of historical inquiry:**

## **RECENTLY PUBLISHED ARTICLES**

***An essential reference tool for libraries,  
history departments, historians, students  
& researchers***

---

Twenty distinguished scholars serve as section editors. They and the AHA bibliographical staff consult over 4,000 journals from nearly 100 countries in over three-dozen languages. Approximately 18,000 citations are processed in a three-issue volume. *RPA* is current, accessible, and comprehensive.

---

Available by subscription, *RPA* appears in spring, summer, and autumn of each year. Price: \$20 members, \$28 nonmembers. All orders prepaid to AHA, Publications Department, 400 A Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003. Add \$2 for overseas postage.

American Historical Association

## Essays on Global and Comparative History

Michael Adas, Series Editor

Explore the origins of major civilizations, pre-industrial empires, modern revolutions, and recent power struggles in this exceptional new series on transcultural aspects of world history. Learn how current scholarship reflects greater sensitivity to variations in cultures, social systems, and political economies. These concise, eloquent essays are ideal teaching tools for secondary-school and college instructors of global and comparative history.

### **The Columbian Voyages, the Columbian Exchange, and Their Historians**

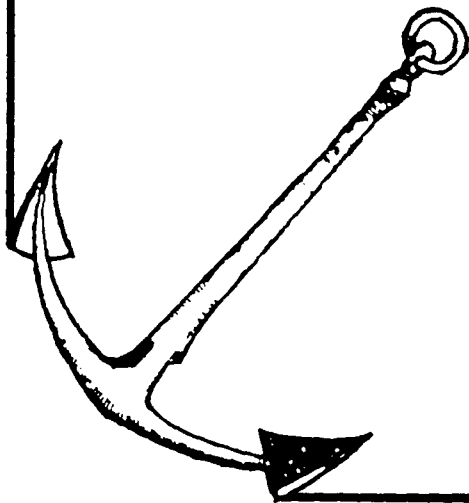
by

Alfred W. Crosby

quantitative study of population, economics, nutrition, and disease. More comprehensive geographic, biological, and demographic information adds thought-provoking depth to the timeworn story of Columbus.

29pp. \$3.50 plus \$1 handling

American Historical Association  
Publications Sales Department  
400 A Street SE  
Washington, DC 20003





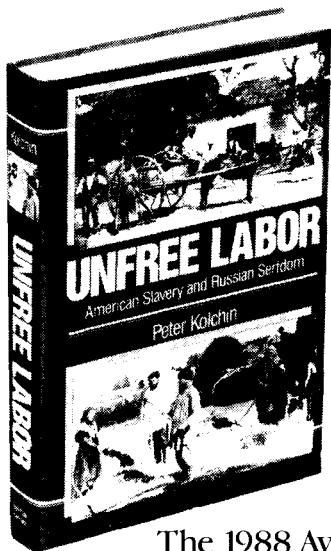
---

## Index of Advertisers

---

American Historical Association	51–57	Quill/William Morrow	39
Cambridge University Press	32, 43–45	Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis	23
Columbia University Press	50	Syracuse University Press	36
Free Press/Macmillan	10	Texas A & M University Press	40
Garland Publishing	38	University of California Press	4–7
Harcourt Brace Jovanovich	20–21	University of Chicago Press	28, 33, 37
Harvard University Press	47–49, Cover 3	University of Georgia Press	18
Houghton Mifflin	30–31, 35	University of North Carolina Press	26
Indiana University Press	27	University of Oklahoma Press	42
Johns Hopkins University Press	29	University of Pittsburgh Press	34
Louisiana State University Press	46	University Press of New England	41
Ohio University Press	19	University Press of Virginia	22
Oxford University Press	Cover 2, 24–25	Viking Penguin	8
Princeton University Press	11–17, Cover 4	Yale University Press	3, 9

(58A)



# UNFREE LABOR

American Slavery and  
Russian Serfdom

*Peter Kolchin*

*Winner of*

The 1988 Avery O. Craven Award of the  
Organization of American Historians

The 1988 Bancroft Prize in American History

The 1988 Charles S. Sydnor Award of The  
Southern Historical Association



"Kolchin's book is a work of staggering erudition as regards the literature and sources concerning both Russian serfdom and American slavery. His comparative study offers significant insight into both systems of bondage."

—Daniel Field, Russian Research Center  
Harvard University

"*Unfree Labor* is a learned and sophisticated book in the tradition of high scholarship, as well as a book written to be read and enjoyed."

—C. Vann Woodward, *New York Review of Books*

"Here is a thorough and intelligent survey of both systems of forced labor; of their development; and of the forces that brought them to the brink of collapse by the late 1850s."

—*The Economist*

*Belknap*  
\$25.00 cloth

**Harvard University Press**  
79 Garden Street, Cambridge, MA 02138



## Anarchist Portraits

*Paul Avrich*

From the celebrated Russian intellectuals Michael Bakunin and Peter Kropotkin to the little-known Australian bootmaker and radical speaker J. W. Fleming, this book probes the lives and personalities of representative participants of the anarchist movement.

Paul Avrich captures the flavor of a time when anarchism was a vital part of a worldwide struggle against political and social injustice. The biographies here, intriguing in themselves, have a powerful cumulative effect that increases our awareness of the influence of the anarchist movement during its heyday in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—and of the appeal that it had for members of protest movements during the 1960s and 1970s.

Cloth: \$27.50 ISBN 0-691-04753-7

## New Order of the Ages Time, the Constitution, and the Making of Modern American Political Thought *Michael Lienesch*



Were the early Americans a distinctively modern people, a people without a past? Or were they motivated by a premodern or classical republican mentality? To examine the shift from eighteenth-century classical republicanism to what we call modern liberalism, Michael Lienesch shows how Americans adopted modern ways of thinking about time (e.g. concepts of reform, development, and progress), while they continued to be influenced by classical republican ideas, a sometimes paradoxical mix of beliefs that continues to characterize American political thought today.

Cloth: \$19.95 ISBN 0-691-07779-7



AT YOUR BOOKSTORE OR

**Princeton University Press**

41 WILLIAM ST. • PRINCETON, NJ 08540 • (609) 452-4900

ORDERS 800-PRS-ISBN (777-4726)